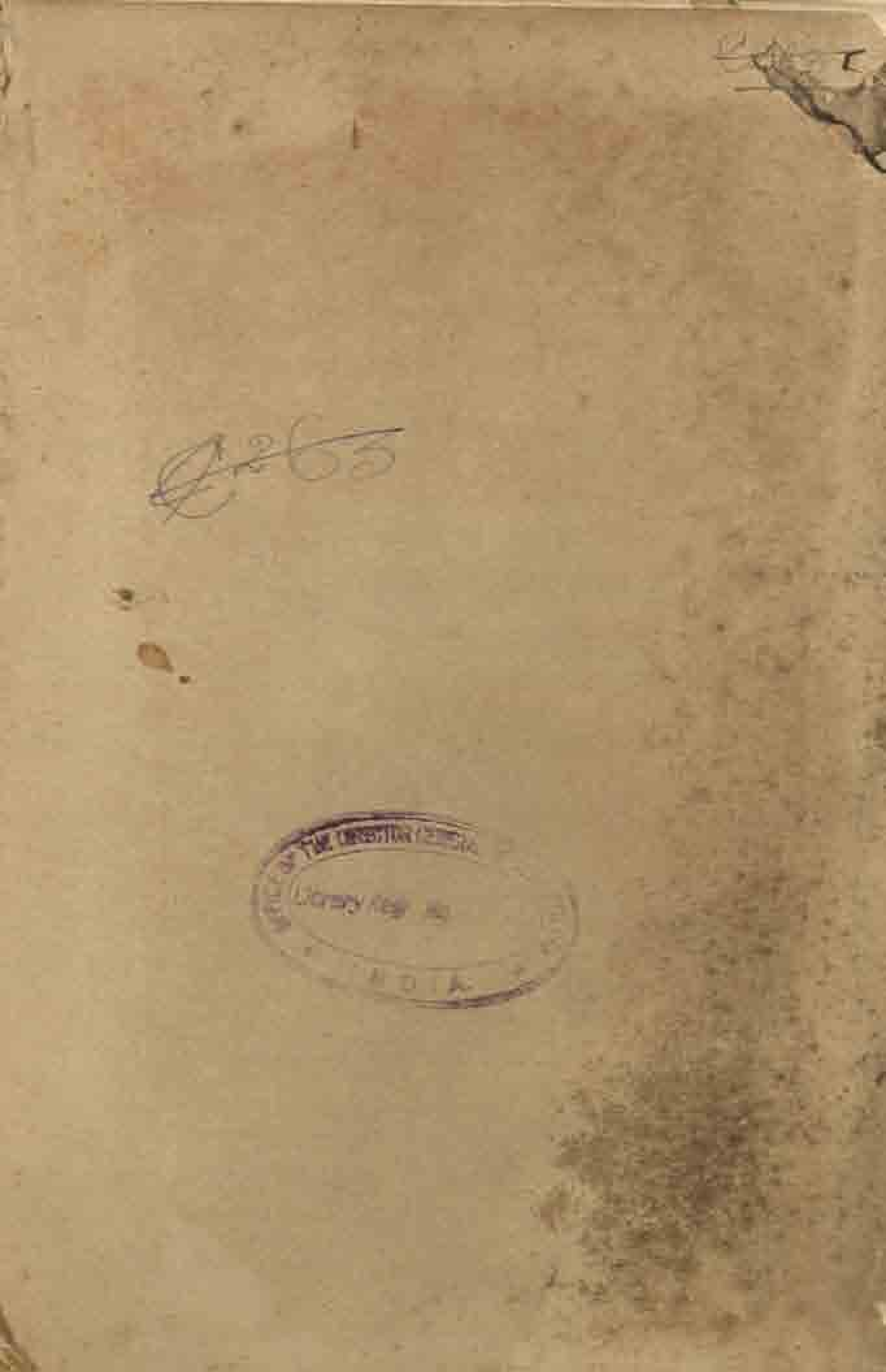








Head of Seti I

([illegible] Museum)

THE

STRUGGLE OF THE NATIONS

EGYPT, SYRIA, AND ASSYRIA

BY

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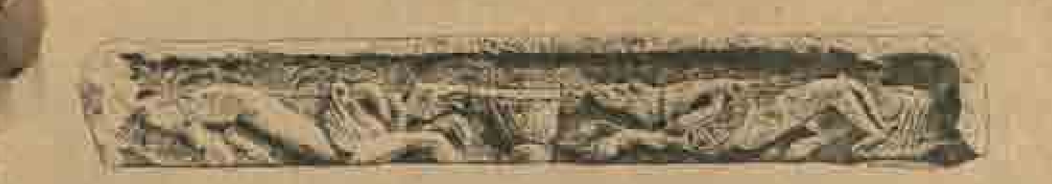
MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND

WITH MAP, THREE COLOURED PLATES, AND OVER 400 ILLUSTRATIONS



LONDON
SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE
NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE, W.C.
1896

[PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE GENERAL LITERATURE COMMITTEE.]



EDITOR'S PREFACE.

It is my pleasant lot to introduce to the English reader another volume of Professor Maspero's important work. It is no longer the Dawn of Civilization in which we find ourselves, but the full light of an advanced culture. The nations of the ancient East are no longer each pursuing an isolated existence, and separately developing the seeds of civilization and culture on the banks of the Euphrates and the Nile. Asia and Africa have met in mortal combat. Babylonia has carried its empire to the frontiers of Egypt, and Egypt itself has been held in bondage by the Hyksôs strangers from Asia. In return, Egypt has driven back the wave of invasion to the borders of Mesopotamia, has substituted an empire of its own in Syria for that of the Babylonians, and has forced the Babylonian king to treat with its Pharaoh on equal terms. In the track of war and diplomacy have come trade and commerce; Western Asia is covered with roads, along which the merchant and the courier travel incessantly, and the whole civilised world of the Orient is knit together in a common literary culture and common commercial interests.

The age of isolation has thus been succeeded by an age of intercourse, partly military and antagonistic, partly literary and peaceful. Professor Maspero paints for us this age of intercourse, describes its rise and character, its decline and fall. For the unity of Eastern civilization was again shattered. The Hittites descended from the ranges of the Taurus upon the Egyptian province of Northern Syria, and cut off the Semites of the west from those of the east. The Israelites poured over the Jordan out of Edom and Moab, and took possession of Canaan, while Babylonia itself, for so many centuries the ruling power of the Oriental world, had to make way for its upstart rival Assyria. The old imperial powers were exhausted and played out, and it needed time before the new forces which were to take their place could acquire sufficient strength for their work.

As usual, Professor Maspero has been careful to embody in his history the

very latest discoveries and information. Notice, it will be found, has been taken even of the *stela* of Meneptah, disinterred last spring by Professor Petrie, on which the name of the Israelites is engraved. Other discoveries of the past year which relate to the period covered by the *Dawn of Civilization* must wait to be noticed until a new edition of that volume is called for. Thus, at Elephantinê, I found last winter, on a granite boulder, an inscription of Khufuânkh—whose sarcophagus of red granite is one of the most beautiful objects in the Gizeh Museum—which carries back the history of the island to the age of the pyramid-builders of the fourth dynasty. The boulder was subsequently concealed under the southern side of the city-wall, and as fragments of inscribed papyrus coeval with the sixth dynasty have been discovered in the immediate neighbourhood, on one of which mention is made of "this domain" of Pepi II., it would seem that the town of Elephantinê must have been founded between the period of the fourth dynasty and that of the sixth. Manetho is therefore justified in making the fifth and sixth dynasties of Elephantinê origin.

It is in Babylonia, however, that the most startling discoveries have been made. At Tello, M. de Sarzec has found a library of more than thirty thousand tablets, all neatly arranged, piled in order one on the other, and belonging to the age of Gudea (B.C. 2700). Many more tablets of an early date have been unearthed at Abu-Habba (Sippara) and Jokha (Isin) by Dr. Scheil, working for the Turkish government. But the most important finds have been at Niffer, the ancient Nippur, in Northern Babylonia, where the American expedition has at last brought to a close its long work of systematic excavation. Here Mr. Haynes has dug down to the very foundations of the great temple of El-lil, and the chief historical results of his labours have been published by Professor Hilprecht (in *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, vol. i. pt. 2, 1896).

About midway between the summit and the bottom of the mound, Mr. Haynes laid bare a pavement constructed of huge bricks stamped with the names of Sargon of Akkad and his son Naram-Sin. He found also the ancient wall of the city, which had been built by Naram-Sin, 13·75 metres wide. The *débris* of ruined buildings which lies below the pavement of Sargon is as much as 9·25 metres in depth, while that above it, the topmost stratum of which brings us down to the Christian era, is only 11 metres in height. We may form some idea from this of the enormous age to which the history of Babylonian culture and writing reaches back. In fact, Professor Hilprecht quotes with approval Mr. Haynes's words: "We must cease to apply the adjective 'earliest' to the time of Sargon, or to any age or epoch within a

thousand years of his advanced civilization." "The golden age of Babylonian history seems to include the reign of Sargon and of Ur-Gur."

Many of the inscriptions which belong to this remote age of human culture have been published by Professor Hilprecht. Among them is a long inscription, in 132 lines, engraved on multitudes of large stone vases presented to the temple of El-lil by a certain Lugal-zaggisi. Lugal-zaggisi was the son of Ukus, the *patesi* or high priest of the "Land of the Bow," as Mesopotamia, with its Bedawin inhabitants, was called. He not only conquered Babylonia, then known as Kengi, "the land of canals and reeds," but founded an empire which extended from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean. This was centuries before Sargon of Akkad followed in his footsteps. Erech became the capital of Lugal-zaggisi's empire, and doubtless received at this time its Sumerian title of "the city" *par excellence.*

For a long while previously there had been war between Babylonia and the "Land of the Bow," whose rulers seem to have established themselves in the city of Kis. At one time we find the Babylonian prince En-sag(sag)-ana capturing Kis and its king; at another time it is a king of Kis who makes offerings to the god of Nippur, in gratitude for his victories. To this period belongs the famous "Stela of the Vultures" found at Tello, on which is depicted the victory of E-dingir-ana-gin, the King of Lagas (Tello), over the Semitic hordes of the Land of the Bow. It may be noted that the recent discoveries have shown how correct Professor Maspero has been in assigning the kings of Lagas to a period earlier than that of Sargon of Akkad.

Professor Hilprecht would place E-dingir-ana-gin after Lugal-zaggisi, and see in the Stela of the Vultures a monument of the revenge taken by the Sumerian rulers of Lagas for the conquest of the country by the inhabitants of the north. But it is equally possible that it marks the successful reaction of Chaldæa against the power established by Lugal-zaggisi. However this may be, the dynasty of Lagas (to which Professor Hilprecht has lately added a new king, En-Khegal) reigned in peace for some time, and belonged to the same age as the first dynasty of Ur. This was founded by a certain Lugal-kigub-nidudu, whose inscriptions have been found at Niffer. The dynasty which arose at Ur in later days (cir. B.C. 2700), under Ur-Gur and Dungi, which has hitherto been known as "the first dynasty of Ur," is thus dethroned from its position, and becomes the second. The succeeding dynasty, which also made Ur its capital, and whose kings, Ine-Sin, Pur-Sin II., and Gimil-Sin, were the immediate predecessors of the first dynasty of Babylon (to which Khammurabi belonged), must henceforth be termed the third.

Among the latest acquisitions from Tello are the seals of the *patesi*,

Lugal-zaggisi, which finally remove all doubt as to the identity of "Sargani, king of the city," with the famous Sargon of Akkad. The historical accuracy of Sargon's annals, moreover, have been fully vindicated. Not only have the American excavators found the contemporary monuments of him and his son Naram-Sin, but also tablets dated in the years of his campaigns against "the land of the Amorites." In short, Sargon of Akkad, so lately spoken of as "a half-mythical" personage, has now emerged into the full glare of authentic history.

That the native chronologists had sufficient material for reconstructing the past history of their country, is also now clear. The early Babylonian contract-tablets are dated by events which officially distinguished the several years of a king's reign, and tablets have been discovered compiled at the close of a reign which give year by year the events which thus characterised them. One of these tablets, for example, from the excavations at Niffer, begins with the words: (1) "The year when Pur-Sin (II.) becomes king. (2) The year when Pur-Sin the king conquers Urbillum," and ends with "the year when Gimil-Sin becomes King of Ur, and conquers the land of Zabsali" in the Lebanon.

Of special interest to the biblical student are the discoveries made by Mr. Pinches among some of the Babylonian tablets which have recently been acquired by the British Museum. Four of them relate to no less a personage than Kudur-Laghghamar or Chedor-laomer, "King of Elam," as well as to Eri-Âku or Arioch, King of Larsa, and his son Dur-makh-ilani; to Tudghula or Tid'al, the son of Gazza[ni], and to their war against Babylon in the time of Khammu[rabi]. In one of the texts the question is asked, "Who is the son of a king's daughter who has sat on the throne of royalty? Dur-makh-ilani, the son of Eri-Âku, the son of the lady Kur . . . has sat on the throne of royalty," from which it may perhaps be inferred that Eri-Aku was the son of Kudur-Laghghamar's daughter; and in another we read, "Who is Kudur-Laghghamar, the doer of mischief? He has gathered together the Umman Manda, has devastated the land of Bel (Babylonia), and [has marched] at their side." The Umman Manda were the "Barbarian Hordes" of the Kurdish mountains, on the northern frontier of Elam, and the name corresponds with that of the Goyyim or "nations" in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis. We here see Kudur-Laghghamar acting as their suzerain lord. Unfortunately, all four tablets are in a shockingly broken condition, and it is therefore difficult to discover in them a continuous sense, or to determine their precise nature.

They have, however, just been supplemented by further discoveries made by Dr. Scheil at Constantinople. Among the tablets preserved there, he has

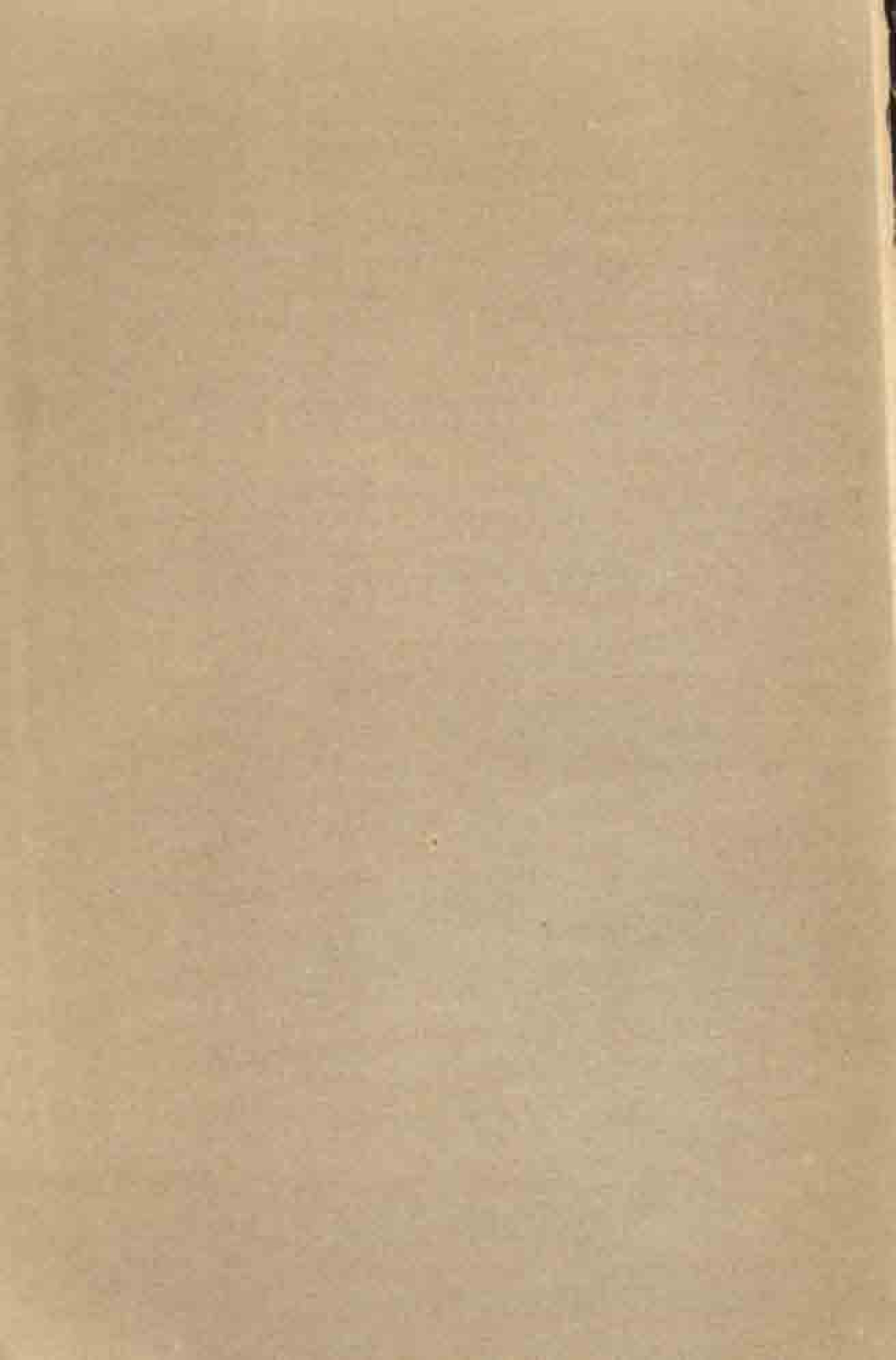
found letters from Khammurabi to his vassal Sin-idinnam of Larsa, from which we learn that Sin-idinnam had been dethroned by the Elamites Kudur-Mabug and Eri-Aku, and had fled for refuge to the court of Khammurabi at Babylon. In the war which subsequently broke out between Khammurabi and Kudur-Laghghamar, the King of Elam (who, it would seem, exercised suzerainty over Babylonia for seven years), Sin-idinnam gave material assistance to the Babylonian monarch, and Khammurabi accordingly bestowed presents upon him as a "recompense for his valour on the day of the overthrow of Kudur-Laghghamar."

I must not conclude this Preface without referring to a fine scarab—found in the rubbish-mounds of the ancient city of Kom Ombos, in Upper Egypt—which bears upon it the name of Sutkhu-Apepi. It shows us that the author of the story of the Expulsion of the Hyksos, in calling the king Râ-Apepi, merely, like an orthodox Egyptian, substituted the name of the god of Heliopolis for that of the foreign deity. Equally interesting are the scarabs brought to light by Professor Flinders Petrie, on which a hitherto unknown Ya'aqob-hal or Jacob-el receives the titles of a Pharaoh.

A. H. SAYCE.







TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

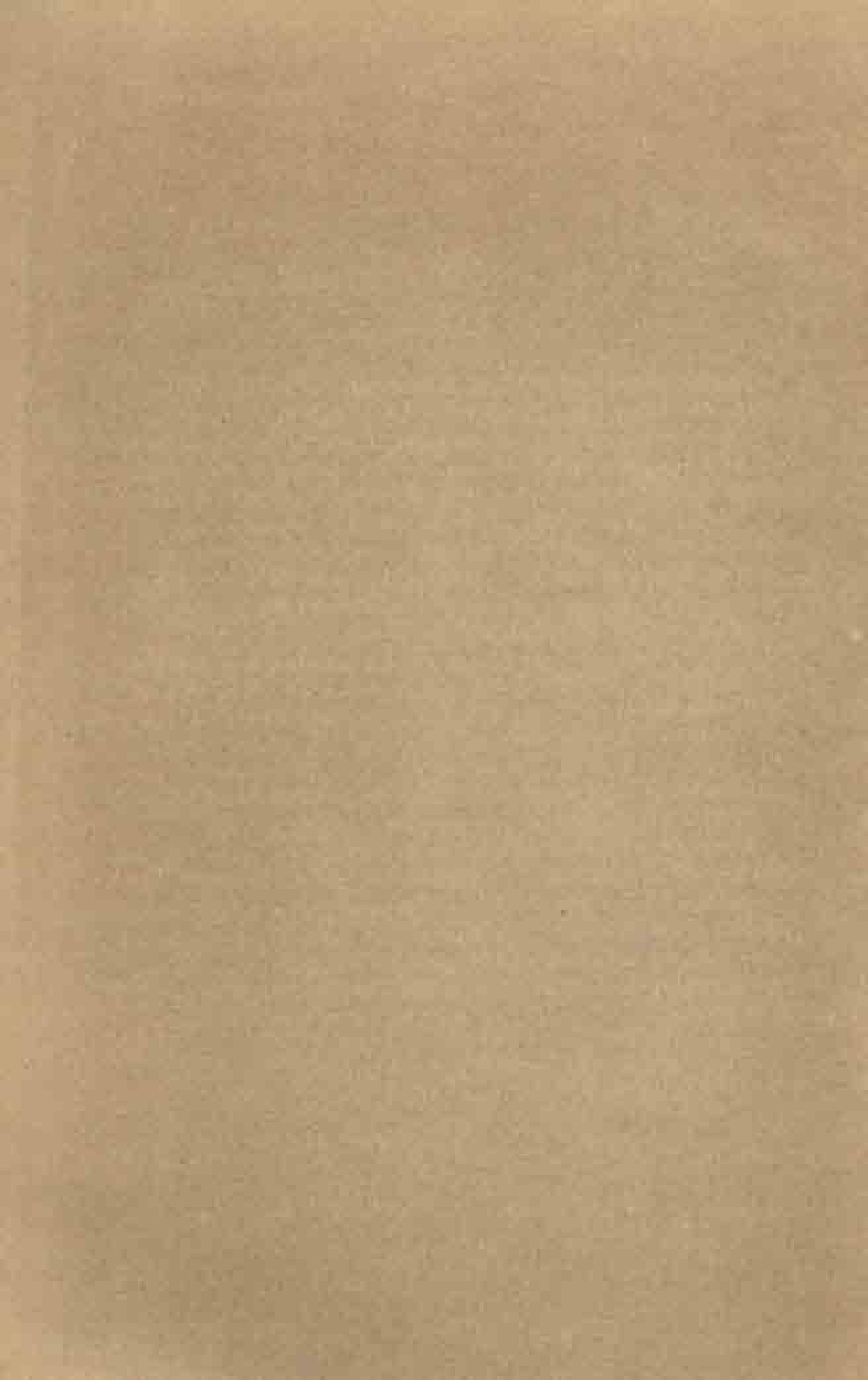
In presenting to the public Professor Maspero's latest volume, the "Premières Mêlées des Peuples," in its English form, I have little to add to the words I prefixed to the first volume of the series. I have in the present, as in the previous work, preserved Professor Maspero's spelling of the Egyptian proper names, inserting in the Index the forms in general use among English Egyptologists. With regard to such Syrian personal and place names as occur in the Bible, I have followed the spelling of the Revised Version; though here, as in the Assyrian portion of the work, the forms represented on the monuments, whether cuneiform texts, Tel el-Amarna tablets, or Egyptian hieroglyphs, are also given.

While this translation was passing through the press, fresh discoveries were made which have thrown farther light upon a few points dealt with in the text, and in these cases the Editor or Translator has ventured to add such short notes as seemed needful. As an example of these, I may call attention to the notes on p. 29, in which Professor Hommel's unhesitating identification of Khammurabi with the Amraphel of Genesis xiv. 1 is given, and also the true reading of Rim-Sin as determined by Mr. Pinches.

I have not referred in the notes to Professor Hommel's letter in the *Academy* of October 17th last, dealing with the word "Arpachshad," which he considers to be an Egyptianised form of the territorial name "Ur Kasdim," or "Ur of the Chaldees." This important elucidation of an ethnological term occurring in Genesis x., in a passage ascribed by recent critics to the time of the Exile, will doubtless receive the consideration it merits.

M. L. McCLURE.

London,
November 14, 1896.



Les éditeurs de ce volume ont pensé qu'il ne serait pas inutile de donner l'équivalent exact de plusieurs des passages qui ont été omis ou modifiés dans la version anglaise. Ils ont voulu satisfaire ainsi aux réclamations qui leur sont venues de divers côtés, et je ne puis que les approuver. Je tiens à dire seulement que je n'ai jamais pensé que le traducteur ait altéré de parti pris le texte qu'il voulait rendre en anglais. Le peu de temps que les circonstances de l'impression lui ont laissé pour ce travail, et l'obligation où il s'est trouvé de faire concorder partout la pagination de l'édition anglaise avec celle de l'édition française, expliquent la plupart des modifications qui ont été relevées, et qui auraient été rectifiées certainement s'il m'avait été permis de les signaler sur une épreuve. Je compte que toutes les menues différences entre les deux textes disparaîtront dans les éditions prochaines: pour le moment, on s'est borné à corriger les plus importantes de celles qui ont été relevées par la critique, et qui pourraient sembler contraires à l'esprit général de l'ouvrage.

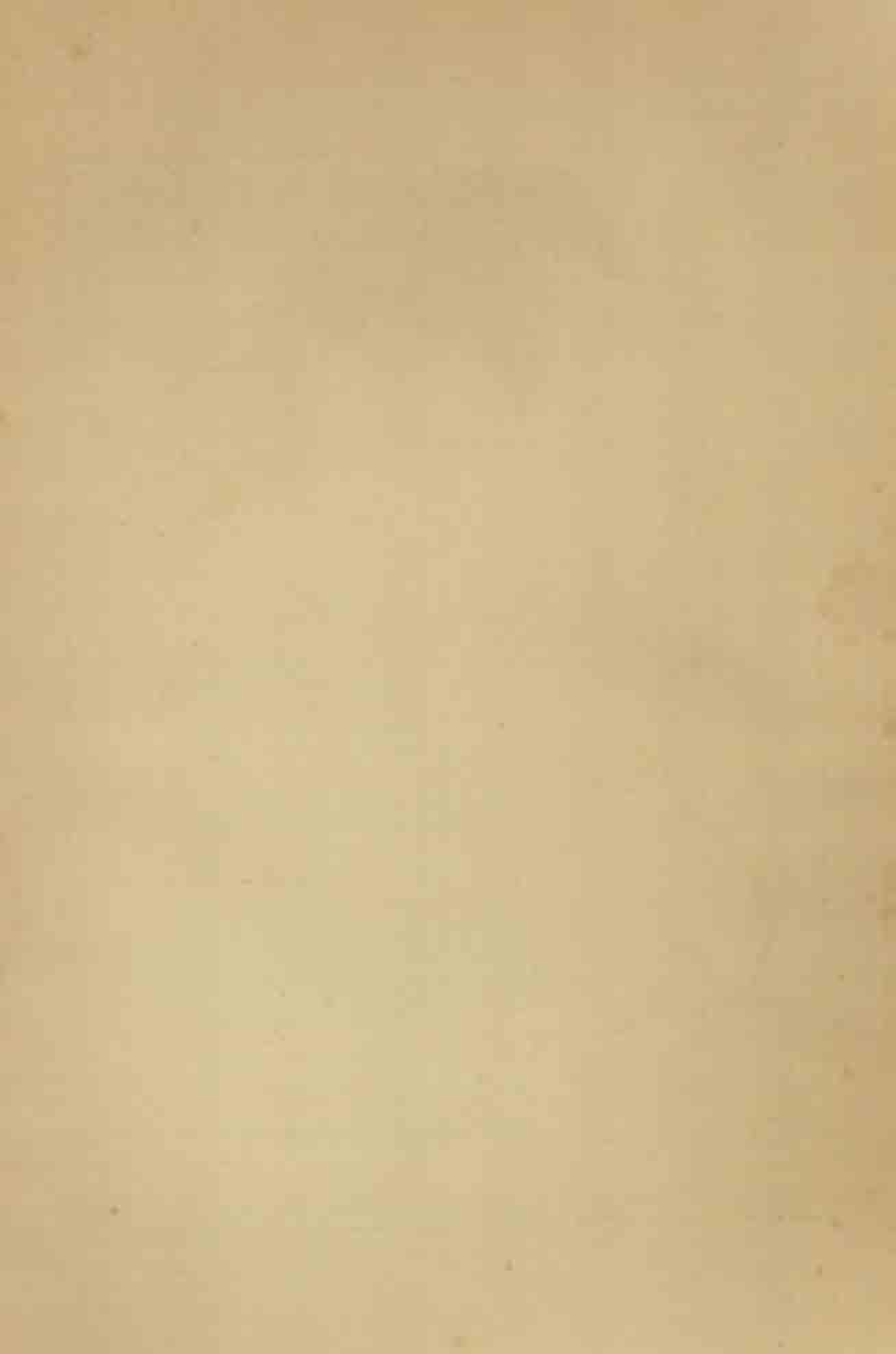
March 12, 1900. G. MASPERO.

CORRIGENDA.

French original.	English edition.	As it should stand.
Page 15, line 4, "vers le XVI siècle."	"about the VIth century."	"about the XVIth century."
Page 26, note 3, "ne sont pas antérieures au XVI° siècle."	"are not older than the XIVth century."	"are not older than the XVIth century."
Page 30, line 2, "les rois et les vicaires de Lagash s'étaient mesurés contre elle avec des fortunes variées, ainsi que ceux d'Ourou et de Larsam."	"The kings and viceregents of Lagash had measured forces with Anshan as well as with Uru and Larsam, but with uncertain issue."	"The kings and viceregents of Lagash, as well as those of Uru and Larsam, had measured forces with Anshan, but with no decisive issue."
Page 45, note 2, "Ammiditana n'est qu'une lecture possible."	"The name has been transcribed Ammiditana."	"Ammiditana is only a possible reading."
Page 66, line 1, "Qetourah, une simple concubine."	"Keturah, who was merely a second wife."	"Keturah, who was merely a concubine."
Page 66, note 4, "Sur l'âge probable de cette tradition, cf. Wellhausen," etc.	"For Wellhausen's theory of the probable date of this episode, cf. his Prolegomena."	"For the probable date of this tradition, see Wellhausen."
Page 70, line 26, and page 85, note 2, "les Hébreux de l'époque royale."	"the Hebrews of later times."	"the Hebrews of the times of the Kings."
Page 73, line 14, "La période d'hégémonie que les chroniques," etc.	"The centuries of rule attributed by the chronicles."	"The period of hegemony attributed by the chronicles."
Page 112, line 10, "une version secondaire du même récit ajoute des détails précis sur leur condition."	"Further details as to their condition are supplied in the following verses of the Biblical narrative."	"A secondary version of the same narrative gives a more detailed account of their condition."
Page 118, note 1, "je renvoie pour les analyses du texte aux différents manuels publiés surtout en Allemagne."	Omitted.	"For analyses of the text, I must refer the reader to any of the various handbooks which have been published, particularly in Germany."
Page 144, note 2, "à reculer l'Exode."	"for assigning the Exodus."	"for relegating the Exodus."
Page 147, line 1, "Les traditions recueillies dans leurs livres sacrés décrivaient," etc.	"The Biblical narrative describes," etc.	"The traditions collected in their sacred books, described," etc.
Page 147, note 3, "On trouvera dans l'un quelconque des nombreux manuels publiés en Allemagne, l'analyse de ces livres et les opinions courantes sur l'âge des documents qu'il renferme."	"Various works have appeared of late dealing with these books from a critical point of view."	"Any one of the numerous text-books published in Germany will be found to contain an analysis of these books, and the prevalent opinions as to the date of the documents which it [the Hexateuch] contains."
Page 579, note 2, "Je me bornerai à prendre les résultats acquis par le travail continu de plusieurs générations, et à les exposer, tout en m'excusant de ne pas pouvoir, faute de place, rendre à chacun la part qui lui revient dans ce travail de sélection et de reconstitution historique."	Omitted to make the paging of English and French editions accord.	"I shall confine myself to a bare statement of the results of the continuous work of several generations, at the same time apologizing for not ascribing, from lack of space, to each writer what is due to him in this work of historical selection and reconstruction."
Page 581, line 1, "... Israël n'agit pas avec autant d'ensemble et de vigueur qu'ils se le figuraient."	"... the Israelites did not act throughout with that unity of purpose and energy which we might at first sight have attributed to them."	"The Israelites did not act throughout with that unity of purpose and energy which they [the Hebrew chroniclers] were pleased to imagine."

French original.	English edition.	[illegible]
Page 683, note 2. "L'épisode d'Othoniel . . . regardé, de l'aveu général, comme une tradition sans valeur."	"The episode of Othniel . . . is by many critics rejected as spurious."	"The episode of Othniel . . . is, by general consent, regarded as resting on a worthless tradition."
Page 683, note 2, "qui est aussi la plus courte."	Omitted.	"which is also the shortest."
Page 702, note 1. "Sur la formation de Juda, et sur l'époque tardive à laquelle il se constitua définitivement sous son apparence historique, cf. Stade," etc.	"For Stade's view as to the late development of Judah, see Stade," etc.	"For the formation of Judah and the late period at which it attained the conditions under which it appears in historical times, see Stade," etc.
Page 703, line 10. "Mais le détail de ses actions véritables avait été oublié de bonne heure."	". . . and we have some details of his (Samson's) history."	"But the details of his real prowess had been forgotten at an early period."
Page 703, note 2. "Sur ces faits qui ont été attribués plus tard à la conquête de Josué, cf. Budde," etc.	"Budde endeavours to show that these events were attributed at a later date to Joshua."	"For these events which were subsequently attributed to Joshua's conquest, see Budde," etc.
Page 704, line 22. "les guerriers . . . enlevèrent au passage l'éphod* de Michée et le lévite qui officiait devant lui . . ."	"The warriors . . . carried off with them the priest of Micah and his ephod, teraphim, and graven image . . ."	"the warriors . . . carried off by the way the ephod of Micah and the Levite who served before it . . ."
"Ils y dressèrent pour eux l'éphod."	"The children of Dan set up the graven image" (Judg. xviii. 30).	"They there set up for themselves the ephod."
Page 704, note 2. "L'histoire de cette migration, qui est indiquée sommairement dans *Josué* xix. 47, se compose en son état actuel de deux récits combinés, dont on trouvera une restitution probable dans Budde, *die Bücher Richter*," etc.	"Some critics see in the history of this migration, which is given summarily in Josh. xix. 47, a blending of two accounts. Budde, *Die Bücher Richter*, etc., has attempted a reconstruction of the narrative."	"The history of this migration, which is given summarily in Josh. xix. 47, is, as it now stands, a blending of two accounts. Budde has given a probable reconstruction of the narrative in *Die Bücher Richter*," etc.
Page 705, note 4. "Le fond ne renferme qu'un seul élément historique."	"in which the important historical event is . . ."	"the groundwork of it contains only one historical element."
Page 706, line 15. "Elle renfermait les pierres sur lesquelles on crut plus tard que la loi avait été gravée."	"It enclosed the two tables of the Mosaic law."	"It contained two stones on which, according to the belief of a later age, the law had been engraved."
Page 706, note 2. "La tradition recueillie dans *Josué* xviii. 1 en faisait remonter l'établissement," etc.	"The facts given in Josh. xviii. 1 show that the date of its foundation there goes back to . . ."	"The tradition preserved in Josh. xviii. 1 removes the date of its establishment as far back as . . ."
Page 706, note 2. "L'idée que les *Tables de la Loi* étaient enfermées dans l'Arche est exprimée fréquemment," etc.	"The statement that the Tables of the Law were enclosed within the Ark is frequently repeated," etc.	"The idea that the Tables of the Law were enclosed in the Ark is frequently expressed," etc.
Page 709, line 7. "Les chroniqueurs, que la prospérité des Philistins scandalisait, le raccourcirent de leur mieux, et le y intercalèrent des victoires israélites."	"The Hebrew chroniclers, grieved at the successes of their heathen oppressors, have left us but a meagre account of this period, and have confined themselves to a record of the few Israelite victories."	"The Hebrew chroniclers, scandalised at the prosperity of the heathen, did their best to abridge the time of the Philistine dominion, and interspersed it with Israelitish victories."
Page 710, note 1. "Sa transformation en Juge de tout Israël date de l'époque prophétique comme celle d'Éli."	"His position of judge of all Israel seems to have developed at a later period."	"It was not until the prophetic period that, together with Eli, he was made to figure as Judge of all Israel."
Page 712, line 29. "La tradition lui attribua plus tard des succès sur tous les ennemis d'Israël . . . elle lui prêta les [illegible] de David et ses conquêtes."	"Some critics think that all the victories attributed to him . . . were not won by his own sword, and that some of the projects and conquests of David have been transferred to his name."	"Subsequent tradition credited him with victories gained over all the enemies of Israel . . . it endowed him even with the projects and conquests of David."
Page 737, line 19. "Héracléopolis."	"Heliopolis."	"Heracleopolis."

* It may be as well to state that M. Maspero, in accordance with the opinion generally received on the Continent, believes that "l'éphod prophétique est un objet en métal, en bois ou en pierre, une idole."




THE EASTERN WORLD
in the XIVth century
B.C.
Egyptian Empire
Hittite
Babylonian
Assyrian
Elam
Scale in Kilometres
London: Published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge



BORDER OF THE FUNERAL PALL OF QUEEN ISIMKHOBIU.

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THE FIRST CHALDÆAN EMPIRE AND THE HYKSÔS IN EGYPT.

SYRIA: THE PART PLAYED BY IT IN THE HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD—BABYLON AND THE FIRST CHALDÆAN EMPIRE—THE DOMINION OF THE HYKSÔS: AHMOSIS.

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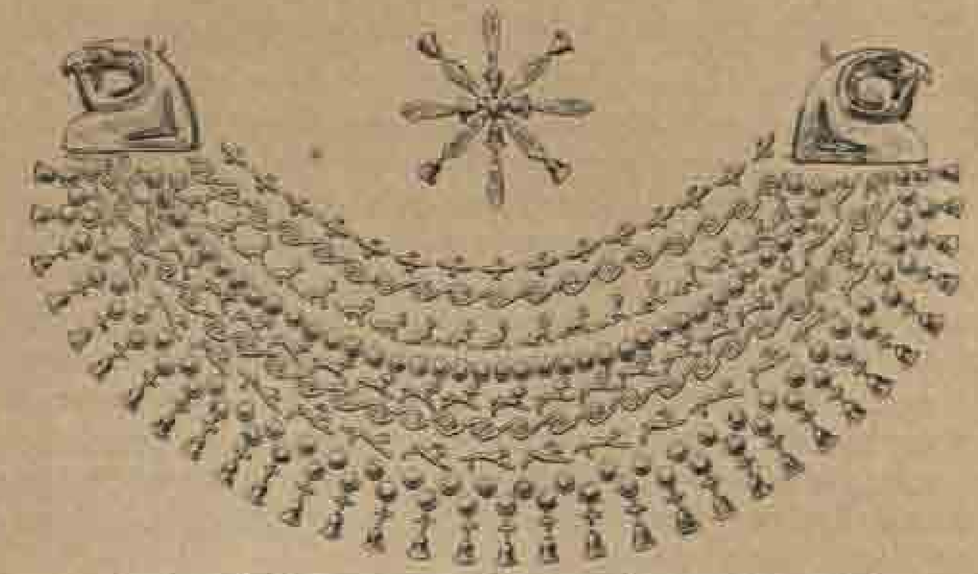
The Hyksôs conquer Egypt at the end of the XIVth dynasty; the founding of Avaris—Uncertainty both of ancients and moderns with regard to the origin of the Hyksôs: probability of their being the Kheti—Their kings adopt the manners and civilization of the Egyptians: the monuments of Khiani and of Apôphis I. and II.—The XVIth dynasty.

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THE ENAMELLED GOLD NECKLACE OF QUEEN AHHOTPÛ IN THE GÎZEH MUSEUM.[1]

CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST CHALDÆAN EMPIRE AND THE HYKSÔS IN EGYPT.

Syria: the part played by it in the ancient world—Babylon and the first Chaldæan empire—The dominion of the Hyksôs: Ahmosis.



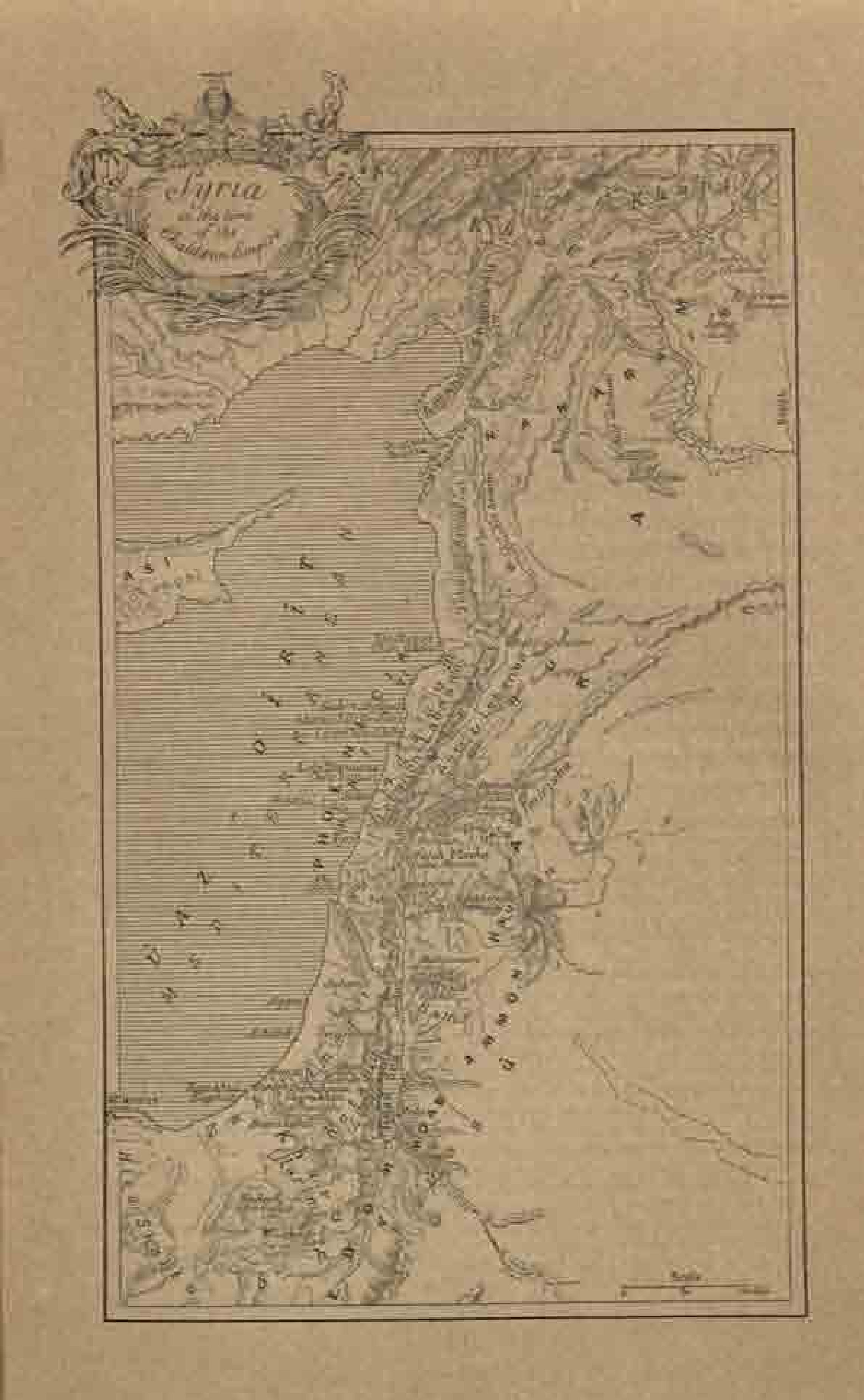
SOME countries seem destined from their origin to become the battle-fields of the contending nations which environ them. Into such regions, and to their cost, neighbouring peoples come from century to century to settle their quarrels and bring to an issue the questions of supremacy which disturb their little corner of the world. The nations around are eager for the possession of a country thus situated; it is seized upon bit by bit, and in the strife dismembered and trodden underfoot: at best the only course open to its inhabitants is to join forces with one of its invaders, and while helping the intruder to overcome the rest, to secure for themselves a position of permanent servitude. Should some unlooked-for chance relieve them from the presence of their foreign lord, they will probably be quite incapable of profiting by the

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey. The vignette, also by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Devéria taken in 1863, represents the gilded mask of the coffin of Queen Ahhotpû I. Cf. p. 93, et seq., of the present volume.

respite which fortune puts in their way, or of making any effectual attempt to organize themselves in view of future attacks. They tend to become split up into numerous rival communities, of which even the pettiest will aim at autonomy, keeping up a perpetual frontier war for the sake of becoming possessed of or of retaining a glorious sovereignty over a few acres of corn in the plains, or some wooded ravines in the mountains. Year after year there will be scenes of bloody conflict, in which petty armies will fight petty battles on behalf of petty interests, but so fiercely, and with such furious animosity, that the country will suffer from the strife as much as, or even more than, from an invasion. There will be no truce to their struggles until they all fall under the sway of a foreign master, and, except in the interval between two conquests, they will have no national existence, their history being almost entirely merged in that of other nations.

From remote antiquity Syria was in the condition just described, and thus destined to become subject to foreign rule. Chaldæa, Egypt, Assyria, and Persia presided in turn over its destinies, while Macedonia and the empires of the West were only waiting their opportunity to lay hold of it. By its position it formed a kind of meeting-place where most of the military nations of the ancient world were bound sooner or later to come violently into collision. Confined between the sea and the desert, Syria offers the only route of easy access to an army marching northwards from Africa into Asia, and all conquerors, whether attracted to Mesopotamia or to Egypt by the accumulated riches on the banks of the Euphrates or the Nile, were obliged to pass through it in order to reach the object of their cupidity. It might, perhaps, have escaped this fatal consequence of its position, had the formation of the country permitted its tribes to mass themselves together, and oppose a compact body to the invading hosts; but the range of mountains which forms its backbone subdivides it into isolated districts, and by thus restricting each tribe to a narrow existence maintained among them a mutual antagonism. The twin chains, the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon, which divide the country down the centre, are composed of the same kind of calcareous rocks and sandstone, while the same sort of reddish clay has been deposited on their slopes by the glaciers of the same geological period.[1] Arid and bare on the northern side, they send out towards the south featureless monotonous ridges, furrowed here and

[1] Drake remarked in the Lebanon several varieties of limestone (Burton-Drake, *Unexplored Syria*, vol. i. pp. 90, 91), which have been carefully catalogued by Blanche and Lartet (Duc de Luynes, *Voyage d'exploration à la mer Morte*, vol. iii. pp. 40, 41, 49–58). Above these strata, which belong to the jurassic formation, come reddish sandstones, then beds of very hard yellowish limestone, and finally marl. The name Lebanon, in Assyrian Labnanu, would appear to signify "the white mountain;" the Amorites called the Anti-Lebanon Saniru, Shenir, according to the Assyrian texts (Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 101) and the Hebrew books (*Deut.* iii. 9; 1 *Chron.* v. 23).


Syria

there by short narrow valleys, hollowed out in places into basins or funnel-shaped ravines, which are widened year by year by the down-rush of torrents. These ridges, as they proceed southwards, become clothed with verdure and offer a more varied outline, the ravines being more thickly wooded, and the summits less uniform in contour and colouring. Lebanon becomes white and ice-crowned in winter, but none of its peaks rises to the altitude of perpetual snows: the highest of them, Mount Timarun, reaches 10,526 feet, while only three others exceed 9000.[1] Anti-Lebanon is, speaking generally, 1000 or 1300 feet lower than its neighbour: it becomes higher, however, towards the south, where the triple peak of Mount Hermon[2] rises to a height of 9184 feet. The Orontes and the Litâny drain the intermediate space. The Orontes rising on the west side of the Anti-Lebanon, near the ruins of Baalbek,[3] rushes northwards in such a violent manner, that the dwellers on its banks call it the rebel—Nahr el-Asi.[4] About a third of the way towards its mouth it enters a depression, which ancient dykes help to transform into a lake; it flows thence, almost parallel to the sea-coast, as far as the 36th degree of latitude. There it meets the last spurs of the Amanos, but, failing to cut its way through them, it turns abruptly to the west, and then to the south, falling into the Mediterranean after having received an increase to its volume from the waters of the Afrin.[5] The Litâny rises a short distance from the Orontes; it flows at first through a wide and fertile plain, which soon contracts, however, and forces it into a channel between the spurs of the Lebanon and the Galilæan hills.[6] The water thence makes its way between two cliffs of

[1] Burton-Drake, *Unexplored Syria*, vol. i. p. 88, attributed to it an altitude of 9175 English feet; others estimate it at 10,539 feet. The mountains which exceed 3000 metres are Dahr el-Kozib, 3049 metres; Jebel-Miskiyah, 3080 metres; and Jebel-Makhmal or Makmal, 3040 metres (Élisée Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie universelle*, vol. ix. pp. 693, 694). As a matter of fact, these heights are not yet determined with the accuracy desirable.

[2] It was sometimes called in the plural, *Hermonîm*, the Hermons (*Ps.* xlii. 6).

[3] Pliny, *Natural History*, Bk. V. xviii.: "Amnis Orontes, natus inter Libanum et Antilibanum, juxta Heliopolim." On the source of the Orontes, cf. Burton-Drake, *Unexplored Syria*, vol. i. pp. 58–65.

[4] The Egyptians knew it in early times by the name of Aunrati, or Arauntu (E. de Rougé, *Le Poème de Pen-ta-our*, 1856, p. 8, whose opinion has since been adopted by all Egyptologists); it is mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions under the name of Arantû (Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 274). All are agreed in acknowledging that this name is not Semitic, and an Aryan origin is attributed to it, but without convincing proof; according to Strabo (xvi. ii. § 7, p. 750), it was originally called Typhon, and was only styled Orontes after a certain Orontes had built the first bridge across it. The name of Axios which it sometimes bears appears to have been given to it by Greek colonists, in memory of a river in Macedonia (Sozomen, *History*, vii. 15). This is probably the origin of the modern name of Asi, and the meaning, *rebellious river*, which Arab tradition attaches to the latter term, probably comes from a popular etymology which likened Axios to Asi; the identification was all the easier since it justifies the epithet by the violence of its current (Pococke, *Travels*, French trans. 1772, vol. iii. pp. 414, 415).

[5] The Afrin is the Aprie of cuneiform inscriptions, at first confounded with one of the two rivers of Damascus, the Barada (Finzi, *Ricerche per lo Studio dell' Antichità Assira*, p. 284), the exact position of which was discovered by H. Rawlinson (G. Rawlinson, *The Five Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. 80).

[6] The Litâny was identified by Reland (*Palæstina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata*, vol. i. pp. 290, 291) with the river of the Lion, *Λέοντος ποταμοῦ* of Ptolemy (v. 15), commonly called Leontes; Strabo, who mentions the river, gives it no name at all (xvi. ii. § 24, p. 758). Reland's hypothesis has been strenuously opposed by Poulain de Bossay (*Essai de restitution et d'interprétation d'un

perpendicular rock, the ravine being in several places so narrow, that the branches of the trees on the opposite sides interlace, and an active man could readily leap across it. Near Yakhmur some detached rocks appear to have been arrested in their fall, and, leaning like flying buttresses against the mountain face, constitute a natural bridge over the torrent.[1] The basins of the two rivers lie in one valley, extending eighty leagues in length, divided by an almost imperceptible watershed into two beds of unequal slope. The central part of the valley is given up to marshes. It is only towards the south that we find cornfields, vineyards, plantations of mulberry and olive trees, spread out over the plain, or disposed in terraces on the hillsides. Towards the north, the alluvial deposits of the Orontes have gradually formed a black and fertile soil, upon which grow luxuriant crops of cereals and other produce. Cœle-Syria, after having generously nourished the Oriental empires which had preyed upon her, became one of the granaries of the Roman world, under the capable rule of the Cæsars.

Syria is surrounded on all sides by countries of varying aspect and soil. That to the north, flanked by the Amanos, is a gloomy mountainous region, with its greatest elevation on the seaboard: it slopes gradually towards the interior, spreading out into chalky table-lands, dotted over with bare and rounded hills, and seamed with tortuous valleys which open out to the Euphrates, the Orontes, or the desert. Vast, slightly undulating plains succeed the table-lands: the soil is dry and stony, the streams are few in number and contain but little water. The Sajur flows into the Euphrates,[2] the Afrin and the Karasu when united yield their tribute to the Orontes,[3] while the others for the most part pour their waters into enclosed basins. The Khalus of the Greeks sluggishly pursues its course southward, and after reluctantly leaving the gardens of Aleppo, finally loses itself on the borders of the desert in a small salt lake full of islets:[4] about halfway between the Khalus and the

passage de Scylax, pp. 39, 40), and it is now acknowledged that the Lita River and the Litany have nothing in common (KIEPERT, *Handbuch der Alten Geographie*, p. 159, n. 2). The Samaritan Chronicles published by Neubauer call it the Nahar Litah (*Journal Asiatique*, 1869, vol. i. p. 442). The *Anastasi Papyrus*, No. 1, pl. xx. l. 8, pl. xxi. l. 8, mentions a watercourse between Tyre and Sidon, called the Nazana, which can only be the Nahr Kasimiyeh, that is to say, the lower stream of the Litany (MASPERO, *Notes sur différents points de grammaire et d'histoire*, § 15, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne et Assyrienne*, vol. i. pp. 140, 141).

[1] The gorges of the Litany are described by VAN DE VELDE, *Reise durch Syrien und Palästina*, vol. i. p. 113; and the natural bridge at Yakhmur by ROBINSON, *Later Biblical Researches*, pp. 421, 423.

[2] The Sajur is the Sagurra of the cuneiform texts (FR. DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 183).

[3] For the Afrin, cf. p. 6 of this volume. The modern Karasu was called by the Assyrians Saluara, the *River of Eola*, and it preserved this name until the Arab period (HALÉVY, *Recherches bibliques*, § xii. p. 278; SACHAU, *Zur historischen Geographie von Nordsyrien*, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Academy of Science at Berlin, vol. xxi. pp. 329–338).

[4] The Assyrian monuments have not yet given us the native name of this river; Xenophon (*Anabasis*, vol. I, iv. 9) calls it Khalos, and says that it was full of large edible fish.

Euphrates a second salt lake receives the Nahr ed-Dahab, the "golden river.[1]" The climate is mild, and the temperature tolerably uniform. The sea-breeze which rises every afternoon tempers the summer heat: the cold in winter is never piercing, except when the south wind blows which comes from the mountains, and the snow rarely lies on the ground for more than twenty-four hours. It seldom rains during the autumn and winter months, but frequent showers fall in the early days of spring. Vegetation then awakes again, and the soil lends itself to cultivation in the hollows of the valleys and on the table-lands wherever irrigation is possible. The ancients dotted these now all but desert spaces with wells and cisterns; they intersected them with canals, and covered them with farms and villages, with fortresses and populous cities. Primeval forests clothed the slopes of the Amanus, and pinewood from this region was famous both at Babylon and in the towns of Lower Chaldæa.[2] The plains produced barley and wheat in enormous quantities, the vine throve there, the gardens teemed with flowers and fruit, and pistachio and olive trees grew on every slope. The desert was always threatening to invade the plain, and gained rapidly upon it whenever a prolonged war disturbed cultivation, or when the negligence of the inhabitants slackened the work of defence: beyond the lakes and salt marshes it had obtained a secure hold. At the present time the greater part of the country between the Orontes and the Euphrates is nothing but a rocky table-land, ridged with low hills and dotted over with some impoverished oases, excepting at the foot of Anti-Lebanon, where two rivers, fed by innumerable streams, have served to create a garden of marvellous beauty. The Barada, dashing from cascade to cascade, flows for some distance through gorges before emerging on the plain:[3] scarcely has it reached level ground than it widens out, divides, and forms around Damascus a miniature delta, into which a thousand interlacing channels carry refreshment and fertility. Below the town these streams rejoin the river, which, after having flowed merrily along for a day's journey, is swallowed up in a kind of elongated chasm from whence it never again emerges. At the melting of the snows a regular lake is formed here, whose blue waters are surrounded by wide grassy margins "like a sapphire set in emeralds." This lake dries up almost completely in summer, and is converted into swampy meadows, filled with gigantic rushes, among which the birds build their nests, and multiply as unmolested as in the marshes of Chaldæa. The Awaj, unfed by any tributary,

[1] The ancient native name of the Nahr ed-Dahab, like that of the Khalus, is unknown.

[2] On the transport of timber from the Amanos, and on the ancient use of it in the small states of Chaldæa, cf. MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 614.

[3] The Barada is the Abana or Amana, mentioned in the Hebrew books as one of the rivers which watered the country round Damascus (2 *Kings* v. 12), the Bardines or Chrysorrhoas of the Greeks.

fills a second deeper though smaller basin,[1] while to the south two other lesser depressions receive the waters of the Anti-Lebanon and the Hauran. Syria is protected from the encroachments of the desert by a continuous barrier of pools and beds of reeds; towards the east the space reclaimed resembles a verdant promontory thrust boldly out into an ocean of sand. The extent of the cultivated area is limited on the west by the narrow strip of rock and clay which forms the littoral. From the mouth of the Litany to that of the Orontes, the coast presents a rugged, precipitous, and inhospitable appearance. There are no ports, and merely a few ill-protected harbours, or narrow beaches lying under formidable headlands. One river, the Nahr el-Kebir,[2] which elsewhere would not attract the traveller's attention, is here noticeable as being the only stream whose waters flow constantly and with tolerable regularity; the others, the Leon,[3] the Adonis,[4] and the Nahr el-Kelb,[5] can scarcely even be called torrents, being precipitated as it were in one leap from the Lebanon to the Mediterranean. Olives, vines, and corn cover the maritime plain, while in ancient times the heights were clothed with impenetrable forests of oak, pine, larch, cypress, spruce, and cedar. The mountain range drops in altitude towards the centre of the country and becomes merely a line of low hills, connecting Gebel Ansarieh with the Lebanon proper; beyond the latter it continues without interruption, till at length, above the narrow Phœnician coast road, it rises in the form of an almost insurmountable wall.

Near to the termination of Cœle-Syria, but separated from it by a range of hills, there opens out on the western slopes of Hermon a valley unlike any other in the world. At this point the surface of the earth has been rent in prehistoric times by volcanic action, leaving a chasm which has never since closed up. A river, unique in character—the Jordan—flows down this gigantic

[1] The modern Awaj is identified with the Pharpar of the Hebrew text (2 *Kings* v. 12).

[2] The Nahr el-Kebir is the Eleutheros of classical geographers (Strabo, xvi. ii., § 12, 15, pp. 753, 755; Pliny, *Natural History*, v. 17); its Phœnician name has not yet been discovered; it was perhaps called Shabtuna or Shabtun, from whence the river-name Sabbaticus might be derived.

[3] The Leon of Ptolemy (v. 15) is perhaps the river which the majority of Roman geographers call Tamyras (Strabo, xvi. ii., § 22, p. 756), or Damuras (Polybius, v. 68, 69), the present Nahr-Damur (Poulain de Bossay, *Essais de restitution et d'interprétation d'un passage de Scylax*, pp. 39, 40).

[4] The Adonis of classical authors is now Nahr-Ibrahim. We have as yet no direct evidence as to the Phœnician name of this river; it was probably identical with that of the divinity worshipped on its banks. The fact of a river bearing the name of a god is not surprising; the Belos, in the neighbourhood of Acre, affords us a parallel case to the Adonis (Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 282).

[5] The present Nahr el-Kelb is the Lykos of classical authors. The Duc de Luynes (*Voyage d'exploration à la mer Morte*, vol. i. p. 9, n. 1) thought he recognised a corruption of the Phœnician name in that of Alcobile, which is mentioned hereabouts in the Itinerary of the pilgrim of Bordeaux. The order of the Itinerary does not favour this identification, and Alcobile is probably Jebail (M. de Vogüé, *Mélanges d'Arch. Orientale*, pp. 16, 17). It is none the less probable that the original name of the Nahr el-Kelb contained from earliest times the Phœnician equivalent of the Arab word *kelb*, "dog."



THE MOST NORTHERN SOURCE OF THE JORDAN, THE NAHR EL-HASBANY.[1]

crevasse, fertilizing the valley formed by it from end to end.[2] Its principal source is at Tell el-Qadi, where it rises out of a basaltic mound whose summit is crowned by the ruins of Laish.[3] The water collects in an oval rocky basin hidden by bushes, and flows down among the brushwood to join the Nahr el-Hasbany, which brings the waters of the upper torrents to swell its stream;[4] a little lower down it mingles with the Banias branch,[5] and winds for some time amidst desolate marshy meadows before disappearing in the thick beds of rushes bordering Lake Huleh.[6] At this point the Jordan reaches the level of

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by the Duc de Luynes, *Voyage d'exploration à la mer Morte*, vol. iv. pl. 39.

[2] The Jordan is mentioned in the Egyptian texts under the name of Yordunu (*Anastasi Papyrus*, No. I. pl. xxiii. l. 1): the name appears to mean *the descender, the down-flowing*.

[3] This source is mentioned by Josephus (*Ant. Jud.*, V. iii. 1; VIII. viii. 4) as being that of the Little Jordan, [illegible] Ἰορδάνου, τοῦ μικροῦ Ἰορδάνου.

[4] The ancient geographers do not appear to have considered the Nahr el-Hasbany as a source of the Jordan. This is proved by the passage where S. Jerome (*Comm. in Matthæum*, xvi. 3), after his own fashion, gives the etymology of the name: "Jordanes oritur ad radices Libani, et habet duos fontes, unum nomine *Jor* et alterum *Dan*; qui simul mixti Jordanis nomen efficiunt." The two sources which he indicates being those of Banias and Tell el-Qadi, the Nahr el-Hasbany is thus excluded.

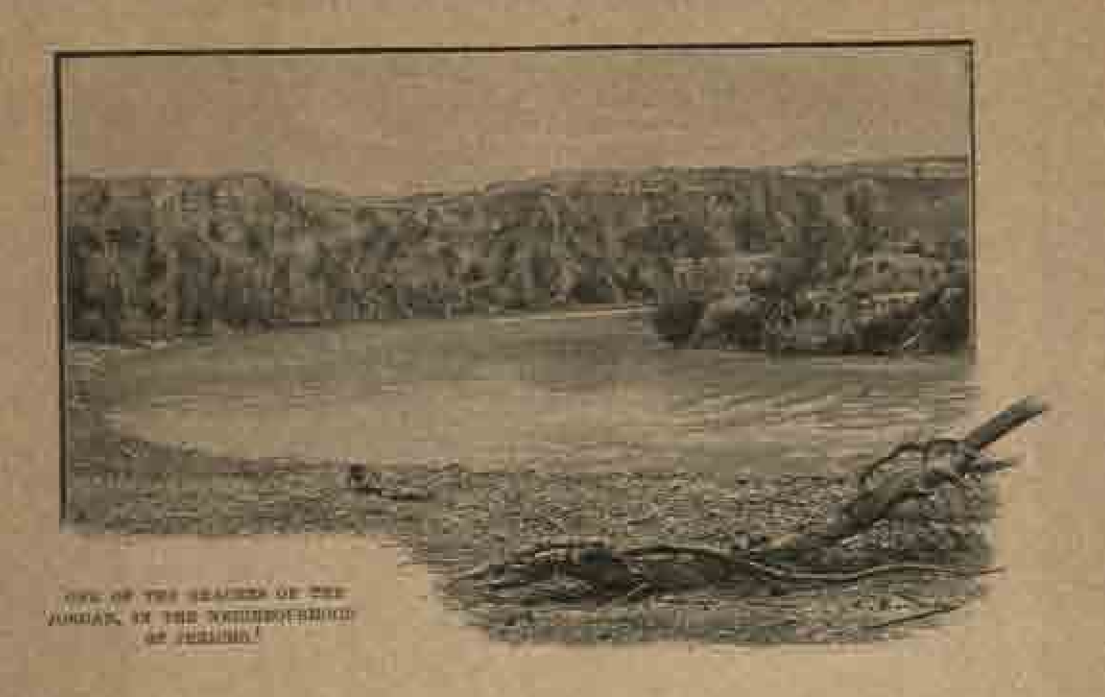
[5] For the source of the Jordan at Banias, cf. Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, XV. x. 3; and *Jewish War*, I. xxi. 3; III. x. 7; for the difference between the ancient and present condition of the place, see Guérin, *Galilée*, vol. ii. pp. 312–314.

[6] Lake Huleh is called the *Waters of Merom*, Mê-Merom, in the Book of Joshua, xi. 5, 7; and Lake Samachonitis in Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, V. v. 1; cf. *Jewish War*, III. x. 7; IV. i. 1. The name of Ulatha, which was given to the surrounding country (Josephus, *Jewish War*, XV. x. 3), shows that the modern word Huleh is derived from an ancient form, of which unfortunately the original has not come down to us (Neubauer, *La Géographie du Talmud*, p. 17).



THE LAKE OF GENNESARETH.

Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph brought back by Lortet.



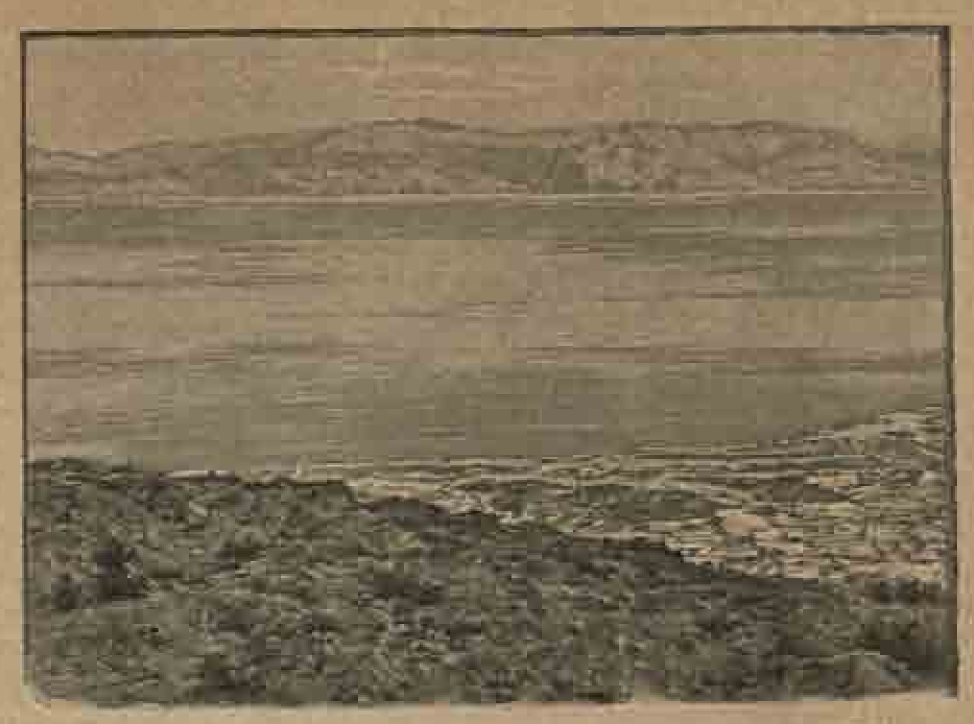
ONE OF THE REACHES OF THE JORDAN, IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF JERICHO.[1]

the Mediterranean, but instead of maintaining it, the river makes a sudden drop on leaving the lake, cutting for itself a deeply grooved channel. It has a fall of some 300 feet before reaching the Lake of Gennesareth,[2] where it is only momentarily arrested, as if to gather fresh strength for its headlong career southwards. Here and there it makes furious assaults on its right and left banks, as if to escape from its bed, but the rocky escarpments which hem it in present an insurmountable barrier to it; from rapid to rapid it descends with such capricious windings that it covers a course of more than 62 miles before reaching the Dead Sea, nearly 1300 feet below the level of the Mediterranean.[3] Nothing could offer more striking contrasts than the country on either bank. On the east, the ground rises abruptly to a height of about 3000 feet, resembling a natural rampart flanked with towers and bastions; behind this extends an immense table-land, slightly undulating and intersected in all directions by the affluents of the Jordan and the Dead

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from several photographs brought back by Lortet.

[2] Its most ancient name is the Sea of Kinnereth, Yam-Kinnereth (*Numb.* xxxiv. 11; *Josh.* xiii. 27), or Yam-Kinneroth (*Josh.* xii. 3); from the time of the Greek period it was called the Lake of Gennesar or Gennesar (1 Macc. xi. 67; JOSEPHUS, *Jewish War*, III. x. 7, 8; cf. NEUBAUER, *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 233).

[3] The exact figures are: the Lake of Hûleh 7 feet above the Mediterranean; the Lake of Gennesareth 682·5 feet, and the Dead Sea 1292·1 feet below the sea-level; to the south of the Dead Sea, towards the water-parting of the Akabah, the ground is over 720 feet higher than the level of the Red Sea (ELISÉE RECLUS, *Géographie universelle*, vol. ix. pp. 720-730).



THE DEAD SEA AND THE MOUNTAINS OF MOAB, SEEN FROM THE HEIGHTS OF ENGEDI.[1]

Sea—the Yarmuk,[2] the Jabbok,[3] and the Arnon.[4] The whole of this district forms a little world in itself, whose inhabitants, half shepherds, half bandits, live a life of isolation, with no ambition to take part in general history. West of the Jordan, a confused mass of hills rises into sight, their sparsely covered slopes affording an impoverished soil for the cultivation of corn, vines, and olives. One ridge—Mount Carmel—detached from the principal chain near the southern end of the Lake of Genesareth, runs obliquely to the north-west, and finally projects into the sea. North of this range extends Galilee, abounding in refreshing streams and fertile fields; while to the south, the country falls naturally into three parallel zones—the littoral, composed alternately of dunes and marshes—an expanse of plain, a "Shephelah,"[*] dotted about with woods and watered by intermittent rivers,—and finally the mountains. The region of dunes is not necessarily barren, and the towns situated in it—Gaza, Jaffa,

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by the Duc de Luynes, *Voyage d'exploration à la mer Morte*, vol. iii. pl. 28.

[2] The Yarmuk does not occur in the Bible, but we meet with its name in the Talmud (Neubauer, *La Géographie du Talmud*, p. 31), and the Greeks adopted it under the form Hieromax.

[3] *Gen.* xxxii. 22; *Numb.* xxi. 24. The name has been Grecised under the forms Iabakchos, Iabakkos (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, I. xx. 2; IV. v. 2), Iambykes. It is the present Nahr Zerqa.

[4] *Numb.* xxi. 13–26; *Deut.* ii. 24; the present Wady Mojib.

[*] [Shephelah = "low country," plain (*Obad.* xi. 19). With the article it means the plain along the Mediterranean from Joppa to Gaza. Gk. ἡ Σεφηλά (1 Macc. xii. 10).—Tr.]

Ashdod, and Ascalon—are surrounded by flourishing orchards and gardens. The plain yields plentiful harvests every year, the ground needing no manure and very little labour. The higher ground and the hill-tops are sometimes covered with verdure, but as they advance southwards, they become denuded and burnt by the sun. The valleys, too, are watered only by springs, which are dried up for the most part during the summer, and the soil, parched by the continuous heat, can scarcely be distinguished from the desert. In fact, till the Sinaitic Peninsula and the frontiers of Egypt are reached, the eye merely encounters desolate and almost uninhabited solitudes, devastated by winter torrents, and overshadowed by the volcanic summits of Mount Seir. The spring rains, however, cause an early crop of vegetation to spring up, which for a few weeks furnishes the flocks of the nomad tribes with food.

We may summarise the physical characteristics of Syria by saying that Nature has divided the country into five or six regions of unequal area, isolated by rivers and mountains, each one of which, however, is admirably suited to become the seat of a separate independent state. In the north, we have the country of the two rivers—the Naharaim—extending from the Orontes to the Euphrates and the Balikh, or even as far as the Khabur;[1] in the centre, between the two ranges of the Lebanon, lie Cœle-Syria and its two unequal neighbours, Aram of Damascus and Phœnicia; while to the south is the varied collection of provinces bordering the valley of the Jordan. It is impossible at the present day to assert, with any approach to accuracy, what peoples inhabited these different regions towards the fourth millennium before our era. Wherever excavations are made, relics are brought to light of a very ancient semi-civilization, in which we find stone weapons and implements, besides pottery, often elegant in contour, but for the most part coarse in texture and execution. These remains, however, are not accompanied by any monument of definite characteristics, and they yield no information with regard to the origin or affinities of the tribes who fashioned them.[2] The study

[1] The Naharaim of the Egyptians (cf. for the pronunciation, MASPERO, *A travers la vocalisation égyptienne*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xv. pp. 189–192) was first identified with Mesopotamia (BRUGSCH, *Geographische Inschriften*, vol. ii. p. 30); it was located between the Orontes and the Balikh or the Euphrates by MASPERO (*De Carchemis oppidi situ et historiâ antiquissimâ*, map No. 1). This opinion is now adopted by the majority of Egyptologists, with slight differences in detail (W. MAX MÜLLER, *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*, p. 249, et seq.). ED. MEYER (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 227) has accurately compared the Egyptian Naharaim with the Parapotamia of the administration of the Seleucidæ (POLYB., v. 48; STRABO, xvi. ii., § 11, p. 753).

[2] Researches with regard to the primitive inhabitants of Syria and their remains have not as yet been prosecuted to any extent. The caves noticed by Hedenborg at Ant-Elias, near Tripoli, and by Botta at Nahr el-Kelb (*Observations sur le Liban et l'Antiliban* in the *Mémoires de la Société géologique de France*, 1st series, vol. i. p. 135), and at Adlun by the Duc de Luynes, have been successively explored by Lartet (DUC DE LUYNES, *Voyage d'exploration à la mer Morte*, vol. i. p. 23; vol. iii. pp. 213–240), Tristram, Lortet, and Dawson (*Notes on prehistoric Man in Egypt and the Lebanon*, in the *Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, vol. xviii. pp. 287–301). The grottoes of Palestine proper, at

of the geographical nomenclature in use about the VI[th] century B.C. reveals the existence, at all events at that period, of several peoples and several languages. The mountains, rivers, towns, and fortresses in Palestine and Cœle-Syria are designated by words of Semitic origin: it is easy to detect, even in the hieroglyphic disguise which they bear on the Egyptian geographical lists, names familiar to us in Hebrew or Assyrian.[1] But once across the Orontes, other forms present themselves which reveal no affinities to these languages, but are apparently connected with one or other of the dialects of Asia Minor.[2] The tenacity with which the place-names, once given, cling to the soil, leads us to believe that a certain number at least of those we know in Syria were in use there long before they were noted down by the Egyptians, and that they must have been heirlooms from very early peoples. As they take a Semitic or non-Semitic form according to their geographical position, we may conclude that the centre and south were colonized by Semites, and the north by the immigrant tribes from beyond the Taurus. Facts are not wanting to support this conclusion, and they prove that it is not so entirely arbitrary as we might be inclined to believe. The Asiatic visitors who, under a king of the XII[th] dynasty, came to offer gifts to Khnûmhotpû, the Lord of Beni-Hasan,[3] are completely Semitic in type, and closely resemble the Bedouins of the present day. Their chief—Abisha—bears a Semitic name,[4] as too does the Sheikh Ammianshi, with whom Sinûhit took refuge.[5] Ammianshi himself

Bethsaur, at Gilgal near Jericho, and at Tibneh, have been the subject of keen controversy ever since their discovery (Lartet, in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géologie*, 2nd series, vol. xxii. p. 537; in the *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de l'homme*, 1st series, 1869, vol. v. p. 237; cf. Duc de Luynes, *Voyage d'exploration*, vol. iii. pp. 224–226; Arcelin, *l'Industrie primitive en Syrie, Gisements de Beth-Saour*, and *l'Age de la pierre polie à Beth-Saour*, in the *Matériaux*, 1st series, 1869, vol. v. p. 237, et seq.; 2nd series, 1874, vol. v. p. 19). The Abbé Richard desired to identify the flints of Gilgal and Tibneh with the stone knives used by Joshua for the circumcision of the Israelites after the passage of the Jordan (*Josh.* v. 2–9), some of which might have been buried in that hero's tomb (Richard, *Découvertes d'instruments de pierre en Égypte, au Sinaï et dans le Tombeau de Josué*, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Sciences*, 1871, vol. lxxii. p. 540).

[1] On the question of the transcription of Syrian geographical names into the hieroglyphs, see Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, vol. i. pp. 5–15; E. de Rougé, *Mémoire sur l'origine égyptienne de l'alphabet phénicien*; and lastly, W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*, pp. 58–109.

[2] The non-Semitic origin of the names of a number of towns in Northern Syria preserved in the Egyptian lists, is admitted by the majority of scholars who have studied the question (Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. iii. p. 319, et seq.; Max Müller, *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*, pp. 288–292; cf. for the question of Semitic origin, Halévy, *Recherches bibliques*, § 12, pp. 270–288).

[3] See the representation of the whole scene in the *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 468, 469.

[4] His name has been shown to be cognate with the Hebrew Abishai (1 Sam. xxvi. 6–9; 2 Sam. ii. 18, 24; xxi. 17) and with the Chaldæo-Assyrian Abesukh (cf. the list of Babylonian kings on p. 27 of the present volume).

[5] The name Ammianshi at once recalls those of Ammiditana, Ammizadugga, and perhaps Ammurabi, or Khammurabi, of one of the Babylonian dynasties; it contains, with the element Ammi, a final anshi (Maspero, *Notes sur quelques points de grammaire et d'histoire*, § 7, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xvii. p. 76; cf. Sayce, *Patriarchal Palestine*, pp. 62, 64, 206). Chabas connects it with two Hebrew words *Am-anah*, which he does not translate (*Études sur l'antiquité historique*, 2nd edit., pp. 103, 104).

reigned over the province of Kadimu, a word which in Semitic denotes the East.[1] Finally, the only one of their gods known to us, Hadad, was a Semite deity, who presided over the atmosphere, and whom we find later on ruling over the destinies of Damascus.[2] Peoples of Semitic speech and religion must, indeed, have already occupied the greater part of that region on the shores of the Mediterranean which we find still in their possession many centuries later, at the time of the Egyptian conquest.[3]



ASIATIC WOMEN FROM THE TOMB OF KHNÛMHOTPÛ.[4]

For a time Egypt preferred not to meddle in their affairs. When, however, the "lords of the sands" grew too insolent, the Pharaoh sent a column of light troops against them, and inflicted on them such a severe punishment, that the remembrance of it kept them within bounds for years. Offenders banished from Egypt sought refuge with the turbulent kinglets, who were in a perpetual state of unrest between Sinai and the Dead Sea. Egyptian sailors used to set out to traffic along the seaboard, taking to piracy when hard pressed; Egyptian merchants were accustomed to penetrate by easy stages into the interior.[5] The accounts they gave of their journeys were not reassuring. The traveller had first to face the solitudes which confronted him before reaching the Isthmus, and then to avoid as best he might the attacks of the pillaging tribes who inhabited it. Should he escape these initial perils, the Amu—an agricultural and settled people inhabiting the fertile region—would give the stranger but a sorry reception: he would have to submit to their demands, and the most exorbitant

[1] Cf. the story relating to Prince Amminashi in the *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 472, 473.

[2] A seal affixed to contracts of the time of Khammurabi belonged to a "servant of the god of Martu," who is none other than the god usually known as Ramman (cf. *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 658–663). This fact was elucidated by Hommel (*Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 349, 412). Schrader (*Die Namen Hadad, Hadadezer*, in the *Zeitschrift für Keilforschung*, vol. ii. pp. 366–384) and Oppert (*Adad*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. viii. pp. 310–314) have proved that the god Ramman was also called Hadad.

[3] Chabas (*Études sur l'antiquité historique, d'après les sources égyptiennes et les monuments réputés préhistoriques*, 2nd edit., p. 99, et seq.) had already arrived at the same conclusions, which are also those of W. Max Müller (*Asien und Europa*, p. 32, et seq.).

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Insinger; cf. the whole scene from which these two and the following figures are taken, in the *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 469.

[5] Persons banished from Egypt are mentioned in the *Memoirs of Sinûhit*, ll. 31–34 (cf. Maspero, *Les Contes populaires*, 3rd edit., pp. 99, 100); and Sinûhit himself is an exile: for the navigation of the Syrian coast from the time of the ancient empire, cf. *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 388–394.

levies of toll did not always preserve caravans from their attacks.[1] The country seems to have been but thinly populated; tracts now denuded were then covered by large forests in which herds of elephants still roamed,[2] and wild beasts, including lions and leopards, rendered the route through them dangerous.[3] The notion that Syria was a sort of preserve for both big and small game was so strongly implanted in the minds of the Egyptians, that their popular literature was full of it;[4] the hero of their romances betook himself there for the chase, as a prelude to meeting with the princess whom he was destined to marry,[5] or, as in the case of Kazairâti, chief of Assur, that he might encounter there a monstrous hyæna with which to engage in combat.[7] These



TWO ASIATICS FROM THE TOMB OF RAKHMIRÎ.[6]

merchants' adventures and explorations, as they were not followed by any military expedition, left absolutely no mark on the industries or manners of the primitive natives: those of them only who were close to the frontiers of Egypt came under her subtle charm and felt the power of her attraction, but this slight influence never penetrated beyond the provinces lying nearest to the Dead Sea. The remaining populations looked rather to Chaldæa, and received, though at a distance, the continuous impress of the kingdoms of the Euphrates. The tradition which attributes to Sargon of Agadê, and to his son Naramsin, the subjection of the people of the Amanos and the Orontes, probably contains but

[1] The merchant who sets out for foreign lands "leaves his possessions to his children—for fear of lions and Asiatics" (*Sallier Papyrus*, No. 2, pl. vii. ll. 6, 7; cf. *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 479).

[2] Thûtmosis III. went elephant-hunting near the Syrian town of Nii (*Inscription of Amenemhabi*, ll. 22, 23; cf. CHABAS, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 3rd series, vol. ii. pp. 286, 287; 299-301).

[3] As to the extent of the forest which separated Jaffa from Carmel, cf. MASPERO, *Entre Joppé et Mageddo*, in the *Études historiques, linguistiques et archéologiques dédiées à M. le Dr C. Leemans*, pp. 3-6; what was true under the XIXth dynasty would be still more likely to be the case in earlier times.

[4] W. MAX MÜLLER, *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*, p. 40.

[5] As, for instance, the hero in the *Story of the Predestined Prince*, exiled from Egypt with his dog, pursues his way hunting till he reaches the confines of Naharaim, where he is to marry the prince's daughter; cf. MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne*, 2nd edit., p. 231. PETRIE, *Egyptian Tales*, 2nd series, p. 13, *et seq.*

[6] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Insinger. *Cf.* p. 16 of this work, note 4.

[7] *Anastasi Papyrus*, No. 1, pl. xxiii. ll. 6, 7; cf. CHABAS, *Le Voyage d'un Égyptien*, pp. 220-221.

a slight element of truth;[1] but if, while awaiting further information, we hesitate to believe that the armies of these princes ever crossed the Lebanon or landed in Cyprus, we must yet admit the very early advent of their civilization in these western countries which are regarded as having been under their rule. More than three thousand years before our era, the Asiatics who figure on the tomb of Khnûmhotpû clothed themselves according to the fashions of Uru and Lagash, and affected long robes of striped and spotted stuffs.[2] We may well ask if they had also borrowed the cuneiform syllabary for the purposes of their official correspondence,[3] and if the professional scribe with his stylus and clay tablet was to be found in their cities. The Babylonian courtiers were, no doubt, more familiar visitors among them than the Memphite nobles, while the Babylonian kings sent regularly to Syria for statuary stone, precious metals, and the timber required in the building of their monuments:[4] Urbau and Gudea, as well as their successors and contemporaries, received large convoys of materials from the Amanos, and if the forests of Lebanon were more rarely utilised, it was not because their existence was unknown, but because distance rendered their approach more difficult and transport more costly. The Mediterranean marches were, in their language, classed as a whole under one denomination—Martu, Amurru,[5] the West—but there were distinctive names for each of the provinces into which they were divided. Probably even at that date they called the north Khati,[6] and Cœle-Syria, Amurru, the land of the

[1] Cf. what is said on the subject of these conquests in MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. [illegible].

[2] Cf. MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, for the Asiatics received by the Prince of Beni-Hasan, pp. 468, 469; for the resemblance of their costume to that of the Chaldæans, cf. *ibid.*, p. 719, note 4.

[3] The most ancient cuneiform tablets of Syrian origin are not older than the XIVth century before our era; they contain the official correspondence of the native princes with the Pharaohs Amenôthes III. and IV. of the XVIIIth dynasty, as will be seen later on in this volume; they were discovered in the ruins of one of the palaces at Tel el-Amarna in Egypt.

[4] This communication with Syria has been pointed out by Maspero in the *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 610, 614. It has been carefully described by HOMMEL, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. [illegible].

[5] Formerly read Akharru. For a general notice of these names, see FR. DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 271–273; and SCHRADER, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 2nd edit., pp. 50–52. Martu would be the Sumerian and Akharru the Semitic form, Akharru meaning *that which is behind*. The discovery of the Tel el-Amarna tablets threw doubt on the reading of the name Akharru: some thought that it ought to be kept in any case (HALÉVY, *Notes géographiques*, § 34, in the *Revue Sémitique*, vol. i. p. 185); others, with more or less certainty, think that it should be replaced by Amurru, Amurru, the country of the Amorites (DELATTRE, *Aziru*, in the *Proceedings of the Biblical Archæol. Soc.*, 1890–91, vol. xiii. pp. 233, 234; cf. MORRIS JASTROW, *On Palestine and Assyria in the Days of Joshua*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. vii. p. 2, note 1; BEZOLD-BUDGE, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, p. xviii., note 2). But the question has now been settled by Babylonian contract and law tablets of the period of Khammurabi, in which the name is written *A-mu-ur-ri* (*-ki*). Hommel originated the idea that Martu might be an abbreviation of Amurtu, that is, Amur with the feminine termination of nouns in the Canaanitish dialect. Martu would thus actually signify *the country of the Amorites* (*Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 270; cf. *Assyriological Notes*, § 3, in the *Proceedings of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, 1893–94, vol. xvi. p. 212).

[6] The name of the Khati, Khatti, is found in the *Book of Omens* (HOMMEL, *Die Semitischen Völker und Sprachen*, p. 176, et seq.), which is supposed to contain an extract from the annals of Sargon and

Amorites. The scattered references in their writings seem to indicate frequent intercourse with these countries, and that, too, as a matter of course which excited no surprise among their contemporaries: a journey from Lagash to the mountains of Tidanum and to Gubin, or to the Lebanon and beyond it to Byblos,[2] meant to them no voyage of discovery. Armies undoubtedly followed the routes already frequented by caravans and flotillas of trading boats, and the time came when kings desired to rule as sovereigns over nations with whom their subjects had peaceably traded. It does not appear, however, that the ancient rulers of Lagash ever extended their dominion so far. The governors of the northern cities, on the other hand, showed themselves more energetic, and inaugurated that march westwards which sooner or later brought the peoples of the Euphrates into collision with the dwellers on the Nile; for the first Babylonian empire without doubt comprised part if not the whole of Syria.[3]

Among the most celebrated names in ancient history, that of Babylon is perhaps the only one which still suggests to our minds a sense of vague magnificence and undefined dominion. Cities in other parts of the world, it is true, have rivalled Babylon in magnificence and power; Egypt could boast of more than one such city, and their ruins to this day present to our gaze more monuments worthy of admiration than Babylon ever contained in the days of her greatest prosperity. The pyramids of Memphis and the colossal statues of Thebes still stand erect, while the ziggurats and the palaces of Chaldæa are but mounds of clay crumbling into the plain; but the Egyptian monuments are visible and tangible objects; we can calculate to within a few inches the area they cover and the elevation of their summits, and the very precision with which we can gauge their enormous size tends to limit and lessen their effect upon us. How is it possible to give free rein

Nimri (cf. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 599); as, however, the text which we possess of it is merely a copy of the time of Assurbanipal, it is possible that the word Khati is merely the translation of a more ancient term, perhaps Martu (Fr. Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. iii. pp. 286, 337; Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 271, note 6). Winckler (*Altorientalische Forschungen*, p. 142, note 1) thinks it is be included in Lesser Armenia and the Melitene of classical authors.

[2] Gubin is probably the Kûpûna, Kupnû, of the Egyptians, the Byblos of Phœnicia (Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 329). Amiaud (*Sirpourla*, pp. 11-13) had proposed a most unlikely identification with Koptos in Egypt. In the time of Nin-Sin, King of Ur, mention is found of Simurru, Zimyra (Hommel, *Aus der Babylonischen Altertumskunde*, in *Die Aula*, 1895, vol. i. p. 550).

[3] It is only since the discovery of the *Tel el-Amarna* tablets that the fact of the Chaldæan influence of Chaldæa over Syria and of its conquest has been definitely realised. It is now clear that the state of things of which the tablets discovered in Egypt give us a picture, could only be explained by the hypothesis of a Babylonian supremacy of long duration over the peoples situated between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean (M. Jastrow, *On Palestine and Assyria in the Days of Joshua*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. vii. pp. 1-7; Winckler, *Babyloniens Herrschaft in Mesopotamien und seine Beziehungen zu Palästina im zweiten Jahrtausend*, in the *Altorientalische Forschungen*, pp. 140-158, 231-236; and *Geschichte Israels*, vol. i. pp. 126-132; Sayce, *Patriarchal Palestine*, p. 55, et seq.).



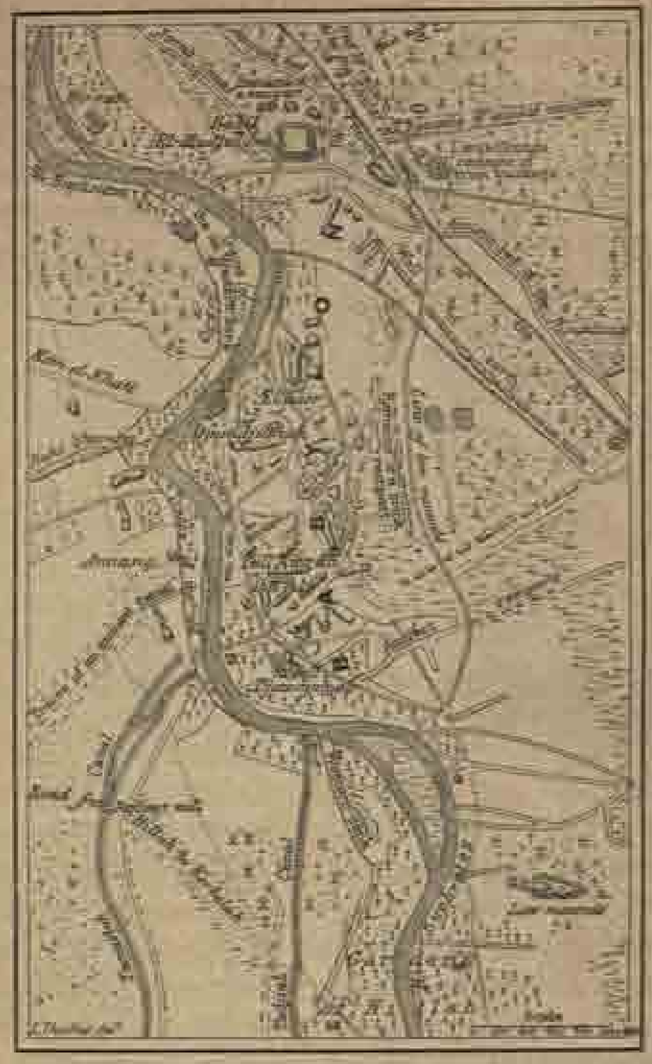
THE RUINS OF BABYLON SEEN FROM THE SOUTH.[1]

to the imagination when the subject of it is strictly limited by exact and determined measurements. At Babylon, on the contrary, there is nothing remaining to check the flight of fancy: a single hillock, scoured by the rains of centuries, marks the spot where the temple of Bel stood erect in its splendour; another represents the hanging gardens, while the ridges running to the right and left were once the ramparts. The vestiges of a few buildings remain above the mounds of rubble, and as soon as the pickaxe is applied to any spot, irregular layers of bricks, enamelled tiles, and inscribed tablets are brought to light—in fine, all those numberless objects which bear witness to the presence of man and to his long sojourn on the spot. But these vestiges are so mutilated and disfigured that the principal outlines of the buildings cannot be determined with any certainty, and afford us no data for guessing their dimensions. He who would attempt to restore the ancient appearance of the place would find at his disposal nothing but vague indications, from which he might draw almost any conclusion he pleased. Palaces and temples would take a shape in his imagination on a plan which never entered the architect's mind; the sacred towers as they rose would be disposed in more numerous stages than they actually possessed; the enclosing walls would reach such an elevation that they must have quickly fallen under their own weight if they had ever been carried so high:[2] the whole restoration.

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a drawing reproduced in Hoefer, *L'Assyrie et la Chaldée*, pl. 10. It shows the state of the ruins in the first half of our century, before the excavations carried out at European instigation.

[2] A very just criticism of the various proposed reconstructions of the walls of Babylon will be found in Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, pp. 191, 192, and also an explanation of the figures given by Herodotus, which permits of their altitude being brought within possible limits.

accomplished without any certain data, embodies the concept of something vast and superhuman, well befitting the city of blood and tears, cursed by the Hebrew prophets. Babylon was, however, at the outset, but a poor town, situated on both banks of the Euphrates, in a low-lying, flat district, intersected by canals and liable at times to become marshy. The river at this point runs almost directly north and south, between two banks of black mud, the base of which it is perpetually undermining. As long as the city existed, the vertical thrust of the public buildings and houses kept the river within bounds, and even since it was finally abandoned, the masses of *débris* have almost everywhere had the effect of resisting its encroachment; towards the north, however, the line of its ancient quays has given way and sunk beneath the waters, while the stream, turning its course westwards, has transferred to the eastern bank the gardens and mounds originally on the opposite side.[2] E-sagilla, the temple of the lofty summit, the sanctuary of Merodach, probably occupied

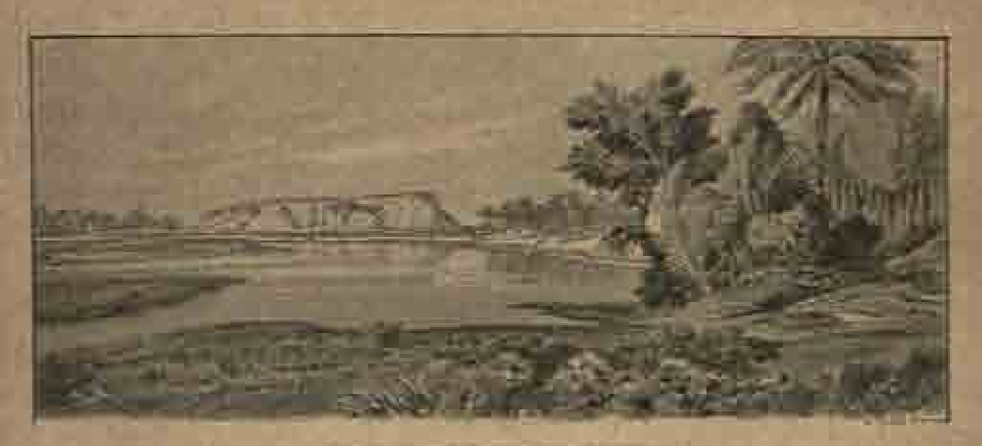


PLAN OF THE RUINS OF BABYLON.[1]

[1] Prepared by Thuillier, from a plan reproduced in G. RAWLINSON, *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 473.

[2] The first detailed description that we possess of the ruins of Babylon is that of J. C. RICH, *Voyage aux ruines de Babylone, traduit et enrichi d'observations, avec des notes explicatives, par* J. RAYMOND, *ancien consul de Bassora, Paris*, 1818. They have been very carefully studied by OPPERT, *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, vol. i. pp. 135–254, who proposed identifications for the various divisions of the ruins, all of which are not accepted at the present day. A very clear exposition of all the facts relating to the subject is found in G. RAWLINSON, *On the Topography of Babylon* (*Herodotus*, ii. 472–489). The difficulties raised could only be solved by systematic excavation, of which there is

the vacant space in the depression between the Babil and the hill of the Kasr.[1] In early times it must have presented much the same appearance as the sanctuaries of Central Chaldæa: a mound of crude brick formed the substructure of the dwellings of the priests and the household of the god, of the shops for the offerings and for provisions, of the treasury, and of the apartments for purification or for sacrifice, while the whole was surmounted by a ziggurat. On other neighbouring platforms rose the royal palace and the temples of lesser divinities,[2] elevated above the crowd of private habitations. The houses



THE KASR SEEN FROM THE SOUTH.[3]

of the people were closely built around these stately piles, on either side of narrow lanes. A massive wall surrounded the whole, shutting out the view on all sides; it even ran along the bank of the Euphrates for fear of a surprise from that quarter, and excluded the inhabitants from the sight of their own river.[4] On the right bank rose a suburb, which was promptly fortified and enlarged, so as to become a second Babylon, almost equalling the first in extent and population. Beyond this, on the outskirts, extended gardens and fields, finding at length their limit at the territorial boundaries of two other towns,

so far for the present: the little that has been undertaken in this direction has been accomplished by Hormuzd Rassam, *Recent Discoveries of Ancient Babylonian Cities*, in the *Transactions of the Biblical Arch. Soc.*, vol. viii. p. 184, et seq.

[1] The temple of Merodach, called by the Greeks the temple of Belos, has been placed on the site called Babil by the two Rawlinsons (*On the Topography of Babylon*, in G. Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, ii. 477-479; *The Five Great Monarchies*, 2nd edit., vol. iii., pp. 332-338); and by Oppert (*Expédition en Mésopotamie*, vol. i. pp. 200-270); Hormuzd Rassam and Fr. Delitzsch locate it between the hill of Jumjuma and the Kasr, and consider Babil to be a palace of Nebuchadrezzar.

[2] As, for instance, the temple E-temenanki on the actual hill of Amran-ibn-Ali (Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 216), the temple of Shamash (Pognon, *Les Inscriptions du l'Ouady Brissa*, pp. 15, 16), and others, which there will be occasion to mention later on in dealing with the second Chaldæan empire.

[3] Drawn by Boudier, from the engraving by Thomas in Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. ii. pl. 4.

[4] The description of the walls of Babylon will be found hereafter when treating of the great works undertaken by Nebuchadrezzar in the VIth century B.C.

Kutha and Borsippa, whose black outlines are visible to the east and south-west respectively, standing isolated above the plain. Sippara on the north, Nippur on the south, and the mysterious Agadê, completed the circle of sovereign states which so closely hemmed in the city of Bel.[1] We may surmise with all probability that the history of Babylon in early times resembled in the main that of the Egyptian Thebes.[2] It was a small seigneury in the hands of petty



THE TELL OF BORSIPPA, THE PRESENT BIRS-NIMRUD.[3]

princes ceaselessly at war with petty neighbours: bloody struggles, with alternating successes and reverses, were carried on for centuries with no decisive results, until the day came when some more energetic or fortunate dynasty at length crushed its rivals, and united under one rule first all the kingdoms of Northern and finally those of Southern Chaldæa.

The lords of Babylon had, ordinarily, a twofold function, religious and military, the priest at first taking precedence of the soldier, but gradually yielding to the latter as the town increased in power.[4] They were merely the priestly representatives or administrators of Babel—*shakkanakku*

[1] For these neighbouring towns of Babylon, cf. MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 562, 563.

[2] The history of Thebes is given, as far as is possible at present, in MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 453.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, after the plate published in CHESNEY, *The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, vol. ii. p. 25; *Euphrates Expedition*.

[4] The title of the kings of Babylon has been studied by TIELE, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, pp. 491, 492, and by WINCKLER, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, p. xxxvi., note. Winckler believed that the title of *sharru* was only given, every year, to the sovereign of Babylon after "the taking of the hands of Bel" (*Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 35, 36, 39, 127, 128); this belief is correct only up to a certain point, as has been shown by Tiele (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. viii. p. 370).

Babili—and their authority was not considered legitimate until officially confirmed by the god. Each ruler was obliged to go in state to the temple of Bel Merodach within a year of his accession: there he had to take the hands of the divine statue, just as a vassal would do homage to his liege, and those only of the native sovereigns or the foreign conquerors could legally call themselves Kings of Babylon—*sharru Babili*—who had not only performed this rite, but renewed it annually.[1] Sargon the Elder had lived in Babylon, and had built himself a palace there; hence the tradition of later times attributed to this city the glory of having been the capital of the great empire founded by the Akkadian dynasties.[2] The actual sway of Babylon, though arrested to the south by the petty states of Lower Chaldæa, had not encountered to the north or north-west any enemy to menace seriously its progress in that semi-fabulous period of its history. The vast plain extending between the Euphrates and the Tigris is as it were a continuation of the Arabian desert, and is composed of a grey, or in parts a whitish, soil impregnated with selenite and common salt, and irregularly superimposed upon a bed of gypsum, from which asphalt oozes up here and there, forming slimy pits. Frost is of rare occurrence in winter, and rain is infrequent at any season; the sun soon burns up the scanty herbage which the spring showers have encouraged, but fleshy plants successfully resist its heat, such as the common salsola, the salsola soda, the pallasia, a small mimosa, and a species of very fragrant wormwood, forming together a vari-coloured vegetation which gives shelter to the ostrich and the wild ass, and affords the flocks of the nomads a grateful pasturage when the autumn has set in.[3] The Euphrates bounds these solitudes, but without watering them. The river flows, as far as the eye can see, between two ranges of rock or bare hills, at the foot of which a narrow strip of alluvial soil supports rows of date-palms intermingled here and there with poplars, sumachs, and willows. Wherever there is a break

[1] The meaning of the ceremony in which the Kings of Babylon "took the hands of Bel" has been given by Winckler (*De inscriptione Sargonis regis Assyriæ quæ vocatur Annalium*, thesis iv., and *Studien und Beiträge zur Babylonisch-Assyrischen Geschichte*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. ii. p. 302, et seq., and *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, p. xxxvi.; cf. Lehmann, *Schamaschschumukîn, König von Babylonien*, pp. 44–53); Tiele (*Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, pp. 270, 516) compares it very aptly with the rite performed by the Egyptian kings—at Heliopolis, for example, when they entered alone the sanctuary of Râ, and there contemplated the god face to face. The rite was probably repeated annually (Lehmann, *Schamaschschumukîn*, pp. 51, 53; Winckler, *Studien und Beiträge*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pp. 303, 304, and *Untersuchungen zur Altorientalischen Geschichte*, p. 85), at the time of the Zakmuku, that is, the New Year festival.

[2] Cf. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 597. According to Nabonidus and his contemporaries, Sargon and Naramsin were Kings of Babylon (Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pl. 69, col. ii. pp. 29, 30).

[3] This region, which comprises the second and third zones into which the country lying between the Tigris and Euphrates may be divided, has been admirably depicted by Olivier, *Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman, l'Égypte, la Perse*, vol. ii. pp. 419–422; we are indebted to modern travellers for greater details, but not any of them has studied the country with the method and power of generalisation displayed by Olivier.



THE BANKS OF THE EUPHRATES AT ZELEIBEH.[1]

in the two cliffs, or where they recede from the river, a series of shadufs takes possession of the bank, and every inch of the soil is brought under cultivation.[2] The aspect of the country remains unchanged as far as the embouchure of the Khabur; but there a black alluvial soil replaces the saliferous clay, and if only the water were to remain on the land in sufficient quantity, the country would be unrivalled in the world for the abundance and variety of its crops. The fields, which are regularly sown in the neighbourhood of the small towns, yield magnificent harvests of wheat and barley; while in the prairie-land beyond the cultivated ground the grass grows so high that it comes up to the horses' girths. In some places the meadows are so covered with varieties of flowers, growing in dense masses, that the effect produced is that of a variegated carpet; dogs sent in among them in search of game, emerge covered with red, blue, and yellow pollen.[3] This fragrant prairie-land is the delight of bees, which produce excellent and abundant honey, while the vine and olive find there a congenial soil. The population was unequally distributed in this region. Some half-savage tribes were

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from the plate in CHESNEY, *The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, vol. i. p. 49.

[2] The description of the country bordering the Euphrates is given in detail by OLIVIER, *Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman*, vol. iii. p. 477, *et seq.* Palm trees are numerous as far as Anah (CHESNEY, *The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, vol. i. p. 53); beyond that spot they are only found in isolated groups as far as Deir, where they cease altogether (AINSWORTH, *Researches in Assyria*, p. 72).

[3] This fact was noticed in Assyria by LAYARD, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i. p. 78; more recent travellers have assured me that it was equally true of the country bordering the Khabur.

accustomed to wander over the plain, dwelling in tents, and supporting life by the chase and by the rearing of cattle; but the bulk of the inhabitants were concentrated around the affluents of the Euphrates and Tigris, or at the foot of the northern mountains wherever springs could be found, as in Assur, Singar, Nisibis, Tilli,[1] Kharranu, and in all the small fortified towns and nameless townlets whose ruins are scattered over the tract of country between the Khabur and the Balikh. Kharranu, or Harran, stood, like an advance guard of Chaldæan civilization, near the frontiers of Syria and Asia Minor.[2] To the north it commanded the passes which opened on to the basins of the Upper Euphrates and Tigris; it protected the roads leading to the east and south-east in the direction of the table-land of Iran and the Persian Gulf, and it was the key to the route by which the commerce of Babylon reached the countries lying around the Mediterranean. We have no means of knowing what affinities as regards origin or race connected it with Uru, but the same moon-god presided over the destinies of both towns, and the Sin of Harran enjoyed in very early times a renown nearly equal to that of his namesake. He was worshipped under the symbol of a conical stone, probably an aerolite, surmounted by a gilded crescent,[3] and the ground-plan of the town roughly described a crescent-shaped curve in honour of its patron.[4] His cult, even down to late times, was connected with cruel practices; generations after the advent to power of the Abbasside caliphs, his faithful worshippers continued to sacrifice to him human victims, whose heads, prepared according to the ancient rite, were accustomed to give oracular responses.[5] The government of the surrounding country was in the hands of princes who were merely vicegerents:[6] Chaldæan civilization before the

[1] Tilli, the only one of these towns mentioned with any certainty in the inscriptions of the first Chaldæan empire (cf. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. [illegible], note 2), is the Tela of classical authors, and probably the present Weranshaher, near the sources of the Balikh.

[2] Kharranu was identified by the earlier Assyriologists with the Harran of the Hebrews (*Gen.* x. 12), the Carrhæ of classical authors (Strabo, XVI. i. § 23, p. 747; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, v. 24), and this identification is still generally accepted (Finzi, *Ricerche per lo studio dell' Antichità Assira*, pp. 267–276; Fr. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 2nd edit., pp. 134, 149); cf., however, what is said on p. 65 of this work.

[3] Winckler (*Altorientalische Forschungen*, pp. 83, 84) believes that the Sin of Harran is probably a moon-god of the Semites, in contradistinction to Nannar of Uru, who would be more specially the moon-god of the Sumerians. For the two Sins, cf. Sayce, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 160–162, who gives his opinion with greater reserve.

[4] Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, p. 223; and *Baal-Harrân in einer Altaramäischen Inschrift auf einem Relief des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin*, p. 5.

[5] For the cultus of Sin at Harran, cf. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 658, 659. Without seeking to specify exactly which were the doctrines introduced into Harranian religion subsequently to the Christian era, we may yet affirm that the base of this system of faith was merely a very distorted form of the ancient Chaldæan worship practised in the town. The information collected with regard to their history by Chwolson, *Die Ssabier*, vol. i., has been completed by the text published by Dozy-Goeje, *Nouveaux Documents pour l'étude de la religion des Harraniens*, in the *Actes du 6e Congrès des Orientalistes, tenu en 1883, à Leyde*, 2nd part, sect. 1, pp. 241–366.

[6] Only one vicegerent of Mesopotamia is known at present, and he belongs to the Assyrian epoch. His seal is preserved in the British Museum (Pinches, *Guide to the Kouyunjik Gallery*, p. 128).

beginnings of history had more or less laid hold of them, and made them willing subjects to the kings of Babylon.[1]

These sovereigns were probably at the outset somewhat obscure personages, without much prestige, being sometimes independent and sometimes subject to the rulers of neighbouring states, among others to those of Agadê. In later times, when Babylon had attained to universal power, and it was desired to furnish her kings with a continuous history, the names of these earlier rulers were sought out, and added to those of such foreign princes as had from time to time enjoyed the sovereignty over them—thus forming an interminable list which for materials and authenticity would well compare with that of the Thinite Pharaohs.[2] This list has come down to us incomplete, and its remains do not permit of our determining the exact order of reigns, or the status of the individuals who composed it. We find in it, in the period immediately subsequent to the Deluge, mention of mythical heroes, followed by names which are still semi-legendary, such as Sargon the Elder; the princes of the series were, however, for the most part real beings, whose memories had been preserved by tradition, or whose monuments were still existing in certain localities.[3] Towards the end of the XXV[th] century before our era, however, a dynasty rose into power of which all the members come within the range of history.[4] The first of them, Sumuabim, has left us some contracts bearing the dates of one

[1] The importance of Harran in the development of the history of the first Chaldæan empire was pointed out by Winckler, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 31, n. 2, 148–153, and *Altorientalische Forschungen*, pp. 74–97, 140, 230, 231; but the theory according to which this town was the capital of the kingdom, called by the Chaldæan and Assyrian scribes "the kingdom of the world" (cf. *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 596, note 2), is justly combated by Tiele in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. vii. pp. 368–370.

[2] For the composition of these dynasties, cf. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 556–592.

[3] The kings subsequent to the Deluge are mentioned in the *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 592.

[4] This dynasty, which is known to us in its entirety by the two lists of G. Smith (*On Fragments of an Inscription giving part of the Chronology from which the Canon of Berosus was copied*, in the *Transactions* of the Biblical Archæological Society, vol. iii. pp. 362, 366, 372, 373) and by Pinches (*The Babylonian Kings of the Second Period*, in the *Proceedings*, 1883–84, p. 195), was legitimately composed of only eleven kings, and was known as the Babylonian dynasty, although Sayce suspects it to be of Arabian origin (*Patriarchal Palestine*, pp. vii., viii., 62–64). It is composed as follows:—

I. Sumuabim	15	2416–2401	VI. Khammurabi	55	2304–2249
II. Sumulailu	35	2401–2366	VII. Samsuiluna	35	2249–2214
III. Zabum	14	2366–2352	VIII. Abeshu	25	2214–2189
[Immeru]			IX. Ammisatana	25	2189–2164
IV. Abil-sin	18	2352–2334	X. Ammizaduga	21	2164–2143
V. Sinmuballit	30	2334–2304	XI. Samsusatana	31	2143–2112

The dates of this dynasty are not fixed with entire certainty. Hommel (*Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 169, 173, 174, 351–353; cf. *A Supplementary Note to Gibil-Gamish*, in the *Proceedings* of the Biblical Archæol. Soc., vol. xvi., 1893–94, p. 14) believes that the order of the dynasties has been reversed, and that the first upon the lists we possess was historically the second; he thus places the Babylonian dynasty between 2035 and 1731 B.C. His opinion has not been generally adopted, but every Assyriologist dealing with this period proposes a different date for the reigns in this dynasty; to take only one characteristic example, Khammurabi is placed by Oppert (*The Real Chronology and the True History of the Babylonian Dynasties*, in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. ii. p. 108) in the year 2394–2339, by Delitzsch-Mürdter (*Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, 2nd edit., p. 83 and vol. i.) in 2287–2232, by Winckler (*Untersuchungen zur Altorientalischen

or other of the fifteen years of his reign,[1] and documents of public or private interest abound in proportion as we follow down the line of his successors. Sumulailu, who reigned after him, was only distantly related to his predecessor, but from Sumulailu to Samsusatana the kingly power was transmitted from father to son without a break for nine generations, if we may credit the testimony of the official lists.[2] Contemporary records, however, prove that the course of affairs did not always run so smoothly. They betray the existence of at least one usurper—Immêru—who, even if he did not assume the royal titles, enjoyed the supreme power for several years between the reigns of Zabu and Abilsin.[3] The lives of these rulers closely resembled those of their contemporaries of Southern Chaldæa.[4] They dredged the ancient canals, or constructed new ones;[5] they restored the walls of their fortresses, or built fresh strongholds on the frontier;[6] they religiously kept the festivals of the divinities belonging to their terrestrial domain, to whom they annually rendered solemn homage.[7] They repaired the temples as a matter of course, and enriched them according to their means; we even know that Zabu, the third in order of the line of sovereigns, occupied himself in building the sanctuary Eulbar of Anunit, in Sippara.[8] There is evidence that they possessed the small neighbouring kingdoms of Kishu, Sippara, and Kuta, and that they had consolidated them into a single state, of which Babylon was the capital. To the south their

Geschichte, p. 33, and *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 60) in 2264–2210, and by Peiser (*Zur Babylonischen Chronologie*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. vi. p. 267) in 2139–2084, and by Carl Niebuhr (*Die Chronologie der Geschichte Israels*, p. 74) in 2081–2026.

[1] See the notice of some contracts of Sumuabim in Bruno Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, p. 5.

[2] Sumulailu, also written Samu-la-ilu, whom Mr. Pinches has found in a contract tablet associated with Pungunila as king, was not the son of Sumuabim, since the lists do not mention him as such; he must, however, have been connected by some sort of relationship, or by marriage, with his predecessor, since both are placed in the same dynasty. A few contracts of Sumulailu are given by Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, p. 1. Samsuiluna calls him "my forefather (?-grandson), the fifth king before me" (*Cyl. Samo.* ii. 62–64).

[3] Bruno Meissner, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

[4] See the description given of these in Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 617–619.

[5] Contract dated in "the year in which Immêru dug the canal Ashukhum" (Meissner, *op. cit.*, p. 22, n. 10); contract dated "the year of the canal Tutu-khegal" (Id., *ibid.*, pp. 24, 25, 83, 84). The exact site of Tutu-khegal is still unknown.

[6] Sumulailu had built six such large strongholds of brick, which were repaired by Samsuiluna two generations later (Winckler, *Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte*, pp. 7, 142, and *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. pp. 132, 133; Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 353). A fortress on the Elamite frontier, Kar-Dur-Abilsin, mentioned in a mutilated inscription (Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iii. p. 38, No. 2, verso, l. 64), had probably been built by Abilsin, whose name it perpetuated (Fr. Delitzsch, *Die Sprache der Kossäer*, pp. 67, 68; Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 355). A contract of Sinmuballit is dated the year in which he built the great wall of a strong place, the name of which is unfortunately illegible on the fragment which we possess (Meissner, *Beiträge*, etc., pp. 81, 82).

[7] Contract of Sinmuballit, dated "the year of the throne of Sin" (Meissner, *Beiträge*, etc., p. 70); also "the year of Shamash and of Rammân" (Id., *ibid.*, p. 72).

[8] Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pl. 69, col. iii. ll. 28–31: cf. G. Smith, *Early History of Babylonia*, in the *Transactions of the Biblical Archæological Society*, vol. i. p. 24. Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 354, believes that the passage merely indicates the ruin of the temple subsequent to the time of Zabu, and not by any means its restoration by that prince.

possessions touched upon those of the kings of Uru, but the frontier was constantly shifting, so that at one time an important city such as Nippur belonged to them, while at another it fell under the dominion of the southern provinces. Perpetual war was waged in the narrow borderland which separated the two rival states, resulting apparently in the balance of power being kept tolerably equal between them under the immediate successors of Sumuabim[1]—the obscure Sumulailu, Zabum, the usurper Immeru, Abilsin and Sinmuballit—until the reign of Khammurabi (the son of Sinmuballit), who finally made it incline to his side.[2] The struggle in which he was engaged, and which, after many vicissitudes, he brought to a successful issue, was the more decisive, since he had to contend against a skilful and energetic adversary who had considerable forces at his disposal. Rimsin[3] was, in reality, of Elamite race, and as he held the province of Yamutbal in appanage, he was enabled to muster, in addition to his Chaldæan battalions, the army of foreigners who had conquered the maritime regions at the mouth of the Tigris and the Euphrates.

It was not the first time that Elam had audaciously interfered in the

[1] None of these facts are as yet historically proved; we may, however, conjecture with some probability what was the general state of things, when we remember that the first kings of Babylon were contemporaries of the last independent sovereigns of Southern Chaldæa.

[2] The name of this prince has been read in several ways—Hammurabi, Khammurabi, by the earlier Assyriologists, subsequently Hammuragash, Khammuragash, as being of Elamite or Cossæan extraction: the reading Khammurabi is at present the prevailing one. The bilingual list published by Pinches (*Notes on a New List of Early Babylonian Kings*, in the *Proceedings of the Biblical Archæological Society*, 1880–81, p. 38) makes Khammurabi an equivalent of the Semitic names Kimta-rapaltum. Hence Halévy concluded that Khammurabi was a series of ideograms, and that Kimtarapashtum was the true reading of the name (*Mélanges de Critique et d'Histoire*, p. 399; *Recherches bibliques*, pp. 254–258, 307–310; cf. Guyard, *La Question Suméro-Accadienne*, in the *Revue des Religions*, vol. v. p. 274); his proposal, partially admitted by Hommel (*Gishgallaki, Babylon*, in the *Proceedings*, 1892–93, vol. xv. p. 110; *Assyriological Notes*, in the *Proceedings*, 1893–94, vol. xvi. p. 212), furnishes me with a mixed reading of Khammurapaltu, Amraphel. [Hommel is now convinced of the identity of the Amraphel of *Gen.* xiv. 1 with Khammurabi.—Tr.] Sayce, moreover, adopts the reading Khammurabi, and assigns to him an Arabian origin (*Patriarchal Palestine*, pp. vii., viii., 62–64). The part played by this prince was pointed out at an early date by Ménant (*Inscriptions de Hammourabi, roi de Babylone, XVIe siècle avant J.-C.*, 1863). Recent discoveries have shown the important share which he had in developing the Chaldæan empire, and have increased his reputation with Assyriologists (Tiele, *Babylonisch-Assyrische*, pp. 124, 127; Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 407, et seq.; Delitzsch-Mürdter, *Geschichte Bab. und Ass.*, 2nd edit., pp. 85–87; Winckler, *Geschichte Bab. und Ass.*, pp. 60–65).

[3] The name of this king has been the theme of heated discussions: it was at first pronounced Aradsin, Ardusin, or Zikarsin (Oppert, *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, vol. i. p. 261); it is now read in several different ways—Rimsin (Delitzsch-Mürdter, *Geschichte Bab. und Ass.*, 2nd edit., pp. 83, 84; Winckler, *Geschichte Bab. und Ass.*, p. 46), or Eriaku, Riaku, Rimagu (Hommel, *Gesch. Bab. u. Ass.*, pp. 362, 363; *Die Semitischen Völker und Sprachen*, p. 345; Halévy, *Notes Sumériennes*, § 5, in the *Revue Sémitique*, vol. ii. pp. 270–276; Sayce, *Patriarchal Palestine*, p. 65, et seq.). Others have made a distinction between the two forms, and have made out of them the names of two different kings (G. Smith, *Early History of Babylonia*, in the *Transactions* of the Biblical Arch. Soc., vol. i. pp. 42, 43, and 53–55, where the author preserves, side by side with Rimsin, Oppert's reading of Ardusin, Aradsin; Fr. Delitzsch, *Die Sprache der Kossäer*, pp. 68, 69; Tiele, *Bab.-Assyrische Geschichte*, pp. 122–124). They are all variants of the same name. I have adopted the form Rimsin, which is preferred by a few Assyriologists. [The tablets recently discovered by Mr. Pinches, referring to Kudur-lagamar and Tudkhula, which he has published in a Paper read before the Victoria Institute, Jan. 20, 1896, have shown that the true reading is Eri-Aku. The Elamite name Eri-Aku, "servant of the moon-god," was changed by some of his subjects into the Babylonian Rim-Sin, "Have mercy, O Moon-god!" just as Abinubi, the Hebrew Abishua ("the father of welfare") was transformed into the Babylonian Ebisum ("the actor").—Tr.]

affairs of her neighbours. In fabulous times, one of her mythical kings—Khumbaba the Ferocious—had oppressed Uruk, and Gilgames with all his valour was barely able to deliver the town.[1] Sargon the Elder is credited with having subdued Elam; the kings and vicegerents of Lagash had measured forces with Anshan as well as with Uru and Larsam, but with uncertain issue. From time to time they obtained an advantage, and we find recorded in the annals victories gained by Gudea, Inê-sin, or Bursin,[2] but to be followed only by fresh reverses; at the close of such campaigns, and in order to seal the ensuing peace, a princess of Susa would be sent as a bride to one of the Chaldæan cities, or a Chaldæan lady of royal birth would enter the harem of a king of Anshân.[3] Elam was protected along the course of the Tigris and on the shores of the Nâr-Marratum by a wide marshy region, impassable except at a few fixed and easily defended places.[4] The alluvial plain extending behind the marshes was as rich and fertile as that of Chaldæa. Wheat and barley ordinarily yielded an hundred and at times two hundredfold;[5] the towns were surrounded by a shadeless belt of palms;[6] the almond, fig, acacia, poplar, and willow extended in narrow belts along the rivers' edge.[7] The climate closely resembles that of Chaldæa: if the midday heat in summer is more pitiless, it is at least tempered by more frequent east winds.[8] The ground, however, soon begins to rise, ascending gradually towards the north-east. The distant and uniform line of mountain-peaks grows loftier on the approach of the traveller, and the hills begin to appear one behind another, clothed halfway up with thick forests, but bare on their summits, or scantily covered with meagre vegetation. They comprise, in fact, six or seven parallel ranges,

[1] Cf. what is said on this subject in MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 579, 580. A much mutilated text, published by A. Strong (*Three Cuneiform Texts*, in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. vi. pp. 1-9), appears to refer in the same way to some fabulous struggle between a very ancient king of Chaldæa and a certain Khumbasitir, King of Elam.

[2] Contract dated "the year in which the King Inê-Sin ravaged Anshan" (SCHEIL, *Notes d'Épigraphie et d'Archéologie Assyriennes*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xvii. p. 37; cf. *Constantinople*, N. 394).

[3] Contract dated "the year in which the king's daughter went to Anshân" (SCHEIL, *Notes d'Épigraphie et d'Archéologie Assyriennes*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xvii. p. 38); an unpublished contract of Constantinople is dated "the year in which the daughter of the King Inê-Sin became vicegerent in Anshan and in Markhasi," probably by marriage with the vicegerent of those countries. The title of "vicegerent" used in this passage appears to denote that Anshan was subject to the King Inê-Sin.

[4] The geography of Elam has been made the subject of minute study in the monograph by BILLERBECK, *Susa, eine Studie zur Alten Geschichte Westasiens*, pp. 1-25.

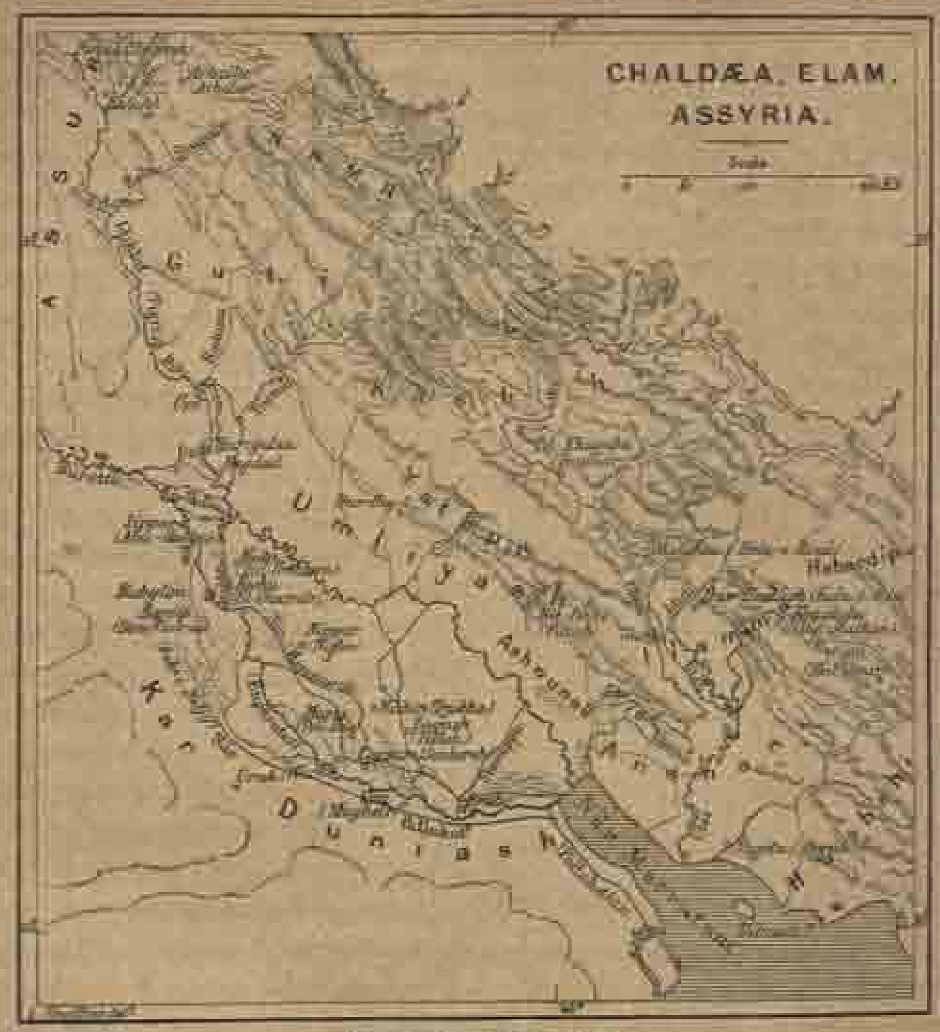
[5] STRABO, XV. iii. § 11, p. 731, who appears, however, to have taken his information in this case from the stories of Aristobulus, which should always be received with caution.

[6] STRABO, XV. iii. § 10, p. 731; xvi. i. § 5, p. 739. Assyrian sculptures show us that these grew around the towns in the time of Assurbanipal as commonly as at the present day (LAYARD, *Monuments of Nineveh*, vol. ii. pl. 49).

[7] LOFTUS, *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*, pp. 276, 346.

[8] STRABO, XV. iii. § 10, p. 731, again following Aristobulus, relates that in summer the heat at midday is so excessive that snakes cannot cross the streets without running the risk of being literally baked by the sun. Modern travellers have shown themselves less susceptible to a high temperature, and have rarely left record of a day when the heat was intolerable (LOFTUS, *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*, pp. 290, 307).

resembling natural ramparts piled up between the country of the Tigris and the table-land of Iran. The intervening valleys were formerly lakes, having had for the most part no communication with each other and no outlet into the sea. In the course of centuries they had dried up, leaving a thick deposit of



MAP OF CHALDÆA AND ELAM.

mud in the hollows of their ancient beds, from which sprang luxurious and abundant harvests.[1] The rivers—the Uknu,[2] the Ididi,[3] and the Ulai[4]—which water this region are, on reaching more level ground, connected by

[1] Élisée Reclus, *Géographie universelle*, vol. ix. p. 168.

[2] The Uknu is the Kerkhah of the present day, the Choaspes of the Greeks (Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 193–196).

[3] The Ididi was at first identified with the ancient Pasitigris (Finzi, *Ricerche intorno all' Antichità Assira*, p. 281), which scholars then desired to distinguish from the Eulæus: it is now known to be the arm of the Karun which runs to Dizful (Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 329), the Koprates of classical times (Strabo, xv. 3, § 6, p. 729), which has sometimes been confounded with the Eulæus.

[4] The Ulai, mentioned in the Hebrew texts (*Dan.* viii. 2, 16), the Eulæus of classical writers

canals, and are constantly shifting their beds in the light soil of the Susian plain; they soon attain a width equal to that of the Euphrates, but after a short time lose half their volume in swamps, and empty themselves at the present day into the Shatt-el-Arab. They flowed formerly into that part of the Persian Gulf which extended as far as Kornah, and the sea thus formed the southern frontier of the kingdom.[1]



AN ANCIENT SUSIAN OF NEGRITIC RACE.[4]

From earliest times this country was inhabited by three distinct peoples, whose descendants may still be distinguished at the present day, and although they have dwindled in numbers and become mixed with elements of more recent origin, the resemblance to their forefathers is still very remarkable. There were, in the first place, the short and robust people of well-knit figure, with brown skins, black hair and eyes, who belonged to that negritic race which inhabited a considerable part of Asia in prehistoric times.[2] These prevailed in the lowlands and the valleys, where the warm, damp climate favoured their development; but they also spread into the mountain region, and had pushed their outposts as far as the first slopes of the Iranian table-land. They there came into contact with a white-skinned people of medium height, who were probably allied to the nations of Northern and Central Asia—to the Scythians,

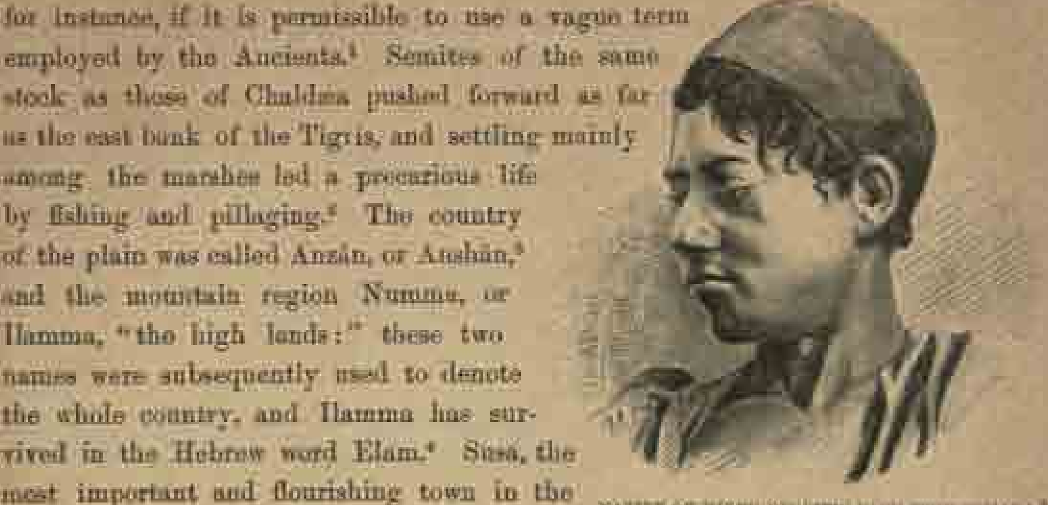
(Arrian, *Anabasis*, vii. 7; Diodorus Siculus, xix. 19), also called Pasitigris (Arrian, *Hist. Ind.*, xlii.; Strabo, xv. 3, § 4, pp. 728–729; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vi. 31). It is the Karun of the present day (Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 329), until its confluence with the Shaûr, and subsequently the Shaûr itself, which waters the foot of the Susian hills.

[2] For the ancient limits of the Persian Gulf and the alluvial deposits which have gradually filled it from early times, cf. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 548, 549.

[3] The connection of the negroid type of Susians with the negritic races of India and Oceania, suspected by Quatrefages-Hamy, *Crania Ethnica*, pp. 152, 160, has been proved, in the course of M. Dieulafoy's expedition to the Susian plains and the ancient provinces of Elam, by the researches of Fr. Houssay, *Les Races humaines de la Perse*, pp. 38–45, 48; cf. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, pp. 7, 8, 10, 11, 27–35, 36, 37.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a bas-relief of Sargon II. in the Louvre.

for instance, if it is permissible to use a vague term employed by the Ancients.[1] Semites of the same stock as those of Chaldæa pushed forward as far as the east bank of the Tigris, and settling mainly among the marshes led a precarious life by fishing and pillaging.[2] The country of the plain was called Anzân, or Anshân,[3] and the mountain region Numma, or Ilamma, "the high lands:" these two names were subsequently used to denote the whole country, and Ilamma has survived in the Hebrew word Elam.[4] Susa, the most important and flourishing town in the kingdom, was situated between the Ulai and



NATIVE OF MIXED SEMITIC RACE FROM SUSIANA.[5]

the Ididi, some twenty-five or thirty miles from the nearest of the mountain

[1] This last-mentioned people is, by some authors, for reasons which, so far, can hardly be considered conclusive, connected with the so-called Sumerian race, which we find settled in Chaldæa (cf. MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 550, 551). They are said to have been the first to employ horses and chariots in warfare (BILLERBECK, *Susa*, p. 24).

[2] From the earliest times we meet beyond the Tigris with names like that of Durilu (cf. MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 598), a fact which proves the existence of races speaking a Semitic dialect in the countries under the suzerainty of the King of Elam: in the last days of the Chaldæan empire they had assumed such importance that the Hebrews made out Elam to be one of the sons of Shem (*Gen.* x. 22).

[3] Anzân, Anshân, and, by assimilation of the nasal with the sibilant, Asshân. This name has already been mentioned in the inscriptions of the kings and vicegerents of Lagash (cf. MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 603, 610) and in the *Book of Prophecies* of the ancient Chaldæan astronomers; it also occurs in the royal preamble of Cyrus and his ancestors (RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. v. pl. 35, ll. 12, 21), who like him were styled "Kings of Anshân." It had been applied to the whole country of Elam (HALÉVY, *Mélanges de Critique et d'Histoire*, pp. 6, 7, 117-119, 129, 136), and afterwards to Persia (AMIAUD, *Cyrus, roi de Perse*, in the *Mélanges Renier*, pp. 213-260; OPPERT, in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1881, No. 40, 1254-56, where the author questions the identity of Anshân with Anzân, regarding the latter word as the name of Elam, and the former as that of a Persian town, Pasargadæ or Marrhasium); others are of opinion that it was the name of a part of Elam, viz. that inhabited by the Turanian Medes who spoke the second language of the Achæmenian inscriptions (DELATTRE, *Le Peuple et la Langue des Perses*, pp. 44, et seq.), the eastern half (H. RAWLINSON, *Notes on a Clay Cylinder of Cyrus the Great*, in the *J. R. As. S.*, new series, vol. xii. pp. 70-97, where the author connects the name with a town called Assan, mentioned as being in the neighbourhood of Shuster; TIELE, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, p. 469), bounded by the Tigris and the Persian Gulf, consisting of a flat and swampy land (SAYCE, *The Languages of the Cun. Insc. of Elam*, in the *Trans. Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iii. p. 475, and *The Inscriptions of Mal-Amir*, pp. 4, 5). These differences of opinion gave rise to a heated controversy; it is now, however, pretty generally admitted that Anzân-Anshân was really the plain of Elam, from the mountains to the sea, and one set of authorities affirms that the word Anzân may have meant "plain" in the language of the country (OPPERT, *Les Inscriptions en langue susienne*, in the *Mém. du Congrès internat. des Orientalistes de Paris*, vol. ii. p. 191; cf. FR. DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 326), while others hesitate as yet to pronounce definitely on this point (WEISSBACH, *Anzanische Inschriften*, in the *Abhandlungen* of the Sax. Academy of Sciences, vol. xii. p. 137; vol. xiv. p. 736).

[4] The meaning of "Numma," "Ilamma," "Ilamtu," in the group of words used to indicate Elam, had been recognised even by the earliest Assyriologists: the name originally referred to the hilly country on the north and east of Susa (FR. DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 320). To the Hebrews, Elam was one of the sons of Shem (*Gen.* x. 22). The Greek form of the name is Elymaïs, and some of the classical geographers were well enough acquainted with the meaning of the word to be able to distinguish the region to which it referred from Susiana proper: [illegible] (STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM, s. v.).

[5] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph furnished by Marcel Dieulafoy.

ranges. Its fortress and palace were raised upon the slopes of a mound which overlooked the surrounding country:[1] at its base, to the eastward, stretched the town, with its houses of sun-dried bricks.[2] Further up the course of



THE TUMULUS OF SUSA, AS IT APPEARED TOWARDS THE MIDDLE OF THIS CENTURY.[3]

the Ukni, lay the following cities: Madaktu, the Badaca of classical authors,[4] rivalling Susa in strength and importance; Naditu,[5] Til-Khumba,[6] Dur-Undash,[7] Khaidalu,[8]—all large walled towns, most of which assumed the title of royal cities.[9] Elam in reality constituted a kind of feudal empire, composed

[1] Susa, in the language of the country, was called Shushun (Oppert, *Les Inscriptions en langue susienne, Essai d'interprétation*, in the *Mémoires du Congrès international des Orientalistes de Paris*, vol. ii. p. 179); this name was transliterated into Chaldæo-Assyrian, by Shushan, Shushi (Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 326, 327).

[2] On the site of the citadel, cf. M. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, p. 117, et seq. Strabo (xv. 3, § 2, p. 728) tells us, on the authority of Polycletus, that the town had no walls in the time of Alexander, and extended over a space two hundred stadia in length; in the VIIth century B.C. it was enclosed by walls with bastions, which are shown on a bas-relief of Assurbanipal, but it was surrounded by unfortified suburbs (Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, vol. ii. pl. 49).

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, after a plate in Chesney's *Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Tigris and Euphrates*, vol. ii. p. 358. It represents the tumulus of Susa as it appeared prior to the excavations of Loftus and the Dieulafoys.

[4] Madaktu, Matalctu, the Badaka of Diodorus (xix. 19), situated on the Eulæus, between Susa and Ecbatana, has been placed by Rawlinson (*The Five Great Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. 172, No. 3) near the bifurcation of the Kerkhah, either at Paipul or near Aiwan-i-Kherkah, where there are some rather important and ancient ruins; Billerbeck (*Susa*, pp. 71, 72) prefers to put it at the mouth of the valley of *Zal-bâr*, on the site at present occupied by the citadel of Kala-i-Riza.

[5] Naditu is identified by Finzi (*Ricerche intorno allo Studio dell' Antichità Assira*, p. 298) with the village of Natanzeh, near Ispahan; it ought rather to be looked for in the neighbourhood of Susa.

[6] Til-Khumba, the Mound of Khumba, so named after one of the principal Elamite gods, was perhaps situated among the ruins of Bulfur, towards the confluence of the Abi-Kirind and Kerkhah, or possibly higher up in the mountain, in the vicinity of Asmanabad (Billerbeck, *Susa*, p. 72).

[7] Dur-Undash, Dur-Undasi, has been identified, without absolutely conclusive reason, with the fortress of Kala-i-Dis on the Disful-Rud (Billerbeck, *Susa*, p. 72).

[8] Khaidalu, Khidalu, is perhaps the present fortress of Dir-Malkan (Billerbeck, *Susa*, p. 72).

[9] E.g. Madaktu (Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. v. pl. 5, ll. 16, 72, 81), Naditu (Id., *ibid.*, l. 77), Dur-Undasi (Id., *ibid.*, l. 91), Khidalu (Id., pl. 3, l. 49).

of several tribes—the Habardip, the Khushshi,[1] the Umliyash, the people of Yamutbal and of Yatbur[2]—all independent of each other, but often united under the authority of one sovereign, who as a rule chose Susa as the seat of government. The language is not represented by any idioms now spoken, and its affinities with the Sumerian which some writers have attempted to establish, are too uncertain to make it safe to base any theory upon them.[3] The little that we know of Elamite religion reveals to us a mysterious world, full of strange names and vague forms.[4] Over their hierarchy there presided a deity who was called Shushinak (the Susian), Dimesh or Samesh, Dagbag, Assiga, Adaene, and possibly Khumba and Ummân, whom the Chaldæans identified with their god Ninip;[5] his statue was concealed in a sanctuary inaccessible to the profane, but it was dragged from thence by Assurbanipal of Nineveh in the VII[th] century B.C.[6]

[1] Strabo, XI. xiii. § 3, 6, pp. 523, 524, on the authority of Nearchus, an admiral under Alexander, divides the peoples of Susiana into four races of brigands—the Mardi, Uxians, Elymæans, and Cossæans. The Mardi or Amardians are the Habardip of the Assyro-Chaldæan inscriptions, the Khapirti-Apirti of the Susian and Achæmenian texts, who inhabited the region to the north-east of Susa, where are the monuments of Mal-Amir (Norris, *Scythic Version of the Behistun Inscription* in the *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xv. pp. 4, 164; Sayce, *The Languages of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Elam and Media*, in the *Transactions* of the Society of Biblical Archæology, vol. iii. p. 468, and *The Inscriptions of Mal-Amir*, pp. 6–9); the Uxians are the Khushshi (Oppert, *Les Inscriptions en langue susienne, Essai d'interprétation*, in the *Mémoires du Congrès international des Orientalistes de Paris*, vol. ii. p. 183), and the Elymæans are the Elamites (cf. p. 33, note 3, of the present work). The identity of the Cossæans will be discussed at greater length on pp. 113–120 of this volume.

[2] The countries of Yatbur and Yamutbal extended into the plain between the marshes of the Tigris and the mountains; the town of Durilu was near the Yamutbal region, if not in that country itself (Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 230; Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 342, 354, who derives this name from that of Matabil, governor of Durilu). Umliyash lay between the Uknu and the Tigris (Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 229, 231).

[3] A great part of the Susian inscriptions have been collected by Fr. Lenormant, *Choix de Textes cunéiformes inédits*, pp. 115–141. They have been studied successively by Oppert, *Les Inscriptions en langue susienne, Essai d'interprétation* (in the *Mémoires du Congrès international des Orientalistes de Paris*, 1873, vol. ii. pp. 79–216); by Sayce, *The Languages of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Elam* (in the *Transactions* of the Society of Biblical Archæology, vol. iii. pp. 465–485), and *The Inscriptions of Mal-Amir and the Language of the Second Column of the Achæmenian Inscriptions* (in the *Actes du sixième Congrès des Orientalistes, tenu en 1883 à Leyde*, vol. ii. pp. 637–756); subsequently by Weissbach, *Anzanische Inschriften* (in the *Abhandlungen der Kgl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, vol. xii. pp. 119–150), and *Neue Beiträge zur Kunde der Susischen Inschriften* (vol. xiv. pp. 731–777 of the same); by Quentin, *Textes Susiens* (in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1891, vol. xvii. p. 150, et seq.); and lastly by Winckler, *Zu den altelamischen Inschriften* (in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. vi. pp. 317–326). An attempt has been made to identify the language in which they are written with the Sumero-accadian (Lenormant, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 322–328, and *La Langue primitive de la Chaldée*, pp. 313–316), and authorities now generally agree in considering the Achæmenian inscriptions of the second type as representative of its modern form; cf. Weissbach, *Anzanische Inschriften*, pp. 149, 150. Hommel (*Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 16, 17, 274, et seq., and *Die Sumero-Akkadische Sprache*, in the *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, vol. i. pp. 330–340) connects it with Georgian, and includes it in a great linguistic family, which comprises, besides these two idioms, the Hittite, the Cappadocian, the Armenian of the Van inscriptions, and the Cossæan. Oppert claims to have discovered on a tablet in the British Museum a list of words belonging to one of the idioms (probably Semitic) of Susiana, which differs alike from the Susi-Medic and the Assyrian (*La Langue des Élamites*, in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. i. pp. 45–49).

[4] There are only about twenty lines or so on the religion of the Elamites in Fr. Lenormant's *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, p. 321, note 1, and a page in Fr. Delitzsch's *Die Sprache der Kossäer*, pp. 42, 43.

[5] H. Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. ii. pl. 57, ll. 46–50; Fr. Delitzsch, *Die Sprache der Kossäer*, p. 42, after the text published by Rawlinson.

[6] *Shushinak* is an adjective derived from the name of the town of Susa. The real name of the god was probably kept secret and rarely uttered. The names which appear by the side of Shushinak

This deity was associated with six others of the first rank, who were divided into two triads—Shumudu, Lagamaru, Partikira; Ammankasibar, Uduran, and Sapak: of these names, the least repellent, Ammankasibar, may possibly be the Memnon of the Greeks.[1] The dwelling of these divinities was near Susa, in the depths of a sacred forest to which the priests and kings alone had access; their images were brought out on certain days to receive solemn homage, and were afterwards carried back to their shrine accompanied by a devout and reverent multitude. These deities received a tenth of the spoil after any successful campaign—the offerings comprising statues of the enemies' gods, valuable vases, ingots of gold and silver, furniture, and stuffs.[2] The Elamite armies were well organized, and under a skilful general became irresistible. In other respects the Elamites closely resembled the Chaldæans, pursuing the same industries and having the same agricultural and commercial instincts. In the absence of any bas-reliefs and inscriptions peculiar to this people, we may glean from the monuments of Lagash and Babylon a fair idea of the extent of their civilisation in its earliest stages.



AN ELAMITE GODDESS, ANSWERING TO THE CHALDÆAN ISHTAR.[3]

The cities of the Euphrates, therefore, could have been sensible of but little change, when the chances of war transferred them from the rule of their native princes to that of an Elamite. The struggle once over, and the resulting evils

in the text published by H. RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. v. pl. 37, ll. 46–30, as equivalents of the Babylonian Ninip, perhaps represent different deities; we may well ask whether the deity may not be the Khumba, Umma, Umman, who occurs so frequently in the names of men and places, and who has hitherto never been met with alone in any formula or dedicatory tablet. As to the sanctuary in which he resided, cf. RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. v. pl. 6, ll. 30, 31.

[1] RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. v. pl. 6, ll. 33–36; cf. G. SMITH, *History of Assurbanipal*, p. 228, and JENSEN, *Inschriften Aschurbanipal's*, in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. ii. p. 205. Fr. Lenormant was inclined to think that Ammankasibar represented a solar god and Uduran a lunar god (*La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, p. 318, n. 1).

[2] RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. v. pl. 6, ll. 60–69, describing the sack of Susa by Assurbanipal.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a bas-relief in LAYARD'S *Monuments of Nineveh*, vol. i. pl. 65.

repaired as far as practicable, the people of these towns resumed their usual ways, hardly conscious of the presence of their foreign ruler. The victors, for their part, became assimilated so rapidly with the vanquished, that at the close of a generation or so the conquering dynasty was regarded as a legitimate and national one, loyally attached to the traditions and religion of its adopted country. In the year 2285 B.C., towards the close of the reign of Nurrammân, or in the earlier part of that of Siniddinam,[1] a King of Elam, by name Kudur-nakhunta,[2] triumphantly marched through Chaldæa from end to end, devastating the country and sparing neither town nor temple: Uruk lost its statue of Nanâ, which was carried off as a trophy and placed in the sanctuary of Susa. The inhabitants long mourned the detention of their goddess, and a hymn of lamentation, probably composed for the occasion by one of their priests, kept the remembrance of the disaster fresh in their memories. "Until when, oh lady, shall the impious enemy ravage the country!—In thy queen-city, Uruk, the destruction is accomplished,—in Eulbar, the temple of thy oracle, blood has flowed like water,—upon the whole of thy lands has he poured out flame, and it is spread abroad like smoke.—Oh, lady, verily it is hard for me to bend under the yoke of misfortune!—Oh, lady, thou hast wrapped me about, thou hast plunged me, in sorrow!—The impious mighty one has broken me in pieces like a reed,—and I know not what to resolve, I trust not in myself,—like a bed of reeds I sigh day and night!—I, thy servant, I bow myself before thee!"[3] It would appear that the whole of Chaldæa, including Babylon itself, was forced to acknowledge the supremacy of the invader;[4] a Susian empire thus

[1] Cf. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 619, for a summary of the little we know in regard to the reigns of Nurrammân and Siniddinam.

[2] G. Smith, *History of Assurbanipal*, pp. 249-251, where Assurbanipal tells how he recovered, at Susa, the statue of Nanâ, which King Kudurnankhundi had carried off 1635 years (other copies of the same text give 1535 years) before his time. This document, discovered by G. Smith (*Egyptian Campaigns of Esarhaddon and Assur-bani-pal* in the *Zeitschrift für Ægyptische Sprache*, 1868, pp. 115, 116), has enabled historians to establish approximately the chronology of the first Babylonian empire. As we do not know the date of the capture of Susa by Assurbanipal, the possible error in regard to the date of this Kudurnankhundi is about twenty years, more or less; the invasion of Chaldæa falls, therefore, between 2275 and 2255 B.C., if we accept the figures 1635, or between 2175 and 2155 if we take 1535 to be correct. Kudurnankhundi is a corruption of the name Kudurnakhkhunta, which occurs in the Susian inscriptions. As Kudur, or rather Kutir, means *servant* (Sayce, *The Languages of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Elam*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. iii. p. 475), Kudurnakhkhunta signifies "servant of the goddess Nakhkhunta."

[3] Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. 19, No. 3; cf. Fr. Lenormant, *Études Accadiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 101-106, and vol. iii. pp. 36, 37; Hommel, *Die Semitischen Völker*, p. 223, and *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 343. Another relic of this conquest has been discovered by Hilprecht, *The Babylonian Expedition*, vol. i. p. 31; it is an agate tablet dedicated to Ninâ, for the life of Dungi, King of Uru, by an unknown personage, carried off into Elam, and recovered some time in the XV[th] century by Kurigalzu.

[4] The submission of Babylon is evident from the title Adda Martu, "sovereign of the West," assumed by several of the Elamite princes (cf. p. 47 of the present work): in order to extend his authority beyond the Euphrates, it was necessary for the King of Elam to be first of all master of

absorbed Chaldæa, reducing its states to feudal provinces, and its princes to humble vassals. Kudur-nakhunta having departed, the people of Larsa exerted themselves to the utmost to repair the harm that he had done, and they succeeded but too well, since their very prosperity was the cause only a short time after of the outburst of another storm. Siniddinam, perhaps, desired to shake off the Elamite yoke. Simtishilkhak, one of the successors of Kudur-nakhunta, had conceded the principality of Yâmutbal as a fief to Kudur-mabug, one of his sons. Kudur-mabug appears to have been a conqueror of no mean ability, for he claims, in his inscriptions, the possession of the whole of Syria.[1] He obtained a victory over Siniddinam, and having dethroned him, placed the administration of the kingdom in the hands of his own son Rimsin.[2] This prince, who was at first a feudatory, afterwards associated in the government with his father, and finally sole monarch after the latter's death, married a princess of Chaldæan blood,[3] and by this means legitimatized his usurpation in the eyes of his subjects. His domain, which lay on both sides of the Tigris and of the Euphrates, comprised, besides the principality of Yamutbal, all the towns dependent on Sumer and Accad—Uru, Larsa,[4] Uruk, and Nippur. He acquitted himself as a good sovereign in the sight of gods and men; he repaired the brickwork in the temple of Nannar at Uru;[4] he embellished the temple of Shamash at Larsa, and caused two statues of copper to be cast in honour of the god; he also rebuilt Lagash and Girsu.[5] The city of Uruk had been left a heap of ruins after the withdrawal of Kudur-nakhunta: he set about the work of restoration, constructed a sanctuary to Papsukal, raised the ziggurât of Nanâ, and consecrated to the goddess an entire set of temple

Babylon. In the early days of Assyriology it was supposed that this period of Elamite supremacy coincided with the Median dynasty of Berosus (G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies*, vol. i. p. 159, et seq.; Oppert, *Histoire des Empires de Chaldée et d'Assyrie*, pp. 16–18).

[1] His preamble contains the titles *adda Martu* (Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pl. 2, No. 3, l. 3), "prince of Syria;" *adda Iamutbal* (Id., *ibid.*, pl. 5, No. 16, l. 9) "prince of Yamutbal." The word *adda* seems properly to mean "father," and the literal translation of the full title would probably be "*father of Syria*," "*father of Yamutbal*," whence the secondary meanings "master, lord, prince" (G. Smith, *Early History of Babylonia*, in the *Transactions* of the Society of Biblical Archæology, vol. i. p. 42), which have been provisionally accepted by most Assyriologists. Tiele (*Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, pp. 123, 124), and Winckler after him (*Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte*, p. 37, n. 2), have suggested that Martu is here equivalent to Yamutbal, and that it was merely used to indicate the western part of Elam; Winckler afterwards rejected this hypothesis, and has come round to the general opinion (*Altorientalische Forschungen*, p. 143, et seq., and *Geschichte Babyloniens*, vol. i. pp. 130, 131).

[2] In regard to the reading of the word Rimsin, cf. p. 29, n. 3, of the present work. His preamble contains the titles "Benefactor of Uru, King of Larsa, King of Sumir and of Accad" (Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pl. 5, No. 16, ll. 5–7), "mighty shepherd of Nippur" (Fr. Lenormant, *Choix de Textes Cunéiformes inédits*, No. 70, p. 164, l. 11).

[3] Winckler, *Sumer und Accad*, in the *Mittheilungen des Ak. Orient. Vereins zu Berlin*, vol. i. p. 17. Her name, which has been mutilated, was compounded with that of the goddess Ninni (l. 13).

[4] Bricks bearing his name, brought from Mugheir, now in the British Museum (Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pl. 2, No. 3; pl. 5, No. 16); stone plaque from the same source (Id., *ibid.*, pl. 5, No. 16).

[5] Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. 28, Nos. 13, 14; cf. G. Smith, *Early History of Babylonia*, in the *Transactions* of the Society of Biblical Archæology, vol. i. p. 55.

furniture to replace that carried off by the Elamites.[1] He won the adhesion of the priests by piously augmenting their revenues, and throughout his reign displayed remarkable energy.[2] Documents exist which attribute to him the reduction of Durilu, on the borders of Elam and the Chaldæan states;[3] others contain discreet allusions to a perverse enemy who disturbed his peace in the north, and whom he successfully repulsed.[4] He drove Sinmuballit out of Ishin,[5] and this victory so forcibly impressed his contemporaries, that they made it the starting-point of a new semi-official era; twenty-eight years after the event, private contracts still continued to be dated by reference to the taking of Ishin. Sinmuballit's son, Khammurabi, was more fortunate. Rimsin vainly appealed for help against him to his relative and suzerain Kudur-lagamar, who had succeeded Simtishilkhak at Susa. Rimsin was defeated, and disappeared from the scene of action, leaving no trace behind him, though we may infer that he took refuge in his fief of Yamutbal.[6] The conquest by Khammurabi was by no means achieved at one blow, the enemy offering an obstinate resistance. He was forced to destroy several fortresses, the inhabitants of which had either risen against him or had refused to do him homage, among them being those of Mair[7] and Malgu.[8]

[1] Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. 35, No. 6, ll. 16, 17; cf. Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 359; Winckler, *Inschriften von Königen von Sumer und Accad*, in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. pp. 96–99, No. 6.

[2] Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pl. 3, No. 10; cf. Smith, *Early History of Babylonia*, in the *Transactions*, vol. i. p. 57; Fr. Lenormant, *Études Accadiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 331–333; Winckler, *Inschriften von Königen von Sumer und Accad*, in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. pp. 94, 95.

[3] Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. 36, No. 18; cf. G. Smith, *Early History of Babylonia*, in the *Proceedings*, vol. i. p. 55; Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 361.

[4] Contract dated "the year in which King Rimsin [vanquished] the perverse, the enemies" (Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, pp. 17, 25, 96); the scribe left the phrase incomplete, the remainder of the formula being sufficiently familiar at the time for the reader to supply it for himself. A variant, indicating that it was a time of peace, is found on another contract of the same year (Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. 36, No. 2; cf. G. Smith, *Early History*, in the *Transactions Bib. Arch. Soc.*, vol. i. p. 55; Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens*, etc., p. 364). Many Assyriologists regard this as indicating a defeat suffered by Khammurabi (G. Smith, *Early History of Babylonia*, in the *Transactions*, vol. i. pp. 55–57). The contract published by Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabyl. Privatrecht*, pp. 22, 23, proves that the event took place under Sinmuballit. This prince is there stated to have been then alive, an oath in the body of the document being sworn by him and by the town of Sippar, but the date is that of "the year of the taking of Ishin."

[5] Contracts dated "the taking of Ishin" (Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabyl. Privatrecht*, pp. 22, 23), the year V. (G. Smith, *Early History*, p. 54), the year VI. (Meissner, *Beiträge*, pp. 40, 41), the years VII., VIII., XIII., XVIII., XXVIII. (G. Smith, *Early History*, p. 54, where the name is transcribed Karrak).

[6] This is a contract dated the year in which Khammurabi defeated Rimsin, thanks to the help of Anu and Bel (Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. 36, No. 21; cf. G. Smith, *Early History of Babylonia*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. i. p. 57; Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 361, 362). Jensen (*Inschriften aus der Zeit Hammurabi's*, in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. p. 127, note) is, so far as I know, alone in believing that we cannot with any certainty deduce from this passage that Rimsin was really defeated by Khammurabi. A notice of the wars of Rimsin and Kudur-lagamar has been discovered by Pinches (Hommel, *Aus der Babylonischen Altertumskunde*, in *Die Aula*, 1895, vol. i. pp. 551, 552; Sayce, *Recent Discoveries in Babylonian and Egyptian History*, in the *Academy*, Sept. 7, 1895, p. 189, and *Patriarchal Palestine*, pp. 70–72, 64–79).

[7] Malra, Mair, has been identified with Shurippak (Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 224; Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 411); but it is, rather, the town of Mar, now Tell-Id. It was the seat of a linen manufacture, and possessed large shipping (Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, p. 18). A and Lagamal, the Elamite Lagamar, were worshipped there.

[8] Contract dated "the year in which King Khammurabi, by order of Anu and Bel, destroyed the

When the last revolt had been put down, all the countries speaking the language of Chaldæa and sharing its civilization were finally united into a single kingdom, of which Khammurabi proclaimed himself the head. Other princes who had preceded him had enjoyed the same opportunities, but their efforts had never been successful in establishing an empire of any duration; the various elements had been bound together for a moment, merely to be dispersed again after a short interval. The work of Khammurabi, on the contrary, was placed on a solid foundation, and remained unimpaired under his successors. Not only did he hold sway without a rival in the south as in the north, but the titles indicating the rights he had acquired over Sumer and Accad were inserted in his Protocol after those denoting his hereditary possessions,—the city of Bel and the four houses of the world. Khammurabi's victory marks the close of those long centuries of gradual evolution during which the peoples of the Lower Euphrates passed from division to unity. Before his reign there had been as many states as cities, and as many dynasties as there were states; after him there was but one kingdom under one line of kings.[1]

Khammurabi's long reign of fifty-five years has hitherto yielded us but a small number of monuments—seals, heads of sceptres, alabaster vases, and pompous inscriptions, scarcely any of them being of historical interest. He was famous for the number of his campaigns, no details of which, however, have come to light, but the dedication of one of his statues celebrates his good fortune on the battle-field. "Bel has lent thee sovereign majesty: thou, what awaitest thou?—Sin has lent thee royalty: thou, what awaitest thou?—Ninip has lent thee his supreme weapon: thou, what awaitest thou?—The goddess of light, Ishtar, has lent thee the shock of arms and the fray: thou, what awaitest thou?—Shamash and Ramman are thy varlets: thou, what awaitest thou?—It is Khammurabi, the king, the powerful chieftain—who cuts the enemies in pieces,—the whirlwind of battle—who overthrows the country of the rebels—who stays combats, who crushes rebellions,—who destroys the stubborn like images of clay,—who overcomes the obstacles of inaccessible mountains."[2] The majority of these expeditions were, no doubt, consequent on the victory which

walls of Mairu and the walls of Malka" (Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. 36, No. 42; cf. G. Smith, *Early History of Babylonia*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. i. p. 57, where Malka, Malgai, is called Malalmak; Jensen, *Inschriften aus der Regierungszeit Hammurabi's*, in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. pp. 128, 129; Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, pp. 22, 30, 118, where the name is written E-alkua, Bit-alka); contracts dated simply from the taking of Mairu (Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, pp. 31, 86).

[1] Delitzsch-Mürdter, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, 2nd edit. pp. 85-87; Tiele, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, pp. 124-127; Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 406-415; Winckler, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 60-65.

[2] Amiaud, *Une Inscription bilingue de Hammourabi, roi de Babylone, du XV^e au XX^e siècle avant J.-C.*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. i. pp. 180-190, and *L'Inscription bilingue de Hammourabi*, in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. ii. p. 10; cf. Jensen, *Inschriften aus der Regierungszeit Hammurabi's*, in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. pp. 110-117.

destroyed the power of Rimsin. It would not have sufficed merely to drive back the Elamites beyond the Tigris; it was necessary to strike a blow within their own territory to avoid a recurrence of hostilities, which might have endangered the still recent work of conquest. Here, again, Khammurabi seems to have met with his habitual success. Ashnunak was a border district, and shared the fate of all the provinces on the eastern bank of the Tigris, being held sometimes by Elam and sometimes by Chaldæa; properly speaking, it was a country of Semitic speech, and was governed by viceroys owning allegiance, now to Babylon, now to Susa.[1] Khammurabi seized this province,[2] and permanently secured its frontier by building along the river a line of fortresses surrounded by earthworks.[3] Following



HEAD OF A SCEPTRE IN COPPER, BEARING THE NAME OF KHAMMURABI.[4]

the example of his predecessors, he set himself to restore and enrich the temples. The house of Zamama and Ninni, at Kish, was out of repair, and the ziggurât threatened to fall; he pulled it down and rebuilt it, carrying it to such a height that its summit "reached the heavens."[5] Merodach had delegated to him the government of the faithful, and had raised him to the rank of supreme ruler over the whole of Chaldæa. At Babylon, close to the great lake which served as a reservoir for the overflow of the Euphrates, the king restored the sanctuary of Esagilla, the dimensions of which did not appear to him to be proportionate to the growing importance of the city. "He completed this divine dwelling with great joy and delight, he raised the summit to the firmament," and then

[1] Pognon, *Quelques Rois du pays d'Ashnounak* (in the *Muséon*, 1892, pp. 249–253), discovered inscriptions of four of the vicegerents of Ashnunak, which he assigns, with some hesitation, to the time of Khammurabi, rather than to that of the kings of Telloh. Three of these names are Semitic, the fourth Sumerian; the language of the inscriptions bears a resemblance to the Semitic dialect of Chaldæa (cf. Pinches, *Discoveries in Ashnunnak*, in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. vi. pp. 66–68).

[2] Proof of his conquest of these two countries is afforded by inscriptions on contracts dated "the year in which Ashnunak was inundated, under King Khammurabi" (Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. 36, Nos. 38, 39; cf. G. Smith, *Early History of Babylonia*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. i. pp. 58, 59; Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, pp. 20–47, 48, 69; Scheil, *Notes d'Épigraphie et d'Archéologie Assyriennes*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xvii. p. 35). Ashnunak, or Ishnunak, is, according to some documents, the same country as Umliyash (Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 230, 231); the probability is, however, that it was originally an independent province, subsequently incorporated with Umliyash.

[3] Contract dated "the year of the great wall of Kar-Shamash" (G. Smith, *Early History of Babylonia*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. i. p. 59; Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, pp. 24, 25, 31, 36).

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a rapid sketch made at the British Museum.

[5] Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. 36, No. 24; cf. G. Smith, *Early History of Babylonia*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. i. p. 58; Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, pp. 44–46; Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 411. The temple was called Emitiursagga, "the house of the image of the god Ninip:" Zamama of Kish being identified with Ninip (Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?*). Ninni, like Nanâ, is a form of Ishtar.

enthroned Merodach and his spouse, Zarpanit, within it, amid great festivities.[1] He provided for the ever-recurring requirements of the national religion by frequent gifts; the tradition has come down to us of the granary for wheat which he built at Babylon, the sight of which alone rejoiced the heart of the god.[2] While surrounding Sippar with a great wall and a fosse, to protect its earthly inhabitants,[3] he did not forget Shamash and Malkatu, the celestial patrons of the town. He enlarged in their honour the mysterious Ebarra, the sacred seat of their worship, and "that which no king from the earliest times had known how to build for his divine master, that did he generously for Shamash his master."[4] He restored Ezida, the eternal dwelling of Merodach, at Borsippa;[5] Eturkalamma, the temple of Anu, Ninni, and Nanâ, the suzerains of Kish;[6] and also Ezikalamma, the house of the goddess Ninna, in the village of Zarilab.[7] In the southern provinces, but recently added to the crown,—at Larsa,[8] Uruk, and Uru,—he displayed similar activity. He had, doubtless, a political as well as a religious motive in all he did; for if he succeeded in winning the allegiance of the priests by the prodigality of his pious gifts,

[1] Mutilated copy of an inscription of Khammurabi from the library of Assurbanipal (RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. 18, No. 1, in the *Transactions*, vol. i. pp. 58-59; see HOMMEL, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 410, 411).

[2] JENSEN, *Inschriften aus der Regierungszeit Hammurabi's*, in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. pp. 120-123: it is a copy of an ancient text made by a scribe of the later Assyrian epoch.

[3] *Cylinder of Khammurabi*, col. i. ll. 10-19. Contract dated "the year in which the foundations of the wall of Sippara were laid" (MEISSNER, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, pp. 21, 22).

[4] MÉNANT, *Une Nouvelle Inscription de Hammourabi*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ii. pp. 76-80; FR. DELITZSCH, *Die Sprache der Kossäer*, pp. 73, 74; HOMMEL, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 410; JENSEN, *Inschriften aus der Regierungszeit Hammurabi's*, in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. pp. 124-127.

[5] Cylinders in the British Museum published and translated by STRASSMAIER-WINCKLER, *Einige unveröffentlichte Texte Hammurabis, Nabopolassars und Nebukadnezars*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pp. 118-123, 174-176; cf. JENSEN, *Inschriften aus der Regierungszeit Hammurabi's*, in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. pp. 116-121. Mention is made of this restoration by Nabonidus, who boasts that he found some of Khammurabi's cylinders among the foundations (BEZOLD, *Two Inscriptions of Nabonidus*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1888-89, vol. xi. pp. 94, 96, 99, 100; cf. PEISER, *Inschriften Nabonid's*, in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. pp. 90, 91).

[6] RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. 36, Nos. 25-27; cf. G. SMITH, *Early History of Babylonia*, in the *Transactions* of the Society of Biblical Archæology, vol. i. p. 58; HOMMEL, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 411; MEISSNER, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, pp. 88, 89.

[7] RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pl. 4, No. 15, 1; cf. MÉNANT, *Inscriptions de Hammourabi, roi de Babylone*, pp. 72-79, and *Babylone et la Chaldée*, p. 109; G. SMITH, *Early History of Babylonia*, in the *Transactions* of the Society of Biblical Archæology, vol. i. p. 60; FR. LENORMANT, *Études Accadiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 336-360; AMIAUD, *Une Inscription suméro-akkadienne de Hammourabi*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1883, vol. xx. pp. 221-244; JENSEN, *Inschriften aus der Regierungszeit Hammurabi's*, in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. pp. 106-109. The ordinary reading of the name of the town in which Khammurabi built this temple is Zarilab or Zerlab (cf. MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 562); a text mentioned by Zimmern (*Einige Bemerkungen zu den Babylonischen Königsinschriften*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. ii. p. 97) seems, however, to indicate Hallabe as being the proper reading, and this has been adopted by Jensen. The town ought in that case to be sought for in the neighbourhood of Sippara.

[8] Brick from Senkereh in the British Museum, RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pl. 4, No. xv. 2; cf. OPPERT, *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, vol. i. p. 237; MÉNANT, *Inscriptions de Hammourabi*, pp. 69-71; FR. LENORMANT, *Études Accadiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 355, 356; JENSEN, *Inschriften aus der Regierungszeit Hammurabi's*, in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. pp. 110, 111.

he could count on their gratitude in securing for him the people's obedience, and thus prevent the outbreak of a revolt. He had, indeed, before him a difficult task in attempting to allay the ills which had been growing during centuries of civil discord and foreign conquest. The irrigation of the country demanded constant attention, and from earliest times its sovereigns had directed the work with real solicitude; but owing to the breaking up of the country into small states, their respective resources could not be combined in such general operations as were needed for controlling the inundations and effectually remedying the excess or the scarcity of water. Khammurabi witnessed the damage done to the whole province of Umliyash by one of those terrible floods which still sometimes ravage the regions of the Lower Tigris,[1] and possibly it may have been to prevent the recurrence of such a disaster that he undertook the work of canalization. He was the first that we know of who attempted to organize and reduce to a single system the complicated network of ditches and channels which intersected the territory belonging to the great cities between Babylon and the sea.[2] Already, more than half a century previously, Siniddinam had enlarged the canal on which Larsa was situated,[3] while Rimsin had provided an outlet for the "River of the Gods" into the Persian Gulf:[5] by the junction of the two a navigable channel was formed between the Euphrates and the marshes, and an outlet was thus made for the surplus waters of the inundation. Khammurabi informs us how Anu and Bel, having confided to him the government of Sumer and Accad, and having placed in his hands the reins of power, he dug the Nâr-Khammurabi, the source of wealth to the people, which brings abundance of water to the country of Sumir and Accad. "I turned both



FRAGMENT OF A CLAY SEAL OF KHAMMURABI.[4]

[1] Contracts dated the year of an inundation which laid waste Umliyash (Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, p. 39): cf. in our own time, the inundation of April 18, 1831, which in a single night destroyed half the city of Bagdad, and in which fifteen thousand persons lost their lives either by drowning or by the collapse of their houses.

[2] P. Delattre, in *Travaux hydrauliques en Babylonie*, pp. 33–37, was the first to estimate the canal works of Khammurabi at their true value.

[3] Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pl. 5, No. xx., ll. 1–19; cf. G. Smith, *Early History of Babylonia*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. i. pp. 44, 45; Delattre, *Les Travaux hydrauliques en Babylonie*, pp. 32, 33. Another passage referring to this canal is found on a cylinder published and translated by Fr. Delitzsch, *Ein Thoncylinder Sinidinnam's*, in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. i. pp. 301, 302.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph published by Hilprecht, *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, vol. i. pl. ix., No. 25.

[5] Contract dated "the year the Tigris, river of the gods, was canalised down to the sea" (Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, p. 14; cf. G. Smith, *Early History of Babylonia*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. i. p. 55); i.e. as far as the point to which the sea then penetrated in the environs of Kornah.

its banks into cultivated ground, I heaped up mounds of grain and I furnished perpetual water for the people of Sumir and Accad. The country of Sumer and Accad, I gathered together its nations who were scattered, I gave them pasture and drink, I ruled over them in riches and abundance, I caused them to inhabit a peaceful dwelling-place. Then it was that Khammurabi, the powerful king, the favourite of the great gods, I myself, according to the prodigious strength with which Merodach had endued me, I constructed a high fortress, upon mounds of earth; its summit rises to the height of the mountains, at the head of the Nâr-Khammurabi, the source of wealth to the people. This fortress I called Dur-Sinmuballit-abim-ûâlidiya, the Fortress of Sinmuballit, the father who begat me, so that the name of Sinmuballit, the father who begat me, may endure in the habitations of the world."[1] This canal of Khammurabi ran from a little south of Babylon, joining those of Siniddinam and Rimsin, and probably cutting the alluvial plain in its entire length.[2] It drained the stagnant marshes on either side along its course, and by its fertilising effects, the dwellers on its banks were enabled to reap full harvests from the lands which previously had been useless for purposes of cultivation. A ditch of minor importance pierced the isthmus which separates the Tigris and the Euphrates in the neighbourhood of Sippar.[3] Khammurabi did not rest contented with these; a system of secondary canals doubtless completed the whole scheme of irrigation which he had planned after the achievement of his conquest, and his successors had merely to keep up his work in order to ensure an unrivalled prosperity to the empire.

Their efforts in this direction were not unsuccessful. Samsuiluna, the son of Khammurabi, added to the existing system two or three fresh canals, one at least of which still bore his name nearly fifteen centuries later;[4] it is mentioned in the documents of the second Assyrian empire in the time of

[1] Ménant, *Inscriptions de Hammourabi, roi de Babylone*, pp. 13-66, and *Manuel de la langue Assyrienne*, 2nd edit., pp. 306-312; Jensen, *Inschriften aus der Regierungszeit Hammurabi's*, in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. pp. 122-125. The inscription is now preserved in the Louvre. Many contracts are dated from the year in which this canal was finished (Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, pp. 22, 18, 86).

[2] Delattre, *Les Travaux hydrauliques en Babylonie*, pp. 35, 36, is of opinion that the canal dug by Khammurabi is the Arakhtu of later epochs (Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 74-76), which began at Babylon and extended as far as the Larsa canal. It must therefore be approximately identified with the Shatt-en-Nil of the present day, which joins Shatt-el-Kahar, the canal of Siniddinam.

[3] *Cylindre de Hammourabi*, col. i. ll. 20-25, in Winckler-Strassmaier, *Einige neuveröffentliche Texte Hammurabis, Nabopolassars, und Nebucadnezars*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pp. 118-123, where it is evidently not the Euphrates which is meant, as Winckler seems to think (cf. *Ein Text Nabopolassars*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. ii. p. 74). The canal which Khammurabi caused to be dug or dredged may be the Nâr-Malkâ, or "royal canal" (Winckler, *Ein Text Nabopolassars*, p. 76; Delattre, *Les Travaux hydrauliques en Babylonie*, p. 30), which ran from the Tigris to the Euphrates, passing Sippar on the way. The digging of this canal is mentioned in a contract (Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, pp. 89, 90).

[4] Contracts dated "the year of the Nâr-Samsuiluna-nagab-nukhshi," *i.e.* "Canal of Samsuiluna, source of riches" (G. Smith, *Early History of Babylonia*, in the *Transactions* of the Society of Biblical Archæology, vol. i. pp. 62, 63; Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 416; Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, pp. 53, 54; cf. Delattre, *Les Travaux hydrauliques en*

Assurbanipal, and it is possible that traces of it may still be found at the present day. Abiêshukh,[1] Ammisatana,[2] Ammizadugga,[3] and Samsusatana,[4] all either continued to elaborate the network planned by their ancestors, or applied themselves to the better distribution of the overflow in those districts where cultivation was still open to improvement. We should know nothing of these kings had not the scribes of those times been in the habit of dating the contracts of private individuals by reference to important national events. They appear to have chosen by preference incidents in the religious life of the country; as, for instance, the restoration of a temple, the annual enthronisation of one of the great divinities, such as Shamash, Merodach, Ishtar, or Nânâ, as the eponymous god of the current year,[5] the celebration of a solemn festival,[6] or the consecration of a statue;[7] while a few scattered allusions to works of fortification show that meanwhile the defence of the country was jealously watched over.[8] These sovereigns appear to have enjoyed long reigns, the shortest extending over a period of five and twenty years; and when at length the death

Babylonie, p. 37). The annalistic tablet S. 16 in the museum of Constantinople gives, after the year in which the king dug the canal, that in which "the canal gave abundance." The canal in question is mentioned in a list of canals and rivers from the library of Assurbanipal (RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. ii. pl. 51, No. 2, recto, l. 51; cf. DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 190; DELATTRE, *Les Travaux hydrauliques en Babylonie*, pp. 37, 48).

[1] Abishukh (the Hebrew Abishua) is the form of the name which we find in contemporary contracts (WINCKLER, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, p. 284; MEISSNER, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, pp. 8, 17, 18). The official lists contain the variant Ebishu, Ebishum.

[2] The name has been transcribed Ammiditana (DELITZSCH-MÜRDTER, *Gesch. Bab. und Assyriens*, 2nd edit., p. 88; HOMMEL, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 416, 417); others prefer Ammisatana (PINCHES, *Text of Ammisatana, King of Babylon*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. v. pp. 102–105; WINCKLER, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 66). The Nar-Ammisatana is mentioned in a Sippar contract (MEISSNER, *Beiträge*, etc., p. 28). Another contract is dated "the year in which Ammisatana, the king, repaired the canal of Samsuiluna" (ID., *ibid.*, p. 50).

[3] This was, at first, read Ammididugga (FR. DELITZSCH, *Die Sprache der Kossäer*, p. 70, n. 6). Ammizadugga is mentioned in the date of a contract as having executed certain works—of what nature it is not easy to say—on the banks of the Tigris (MEISSNER, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, pp. 61, 62); another contract is dated "the year in which Ammizadugga, the king, by supreme command of Shamash, his master, [dug] the *Nar-Ammizaduga-nukhus-nishi* (canal of Ammizadugga), prosperity of men" (ID., *ibid.*, pp. 30, 87). In the Minæan inscriptions of Southern Arabia the name is found under the form of Ammi-Zadug.

[4] Sometimes erroneously read Samsusatana (but see WINCKLER, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 66); but, as a matter of fact, we have contracts of that time, in which a royal name is plainly written as Samsusatana (MEISSNER, *Beiträge*, etc., p. 45).

[5] Contracts of the time of Ammizadugga, dated from the enthronement of Shamash and Merodach (MEISSNER, *Beiträge*, etc., pp. 18, 19), or from "the year in which he proclaimed, in the temple of Emmitila, a god" whose name is uncertain (ID., *ibid.*, pp. 41, 42).

[6] Contract dated "the year in which Samsuiluna, the king, made the true light" (MEISSNER, *Beiträge*, etc., pp. 30, 81). At present we have no exact knowledge of what this ceremony was.

[7] Contracts dated the year in which Samsuiluna placed the statues plated with gold before Merodach, in Esagilla at Babylon (RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. 36, Nos. 66, 67), or in Ebabbara at Larsa, before Shamash (ID., *ibid.*, pl. 36, No. 58); cf. G. SMITH, *Early History of Babylonia*, in the *Transactions* of the Society of Biblical Archæology, vol. i. pp. 63, 64).

[8] Samsuiluna repaired the five fortresses which his ancestor Sumulailu had built (WINCKLER, *Samsuiluna*, in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. pp. 130–133; cf. p. 28, n. 6, of the present work). Contract dated "the year in which Ammisatana, the king, built Dur-Ammisatana, near the

of any king occurred, he was immediately replaced by his son,[1] the notaries' acts and the judicial documents which have come down to us betraying no confusion or abnormal delay in the course of affairs. We may, therefore, conclude that the last century and a half of the dynasty was a period of peace and of material prosperity. Chaldæa was thus enabled to fully reap the advantage of being united under the rule of one individual. It is quite possible that those cities—Uru, Larsa, Ishin, Uruk, and Nippur—which had played so important a part in the preceding centuries, suffered from the loss of their prestige, and from the blow dealt to their traditional pretensions. Up to this time they had claimed the privilege of controlling the history of their country, and they had bravely striven among themselves for the supremacy over the southern states; but the revolutions which had raised each in turn to the zenith of power, had never exalted any one of them to such an eminence as to deprive its rivals of all hope of supplanting it and of enjoying the highest place. The rise of Babylon destroyed the last chance which any of them had of ever becoming the capital; the new city was so favourably situated, and possessed so much wealth and so many soldiers, while its kings displayed such tenacious energy, that its neighbours were forced to bow before it and resign themselves to the subordinate position of leading provincial towns. They gave a loyal obedience to the officers sent them from the north, and sank gradually into obscurity, the loss of their political supremacy being somewhat compensated for by the religious respect in which they were always held. Their ancient divinities—Nana, Sin, Anu, and Ea—were adopted, if we may use the term, by the Babylonians, who claimed the protection of these gods as fully as they did that of Merodach or of Nebo, and prided themselves on amply supplying all their needs. As the inhabitants of Babylon had considerable resources at their disposal, their appeal to these deities might be regarded as productive of more substantial results than the appeal of a merely local kinglet. The increase of the national wealth and the concentration, under one head, of armies hitherto owning several chiefs, enabled the rulers, not of Babylon or Larsa alone, but of the whole of Chaldæa, to offer an invincible resistance to foreign enemies, and to establish their dominion in countries where their ancestors had enjoyed merely a precarious sovereignty. Hostilities never completely ceased between Elam and Babylon; if

Sin river" (Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, pp. 26, 27), and "the year in which Ammizaduga, the king, gave his name to Dur-Iakinmulu, near the canal of Ammizaduga" (Id., *ibid.*, p. 28). Contract dated "the year in which the king Ammizaduga repaired Dur-Iakinmulu" (Id., *ibid.*, p. 23). Contract dated the year in which Samsuiluna caused "the wall of Ure and Uruk" to be built (*Constantinople*, unpublished, but communicated by Father Scheil).

[1] See p. 27, n. 4, of the present work for a table of the dynasty as preserved in the official lists; the reign of the usurper Immeru has been interpolated between Zabum and Abilsin, this being the place assigned to him by the contracts.

arrested for a time, they broke out again in some frontier disturbance, at times speedily suppressed, but at others entailing violent consequences and ending in a regular war. No document furnishes us with any detailed account of these outbreaks, but it would appear that the balance of power was maintained on the whole with tolerable regularity, both kingdoms at the close of each generation finding themselves in much the same position as they had occupied at its commencement. The two empires were separated from south to north by the sea and the Tigris, the frontier leaving the river near the present village of Amara and running in the direction of the mountains. Durilu probably fell ordinarily under Chaldæan jurisdiction. Umliyash was included in the original domain of Khammurabi, and there is no reason to believe that it was evacuated by his descendants.[1] There is every probability that they possessed the plain east of the Tigris, comprising Nineveh and Arbela, and that the majority of the civilized peoples scattered over the lower slopes of the Kurdish mountains rendered them homage. They kept the Mesopotamian table-land under their suzerainty, and we may affirm, without exaggeration, that their power extended northwards as far as Mount Masios, and westwards to the middle course of the Euphrates.

At what period the Chaldæans first crossed that river is as yet unknown. Many of their rulers in their inscriptions claim the title of suzerains over Syria, and we have no evidence for denying their pretensions. Kudur-mabug proclaims himself "adda" of Martu, Lord of the countries of the West,[2] and we are in the possession of several facts which suggest the idea of a great Elamite empire, with a dominion extending for some period over Western Asia, the existence of which was vaguely hinted at by the Greeks, who attributed its glory to the fabulous Memnon.[3] Contemporary records are still wanting which might show whether Kudur-mabug inherited these distant possessions from one of his predecessors—such as Kudur-nakhunta, for instance[4]—or whether he won them himself at the point of the sword; but a fragment of an old chronicle, inserted in the Hebrew Scriptures, speaks distinctly of another Elamite, who made war in person almost up to the Egyptian frontier.[5] This is the Kudur-lagamar

[1] Cf. what has been said in regard to Umliyash on p. 43 of the present work.

[2] See remarks on this title and its probable meaning on p. 37 of the present work.

[3] We know that to Herodotus (v. 53) Susa was the city of Memnon, and that Strabo (XV. iii. § 2, p. 729) attributes its foundation to Tithonus, father of Memnon. According to Oppert (*Les Inscriptions en langue susienne, Essai d'interprétation*, in the *Mémoires du Congrès international des Orientalistes à Paris*, vol. ii. p. 179) the word Memnon is the equivalent of the Susian Ummanu-anin, "the house of the king." Weissbach (*Anzanische Inschriften*, p. 126) declares that "anin" does not mean king, and contradicts Oppert's view, though he does not venture to suggest a new explanation of the name.

[4] In regard to Kudur-nakhunta, see what has been said above on pp. 36, 37 of the present work.

[5] Gen. xiv. From the outset Assyriologists have never doubted the historical accuracy of this chapter, and they have connected the facts which it contains with those which seem to be revealed by the Assyrian monuments. The two Rawlinsons (*The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*, vol. i. p. 61, et seq.) intercalate Kudur-lagamar between Kudur-nakhunta and Kudur-mabug

(Chedorlaomer) who helped Rimsin against Khammurabi, but was unable to prevent his overthrow. In the thirteenth year of his reign over the East, the cities of the Dead Sea—Sodom, Gomorrah, Adamah, Zeboïm, and Belâ—revolted against him: he immediately convoked his great vassals, Amraphel of Chaldæa, Ariôch of Ellasar,[1] Tidaʿlo the Goti, and marched with them to the confines of his dominions. Tradition has invested many of the tribes then inhabiting Southern Syria with semi-mythical names and attributes. They are represented as being giants—Rephaim; men of prodigious strength—Zuzim; as having a buzzing and indistinct manner of speech—Zamzummim;[2] as formidable monsters[3]—Emim or Anakim, before whom other nations appeared as grass-hoppers;[4] as the Horim who were encamped on the confines of the Sinaitic desert, and as the Amalekites who ranged over the mountains to the west of the Dead Sea. Kudur-lagamar defeated them one after another—the Rephaim near to Ashtaroth-Karnaim, the Zuzim near Ham,[5] the Emim at Shaveh-Kiriathaim, and the Horim on the spurs of Mount Seir as far as El-Paran; then retracing his footsteps, he entered the country of the Amalekites by way of En-mish-

[illegible] and Oppert places him about the same period (*Histoire des empires de Chaldée et d'Assyrie d'après les monuments*, pp. 10, 11). Fr. Lenormant regards him as one of the successors of Kudur-nakhunti, possibly his immediate successor (*La Langue primitive de la Chaldée et les idiomes touraniens*, pp. 375, 376). G. Smith does not hesitate to declare positively that the Kudur-mabug and Kudur-nakhunta of the inscriptions are one and the same with the Kudur-lagamar (Chedor-laomer) of the Bible (*Egyptian Campaign of Esarhaddon*, in the *Zeitschrift für Ægyptische Sprache*, 1868, vol. i. p. 116). Finally, Schrader, while he repudiates Smith's view, agrees in the main fact with the other Assyriologists (*Die Keilinschriften und das alte Testament*, 2nd edit., pp. 136, 137). We find the same view, with but slight modification, in Delitzsch-Mürdter (*Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 83, note), in Ed. Meyer (*Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. i. pp. 165, 166), and in Hommel (*Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 363, et seq.). On the other hand, the majority of modern Biblical critics have absolutely refused to credit the story in Genesis, e.g. Reuss (*L'Histoire Sainte et la Loi*, vol. i. pp. 345–350), Nöldeke (*Untersuchungen zur Kritik des Alte Testament*, p. 156, et seq.), Tiele (*Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, pp. 123, 124), Winckler (*Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*), p. 48, where Kudur-lagamar is not noticed at all). Sayce (*The Higher Criticism, etc.*, [?] edit., pp. 160–163) thinks that the Bible story rests on an historic basis, and his view is strongly confirmed by Pinches' discovery of a Chaldæan document which mentions Kudur-lagamar and two of his allies (Hommel, *Aus der Babylonische Altertumskunde*, in *Die Aula*, 1895, vol. i. p. 552; Sayce, *Recent Discoveries in Babylonian and Egyptian History*, in the *Academy*, Sept. 7, 1895, p. 189, and *Patriarchal Palestine*, pp. v., vi., 64–76). The Hebrew historiographer reproduced an authentic fact from the chronicles of Babylon, and connected it with one of the events in the life of Abraham. The very late date generally assigned to *Gen.* xiv. in no way diminishes the intrinsic probability of the facts narrated by the Chaldæan document which is preserved to us in the pages of the Hebrew book.

[1] Ellasar has been identified with Larsa since the researches of Rawlinson and Norris (Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 224; Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 2nd edit., pp. 135, 136); the Goïm, over whom Tidal was king, with the Guti (Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften*, p. 137).

[2] Sayce, *The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments*, 3rd edit., pp. 160, 161, considers Zuzim and Zamzummim to be two readings of the same word Zamzum, written in cuneiform characters on the original document. The sounds represented, in the Hebrew alphabet, by the letters *m* and *w*, are expressed in the Chaldæan syllabary by the same character, and a Hebrew or Babylonian scribe, who had no other means of telling the true pronunciation of a race-name mentioned in the story of this campaign, would have been quite as much at a loss as any modern scholar to say whether he ought to transcribe the word as *Z-m-z-m* or as *Z-w-z-w*: some scribes read it Zuzim, others preferred Zamzummim.

[4] *Numb.* xiii. 33.

[5] In *Deut.* ii. 20 it is stated that the Zamzummim lived in the country of Ammon. Sayce points out that we often find the variant *ha* for the character usually read *Ham* or *Kham*—the name Khammurabi,

pat, and pillaged the Amorites of Hazazôn-Tamar. In the mean time, the kings of the five towns had concentrated their troops in the vale of Siddim, and were there resolutely awaiting Kudur-lagamar. They were, however, completely routed, some of the fugitives being swallowed up in the pits of bitumen with which the soil abounded, while others with difficulty reached the mountains. Kudur-lagamar sacked Sodom and Gomorrah, re-established his dominion on all sides, and returned laden with booty, Hebrew tradition adding that he was overtaken near the sources of the Jordan by the patriarch Abraham.[1]

After his victory over Kudur-lagamar, Khammurabi assumed the title of King of Martu,[2] which we find still borne by Ammisatana sixty years later.[3] We see repeated here almost exactly what took place in Ethiopia at the time of its conquest by Egypt: merchants had prepared the way for military occupation, and the civilization of Babylon had taken hold on the people long before its kings had become sufficiently powerful to claim them as vassals. The empire may be said to have been virtually established from the day when the states of the Middle and Lower Euphrates formed but one kingdom in the hands of a single ruler. We must not, however, imagine it to have been a compact territory, divided into provinces under military occupation, ruled by a uniform code of laws and statutes, and administered throughout by functionaries of various grades, who received their orders from Babylon or Susa, according as the chances of war favoured the ascendancy of Chaldæa or Elam. It was in

for instance, is often found written Ammurabi (cf. p. 15, n. 5, of the present work); the Ham in the narrative of Genesis would, therefore, be identical with the land of Ammon in Deuteronomy, and the difference between the spelling of the two would be due to the fact that the document reproduced in the XIV^th chapter of Genesis had been originally copied from a cuneiform tablet in which the name of the place was expressed by the sign *Ham-Am* (Sayce, *The Higher Criticism*, 3rd edit., pp. 160, 161).

[1] An attempt has been made to identify the three vassals of Kudur-lagamar with kings mentioned on the Chaldæan monuments. Tidal, or, if we adopt the Septuagint variant, Thorgal, has been considered by some as the bearer of a Sumerian name, Tur-gal = "great chief," "great son" (Oppert, *Histoire des Empires de Chaldée*, p. 11), while others put him on one side as not having been a Babylonian (Halévy, *Recherches Bibliques*, p. 234, and *Notes Sumériennes*, in the *Revue Sémitique*, vol. ii. pp. 278–280); Pinches, Sayce, and Hommel identify him with Tudkhula, an ally of Kudur-lagamar against Khammurabi (Hommel, *Aus der Babylonischen Altertumskunde*, in *Die Aula*, 1895, vol. i. p. 552; Sayce, *Recent Discoveries*, in the *Academy*, Sept. 7, 1895, p. 189, and *Patriarchal Palestine*, p. 70). Arioch is Rimsin, Eri-Aku (cf. p. 29, n. 2, of the present work, and Fr. Lenormant, *La Langue primitive de la Chaldée*, pp. 378, 379; Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften*, 2nd edit., pp. 135, 136; Hommel, *Die Semitische Völker*, p. 48; Halévy, *Recherches Bibliques*, pp. 233, 234, and *Notes Sumériennes*, in the *Revue Sémitique*, vol. ii. pp. 272–276). Schrader was the first to suggest that Amraphel was really Khammurabi (*Die Keilinschriftliche Babylonische Königsliste*, pp. 22–27), and emended the Amraphel of the biblical text into Amraphi or Amrabi, in order to support this identification. Halévy, while on the whole accepting this theory, derives the name from the pronunciation Kimtarapaltum or Kimtarapaltum, which he attributes to the name generally read Khammurabi (*Recherches Bibliques*, pp. 234–238, 308–315), and in this he is partly supported by Hommel, who reads "Khammurapaltu" (*Assyriological Notes*, in the *Proceedings of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.*, vol. xvi. p. 212).

[2] It is, indeed, the sole title which he attributes to himself on a stone tablet now in the British Museum; cf. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, pp. 145, 146.

[3] In an inscription by this prince, copied probably about the time of Nabonidus by the scribe Belnadinaplu, he is called "king of the vast land of Martu" (Pinches, *Text of Ammisatana, King of Babylon, from about* [illegible] *to* [illegible] B.C., in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. v. pp. 102–105).

reality a motley assemblage of tribes and principalities, whose sole bond of union was subjection to a common yoke. They were under obligation to pay tribute, and furnish military contingents and show other external marks of obedience, but their particular constitution, customs, and religion were alike respected: they had to purchase, at the cost of a periodical ransom, the right to live in their own country after their own fashion, and the head of the empire forbore all interference in their affairs, except in cases where their internecine quarrels and dissensions threatened the security of his suzerainty. Their subordination lasted as best it could, sometimes for a year or for ten years, at the end of which period they would neglect the obligations of their vassalage, or openly refuse to fulfil them: a revolt would then break out at one point or another, and it was necessary to suppress it without delay to prevent the bad example from spreading far and wide.[1] The empire was maintained by perpetual re-conquests, and its extent varied with the energy shown by its chiefs, or with the resources which were for the moment available.

Separated from the confines of the empire by only a narrow isthmus, Egypt loomed on the horizon, and appeared to beckon to her rival. Her natural fertility, the industry of her inhabitants, the stores of gold and perfumes which she received from the heart of Ethiopia, were well known by the passage to and fro of her caravans, and the recollection of her treasures must have frequently provoked the envy of Asiatic courts.[2] Egypt had, however, strangely declined from her former greatness, and the line of princes who governed her had little in common with the Pharaohs who had rendered her name so formidable under the XIIth dynasty. She was now under the rule of the Xoïtes, whose influence was probably confined to the Delta, and extended merely in name over the Saïd and Nubia.[3] The feudal lords, ever ready to reassert their

[1] Cf. the account of the revolt of the kings of the valley of Siddim against Kudur-lagamar (pp. 48, 49 of the present work), which, if not absolutely accurate in every detail, gives nevertheless a very clear idea of what the Elamite or Chaldæan rule meant in these early epochs; we shall come upon the same state of things later on at the time of the Egyptian conquest.

[2] As we proceed, we shall continually meet indications, in letters written by Asiatic princes, of the existence of this idea that Egypt was a kind of El Dorado where gold was as plentiful as dust upon the high-road (Delattre, *Mariages princiers en Égypte*, in the *Rev. des Quest. hist.*, vol. l. p. 231).

[3] See what is said concerning the Xoïtes in Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 538, 551. I may recall the fact that Lepsius placed the Hyksôs invasion first at the end of the XIIth dynasty and then at the beginning of the XIIIth (*Königsbuch der Alten Ægypter*, p. 21, et seq.), and that his theory, at first adopted by Bunsen (*Ægyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte*, vol. iii. p. 9, et seq.), by Lieblein (*Ægypt. Chron.*, pp. 62–76, and *Recherches sur la Chron. Égypt.*, pp. 84–122), was vigorously contested by E. de Rougé (*Examen de l'Ouvrage de M. de Bunsen*, ii. pp. 39–50). It has gradually been abandoned by most Egyptologists, and finally by Naville (*Bubastis*, pp. 15, 16). The history of the Hyksôs has been dealt with by Chabas (*Les Pasteurs en Égypte*, 1868) in a special monograph, then by Padre Cesare de Cara (*Gli Hyksôs in Egitto*, 1889), who collected with much care and discussed at great length all the references to them contained in the texts of ancient writers and in all the Egyptian documents; finally, Naville devotes a chapter in his *Bubastis*, pp. 16–29, to the history of the shepherd kings. Here, as in the preceding pages, the materials are so scanty that we are obliged to fall back on conjecture in endeavouring to interpret them and to work out the elements of a connected narrative; from the various hypotheses I have chosen those which appeared to be the simplest and best adapted to the scope of my work.

independence as soon as the central power waned, shared between them the possession of the Nile valley below Memphis: the princes of Thebes, who were probably descendants of Usirtasen, owned the largest fiefdom, and though some slight scruple may have prevented them from donning the pschent or placing their names within a cartouche, they assumed notwithstanding the plenitude of royal power. A favourable opportunity was therefore offered to an invader, and the Chaldæans might have attacked with impunity a people thus divided among themselves.[1] They stopped short, however, at the southern frontier of Syria, or if they pushed further forward, it was without any important result; distance from head-quarters, or possibly reiterated attacks of the Elamites, prevented them from placing in the field an adequate force for such a momentous undertaking. What they had not dared to venture, others more audacious were to accomplish. At this juncture, so runs the Egyptian record, "there came to us a king named Timaios.[2] Under this king, then, I know not wherefore, the god caused to blow upon us a baleful wind, and in the face of all probability bands from the East, people of ignoble race, came upon us unawares, attacked the country, and subdued it easily and without fighting."[3] It is possible that they owed this rapid victory to the presence in their armies of a factor hitherto unknown to the African—the war-chariot—and before the horse and his driver the Egyptians gave way in a body.[4] The invaders appeared

[1] The theory that the divisions of Egypt, under the XIV[th] dynasty, and the discords between its feudatory princes, were one of the main causes of the success of the Shepherds (MASPERO, *Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient*, 4th edit., p. 162), is now admitted to be correct, amongst others, by ED. MEYER, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 201, et seq., and by NAVILLE, *Bubastis*, pp. 19, 20.

[2] Bunsen emended Ἐπὶ Τιμάου in the text of Manetho into Ἀμενέμης or Ἀμενεμῆς (*Manethonis Sebennytæ Reliq.*, pp. 53–55), and Lepsius first identified this new Amenemes with the last Pharaoh of the XII[th] dynasty, Amenemhâît IV., then with the third king of the XIII[th], Ra-Amenemhâît (*Königsbuch*, p. 24). Bunsen (*Egyptian Stelle*, vol. iii. p. 42, note 5) suggests the emendation Ἀμυνταίου; as the sole object of this is to identify the name of the king defeated by the shepherds with that of Ἀμαθίμαιος, mentioned by Eratosthenes, I do not think it worth accepting. We know too little of Manetho's style to be able to decide *à priori* whether the phrase Ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς ἡμῖν Τίμαος ὄνομα is or is not in harmony with his manner of narrating historical facts; the phrase is correct, and that should be enough to deter us from altering it, at any rate in our present stage of knowledge.

[3] MANETHO, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, vol. ii. p. 566. The apparent contradiction between the terms in which Manetho explains the conquest of Egypt, ἀμαχητὶ ταύτην κατὰ κράτος εἷλον, has been noticed and explained by FRUIN, *Manethonis Sebennytæ Reliquiæ*, p. 59; PAIRE DI CARA (*Gli Hyksôs o Re Pastori di Egitto*, p. 238, et seq.) sees in it a proof that the Hyksôs had not been guilty of the atrocities of which the Egyptians accused them.

[4] The horse was unknown, or at any rate had not been employed in Egypt prior to the invasion (cf. MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 32, note 2); we find it, however, in general use immediately after the expulsion of the Shepherds, see the tomb of Pihiri (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. cxlv. 1, and vol. i. p. 268; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. cxxi. 5, vol. iii. pp. 238–240; LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, iii. 10 a–c). Moreover, all historians agree in admitting that it was introduced into the country under the rule of the Shepherds (PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Des Chevaux chez les Anciens Égyptiens*, in PERRON, *Le Naçeri*, vol. i. pp. 128–132; FR. LENORMANT, *Les Premières Civilisations*, vol. i. pp. 299–315; PIÉTREMENT, *Les Chevaux dans les temps préhistoriques et historiques*, p. 459, et seq.; ED. MEYER, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 210, 211). The use of the war-chariot in Chaldæa at an epoch prior to the Hyksôs invasion, is proved by a fragment of the Vulture Stele (cf. MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 606, 607, 722); it is, therefore, natural to suppose that the Hyksôs used the chariot in war, and that the rapidity of their conquest was due to it.

as a cloud of locusts on the banks of the Nile. Towns and temples were alike pillaged, burnt, and ruined; they massacred all they could of the male population, reduced to slavery those of the women and children whose lives they spared, and then proclaimed as king Salatis, one of their chiefs.[1] He established a semblance of regular government, chose Memphis as his capital, and imposed a tax upon the vanquished.[2] Two perils, however, immediately threatened the security of his triumph: in the south the Theban lords, taking matters into their own hands after the downfall of the Xoïtes, refused the oath of allegiance to Salatis, and organised an obstinate resistance;[3] in the north he had to take measures to protect himself against an attack of the Chaldæans or of the Elamites who were oppressing Chaldæa.[4] From the natives of the Delta, who were temporarily paralysed by their reverses, he had, for the moment, little to fear: restricting himself, therefore, to establishing forts at the strategic points in the Nile valley in order to keep the Thebans in check, he led the main body of his troops to the frontier on the isthmus. Pacific immigrations had already introduced Asiatic settlers into the Delta, and thus prepared the way for securing the supremacy of the new rulers: in the midst of these strangers, and on the ruins of the ancient town of Hâwârit-Avaris,[5] in the Sethroïte nome—

[1] The name Salatis (var. Saïtês) seems to be derived from a Semitic word, Shalit = "the chief," "the governor;" this was the title which Joseph received when Pharaoh gave him authority over the whole of Egypt (*Gen.* xli. 43). Salatis may not, therefore, have been the real name of the first Hyksôs king, but his title, which the Egyptians misunderstood, and from which they evolved a proper name: Uhlemann has, indeed, deduced from this that Manetho, being familiar with the passage referring to Joseph, had forged the name of Salatis (*Israeliten und Hyksôs in Ægypten*, p. 76). Ebers imagined that he could decipher the Egyptian form of this prince's name on the Colossus of Tell-Mokdam (*Ægypten und die Bücher Moses*, p. 202; cf. Ed. Meyer, *Set-Typhon*, p. 56; Lauth, *Aus Ægyptens Vorzeit*, p. 229), where Naville has since read with certainty the name of a Pharaoh of the XIII[th] and XIV[th] dynasties, Nahsiri (*Le Roi Nehasi*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xv. pp. 97-101).

[2] Manetho, in Müller-Didot, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, vol. ii. pp. 566, 567.

[3] The text of Manetho speaks of taxes which he imposed on the high and low lands, τήν τε ἄνω καὶ κάτω χώραν, which would seem to include the Thebaid in the kingdom. It is, however, stated in the next few pages that the successors of Salatis waged an incessant war against the Egyptians, which can only refer to hostilities against the Thebans. We are forced, therefore, to admit, either that Manetho took the title of lord of the high and low lands, which belonged to Salatis, literally, or that the Thebans, after submitting at first, subsequently refused to pay tribute, thus provoking a war.

[4] Manetho here speaks of Assyrians; this is an error which is to be explained by the imperfect state of historical knowledge in Greece at the time of the Macedonian supremacy. We need not for this reason be led to cast doubt upon the historic value of the narrative (Wiedemann, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 298); we must remember the suzerainty which the kings of Babylon exercised over Syria (cf. p. 47, et seq., of the present work), and read *Chaldæans* where Manetho has written *Assyrians*. In Herodotus "Assyria" is the regular term for "Babylonia," and Babylonia is called "the land of the Assyrians" (i. 193).

[5] The manuscripts of Josephus placed this town in the Saïte nome; this error of a copyist is easily corrected from the royal lists, where the Sethroïte nome is indicated (Manetho, in Müller-Didot, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, vol. ii. p. 567). The first commentators on Manetho placed Avaris on the site of Pelusium (Marsham, *Can. Chron.*, Lipsiæ, 1676, pp. 107, 108; Zoëga, *De Origine Obeliscorum*, pp. 577, 578), relying on the fact that Chæremon (*Fragm.* 1, in Müller-Didot, *Frag.*, vol. iii. p. 495) names Pelusium as the town which Manetho and Ptolemy of Mendes (*Fragm.* 1, in Müller-Didot, *Frag.*, vol. iv. p. 485) call Avaris. Larcher identified it with Heroopolis, and Champollion (*L'Égypte sous les Pharaons*, vol. ii. pp. 87-92) endeavoured to support this view by evidence derived from Egyptian mythology; finally Lepsius connected Avaris with the name of the Hebrews, and tried to make out that it had been occupied by that people during their sojourn in Egypt (*Chron. der Ægypter*, p. 341).

a place connected by tradition with the myth of Osiris and Typhon—Salatis constructed an immense entrenched camp, capable of sheltering two hundred and forty thousand men. He visited it yearly to witness the military manœuvres, to pay his soldiers, and to preside over the distribution of rations. This permanent garrison protected him from a Chaldæan invasion, a not unlikely event as long as Syria remained under the supremacy of the Babylonian kings; it furnished his successors also with an inexhaustible supply of trained soldiers, thus enabling them to complete the conquest of Lower Egypt. Years elapsed before the princes of the south would declare themselves vanquished, and five kings—Bnôn, Apachnas, Apôphis I., Iannas, and Asses—passed their lifetime "in a perpetual warfare, desirous of tearing up Egypt to the very root."[1] These Theban kings, who were continually under arms against the barbarians, were subsequently classed in a dynasty by themselves, the XVth of Manetho, but they at last succumbed to the invader, and Asses became master of the entire country. His successors in their turn formed a dynasty, the XVIth, the few remaining monuments of which are found scattered over the length and breadth of the valley from the shores of the Mediterranean to the rocks of the first cataract.[2]

The Egyptians who witnessed the advent of this Asiatic people called

The hieroglyphic name for the town of Tanis was added by Champollion (*Dict. Hiér.*, p. 116); then E. de Rougé read it as "Zân," which seemed to confirm the assimilation theory; then the same scholar discovered the true reading, Hâwârît, and at once proposed to recognise in this name the original of Avaris, while still continuing to identify the site with that of Tanis (Summary of a lecture; see the *Athenæum Français*, 1854, p. 532). This conjecture found general acceptance, but doubts were expressed in regard to the identity of the two cities, and it was rightly pointed out that in the text of Manetho Avaris is described as an entrenched camp. Lepsius, returning to the old theory, proposed to look for the site in the environs of Pelusium (*Königsbuch*, p. 45, note 1), and was not long in locating it among the ruins of Tell-Hir, the name of which city would probably be derived from that of Hâwârît (*Entdeckung eines bilinguen Dekretes*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1866, pp. 31, 32). Ebers (*Durch Gosen*, etc., pp. 73, 74) recognised even Pelusium, and consequently Avaris, in Tell-Hir. This hypothesis, approved by Chabas (*Les Pasteurs en Égypte*, p. 42), does not seem to be in favour at present; the only person who appears to support it is Padre di Cara (*Gli Hyksôs*, p. 332, et seq.). Hâwârît is placed either at Tanis (Brugsch, *Beiträge über Tanis*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1872, pp. 16, 20, *Dict. géog.*, pp. 143, 144), or in the neighbourhood of Daphnæ (Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. Ægyptens*, p. 207), or at Migdol Tell-es-Semût (Brugsch, *Die Ægyptologie*, p. 35).

[1] None of these five kings have left monuments which can be identified with certainty, unless, indeed, we agree with Naville in supposing that Khîanî (cf. pp. 59, 60 of the present work) represents Annas or Iannas (*Bubastis*, pp. 23–26). Devéria (*Lettre à M. Auguste Mariette*, etc., in the *Revue Archéol.*, 1861, vol. iv. pp. 253–258) thought he could recognise three of them—Bnôn, Apakhnas, and Apôphis—in the three half-effaced names on fragment No. 112 of the royal canon at Turin (Lepsius, *Auswahl*, etc., pl. viii.); he connected fragment No. 136, on which he made out the name of the god Sît, with the same series. His hypothesis was accepted by Pleyte (*La Religion des Pré-Israélites*, p. 35), and Lauth, who had made the same suggestion almost simultaneously with Devéria, added to the two fragments 112–136 fragment 144, on which he thought he could decipher traces of the name Salatis (*Manetho und der Turiner Königspapyrus*, p. 247); the theory is now only accepted with large reserves. Lauth had also found the name of Bnôn on the *Sallier Papyrus*, No. 1, pl. ii. l. 7, but Erman proved that in this passage the correct reading was *Ati* = "sovereign," and not a proper name at all (*Varia*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1877, p. 37). Finally, Erman, in the same article in which he pointed out Lauth's mistake, proposed to recognise Apakhnas in the Sît-âpakhti Nubîti of the stele of the year 400 (*Ibid.*, p. 37); it appears to me, however, that this refers not to a mortal king, but to the god Sît, described by his ethnical title Nubîti, the man of Ombos, and considered as king of the divine dynasties.

[2] Monuments of Susirnirî Khîanî and of Ausirrî Apôpi II. at Gebelein, in Daressy, *Notes et Remarques*, §§ xxx., lxxxviii., in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiv. p. 26; xvi. p. 42.

them by the general term Âmû, Asiatics,[1] or Monâtiû, the men of the desert.[2] They had already given the Bedouin the opprobrious epithet of Shaûsû—pillagers or robbers—which aptly described them;[3] and they subsequently applied the same name to the intruders—Hiq Shaûsû—from which the Greeks derived their word Hyksôs, or Hykoussôs, for this people.[4] But we are without any clue as to their real name, language, or origin. The writers of classical times were unable to come to an agreement on these questions: some confounded the Hyksôs with the Phœnicians, others regarded them as Arabs[5]

[1] Golénischeff, *Notice sur un texte de Sabli-Antar*, in the *Recueil*, vol. iii. pp. 2, 3, and vol. vi. pl. i. l. 37. Ed. Meyer thinks that these princes extended their rule over a part of Syria; he points out in this connection, though he admits the hypothesis to be a bold one, the identity of date established by the Jewish chronicler (*Numb.* xiii. 22) for the foundations of Tanis and Hebron (*Gesch. Ægypt.*, p. 218).

[2] The meaning of the term *Monâtiû* was discovered by E. de Rougé, who translated it *Shepherd*, and applied it to the Hyksôs (*Examen de l'Ouvrage de M. de Bunsen*, vol. ii. pp. 41, 42; *Mém. sur l'Inscrip. d'Ahmès*, p. 171); from thence it passed into the works of all the Egyptologists who concerned themselves with this question (Brugsch, *Ægypt. Stud.*, vol. ii. pp. 19, 20, and *Gesch. Ægypt.*, pp. 217, 218; Chabas, *Mélanges Égyptolog.*, 1st series, pp. 32–35, and *Les Pasteurs en Égypte*, pp. 24, 25), but *Shepherd* has not been universally accepted as the meaning of the word. It is generally agreed that it was a generic term, indicating the races with which their conquerors were supposed to be connected, and not the particular term of which Manetho's word Ποιμένες would be the literal translation.

[3] The name seems, in fact, to be derived from a word which means "to rob," "to pillage." The name Shausu, Shosu, was not used by the Egyptians to indicate a particular race. It was used of all Bedouins, and in general of all the marauding tribes who infested the desert or the mountains. The Shausu most frequently referred to on the monuments are those from the desert between Egypt and Syria, but there is a reference, in the time of Ramses II., to those from the Lebanon and the valley of Orontes. Krall finds an allusion to them in a word (*Shosim*) in *Judges* ii. 14, which is generally translated by a generic expression, "the spoilers" (*Studien zur Geschichte der Alten Ægyptens II., aus demotischen Urkunden*, p. 69).

[4] Manetho (Müller-Didot, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, vol. ii. p. 567) declares that the people were called Hyksôs, from *Hyk*, which means "king" in the sacred language, and *sôs*, which means "shepherd" in the popular language. As a matter of fact, the word *Hyku* means "prince" in the classical language of Egypt, or, as Manetho styles it, the sacred language, i.e. in the idiom of the old religious, historical, and literary texts, which in later ages the populace no longer understood. Shôs, on the contrary, belongs to the spoken language of the later time, and does not occur in the ancient inscriptions, so that Manetho's explanation is valueless; there is but one material fact to be retained from his evidence, and that is the name *Hyk-Shôs* or *Hyku-Shôs* given by its inventors to the alien kings. Champollion (*Lettres à M. de Blacas, relatives au Musée Royal de Turin*, 1^{re} *Lettre*, p. 67) and Rosellini (*Monumenti Storici*, vol. i. pp. 175–178) were the first to identify these Shôs with the Shasu whom they found represented on the monuments, and their opinion, adopted by some (Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 77, and *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 216; Wiedemann, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, pp. 288, 289; Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 205), contested by others (Chabas, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 1st series, p. 33, and *Voyage d'un Égyptien*, p. 116), seems to me an extremely plausible one: the Egyptians, at a given moment, bestowed the generic name of Shasu on these strangers, just as they had given those of Âmû and Monâtiû. The texts or writers from whom Manetho drew his information evidently mentioned certain kings hyqu-Shaûsû; other passages, or the same passages wrongly interpreted, were applied to the race, and were rendered *hyku*-Shaûsû = "the prisoners taken from the Shaûsû," a substantive derived from the root *haku* = "to take" being substituted for the noun *hyqu* = "prince." Josephus (*Contra Apionem*, I. 14) declares, on the authority of Manetho, that some manuscripts actually suggested this derivation—a fact which is easily explained by the custom of the Egyptian record offices (Krall, *Stud. zur Gesch. der Alten Ægyptens II., aus demot. Urk.*, p. 69). I may mention, in passing, that Mariette (*Extrait d'un Mémoire intitulé: Questions relatives aux nouvelles fouilles à faire en Égypte*, p. 41) recognised in the element "sôs" an Egyptian word *shôs* = "soldiers," and in the name of King Mirmâshâû, which he read Mirshôsû, an equivalent of the title Hyq-Shôsû (cf. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 351–352, in regard to Mirmâshâû).

[5] Manetho (Müller-Didot, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, vol. ii. p. 567) takes them to be Phœnicians,

Modern scholars have put forward at least a dozen contradictory hypotheses on the matter. The Hyksôs have been asserted to have been Canaanites,[1] Elamites,[2] Hittites,[3] Accadians, Scythians.[4] The last opinion found great favour with the learned, as long as they could believe that the sphinxes discovered by Mariette represented Apôphis or one of his predecessors. As a matter of fact, these monuments present all the characteristics of the Mongoloid type of countenance—the small and slightly oblique eyes, the arched but somewhat flattened nose, the pronounced cheek-bones and well-covered jaw, the salient chin and full lips slightly depressed at the corners.[5] These peculiarities are also observed in the three heads found at Damanhur,[6] in the colossal torso dug up at Mit-Farès in the Fayum,[7] in the twin figures of the Nile removed to the Bulaq Museum from Tanis,[8] and upon the remains of a statue in the collection at the Villa Ludovisi in Rome.[9] The same foreign

but he adds that certain writers thought them to be Arabs: τινὲς δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτοὺς Ἄραβας εἶναι. Brugsch favours this latter view (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 214-217), but the Arab legend of a conquest of Egypt by Sheddad and the Adites is of recent origin, and was inspired by traditions in regard to the Hyksôs current during the Byzantine epoch; we cannot, therefore, allow it to influence us (WIEDEMANN, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 288). We must wait before expressing a definite opinion in regard to the facts which Glaser believes he has obtained from the Minæan inscriptions which date from the time of the Hyksôs.

[1] The theory of the Canaano-Kushite origin has been defended by Lepsius (*Nub. Gram. Einleitung*, pp. xxiii.-xxv.) and by Maspero (*Hist. Anc. des Peuples de l'Orient*, 4th edit., pp. 161, 162), who base their argument on the tradition that the Phœnicians came from the shores of the Erythræan Sea (cf. *infra*, pp. 62-64), and on the Phœnician origin attributed to the Shepherd kings by one of Manetho's authorities; cf. ED. MEYER, *Gesch. Ægypt.*, p. 205, and G. STEINDORFF, *Zur Geschichte der Hyksos*, pp. 3-7.

[2] ED. MEYER, *Gesch. des Alterth.*, vol. i. pp. 166, 167; he has since rejected this view (*Gesch. Ægypt.*, p. 208, note 1), which has been taken up again by WINCKLER, *Gesch. Israels*, vol. i. pp. 130, 131.

[3] MARIETTE, *Aperçu de l'Histoire d'Égypte*, 1874, p. 60, et seq., and Padre CESARE DI CARA, *Gli Hyksôs in Egitto*, pp. 175-177, and *Gli Hethei-Pelasgi*, vol. i. pp. 5, 6, who take them to have been Semites, while I. Taylor, Conder, and others, regarding the Hittites as Mongolians or Scythians, incline to the theory of a Mongolo-Hittite origin.

[4] ROSELLINI, *Mon. Storici*, vol. i. pp. 175-180, and in our own time FR. LENORMANT, *Frammento di Statua di uno de' Re Pastori di Egitto*, p. 15, with, however, considerable reserve, and fully admitting a large admixture of Phœnician and Canaanitish elements; cf. BRUGSCH, *Die Altægypt. Völkertafel*, in the *Abhandlungen des 5ten Internat. Orient.-Congr. zu Berlin, Afric. Sekt.* pp. 78, 79.

[5] Mariette, who was the first to describe these curious monuments, recognised in them all the incontestable characteristics of a Semitic type (*Lettre à M. le Vicomte de Rougé sur les fouilles de Tanis*, pp. 9, 10), and the correctness of his view was, at first, universally admitted (FR. LENORMANT, *Manuel de l'Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient*, 3rd edit., vol. i. p. 365). Later on Hamy imagined that he could distinguish traces of Mongolian influences, and Fr. Lenormant (*Les Premières Civilisations*, vol. i. p. 207; *Frammento di statua di uno de' Re Pastori di Egitto*, pp. 13, 14; and *Histoire Ancienne*, 9th edit., vol. ii. p. 145), and then Mariette himself (PIÈTREMENT, *Les Chevaux dans les temps préhistoriques et historiques*, pp. 474, 475) came round to this view; it has recently been supported in England by Flower, and in Germany by Virchow.

[6] VIREY, *Notice des Principaux Monuments exposés au Musée de Gizèh*, p. 45, No. 138.

[7] MARIETTE, *Notice des Principaux Monuments*, 1864, p. 94, No. 9, and *Monuments divers*, pl. 38a, *Texte*, p. 11; MASPERO, *Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq*, No. 139, pp. 65, 66.

[8] MARIETTE, *Deuxième Lettre à M. le Vicomte de Rougé sur les fouilles de Tanis*, pp. 5-7, pls. v., vi., and *Notice des Principaux Monuments*, 1864, No. 14, pp. 264, 265. The group really belongs to the XXI[st] dynasty (MASPERO, *Archéologie Égyptienne*, p. 217), and in many respects reminds us of a number of specimens of Cypriot art.

[9] FR. LENORMANT, *Frammento di Statua di uno de' Re Pastori di Egitto* (extract from the *Bullettino Archeologico Comunale di Roma*, 1877, vol. v., 2nd series).

type of face is also found to exist among the present inhabitants of the villages scattered over the eastern part of the Delta, particularly on the shores of Lake Menzaleh, and the conclusion was drawn that these people were the direct descendants of the Hyksôs.[1] This theory was abandoned, however, when it was ascertained that the sphinxes of San had been carved, many centuries before the invasion, for Amenemhâît III.,[2] a king of the XIIth dynasty. In spite of the facts we possess, the problem therefore still remains unsolved, and the origin of the Hyksôs is as mysterious as ever. We gather, however, that the third millennium before our era was repeatedly disturbed by considerable migratory movements. The expeditions far afield of Elamite and Chaldæan princes could not have taken place without seriously perturbing the regions over which they passed. They must have encountered by the way many nomadic or unsettled tribes whom a slight shock would easily displace. An impulse once given, it needed but little to accelerate or increase the movement: a collision with one horde reacted on its neighbours, who either displaced or carried others with them, and the whole multitude, gathering momentum as they went, were precipitated in the direction first given.[3] A tradition, picked up by Herodotus on his travels, relates that the Phœnicians had originally peopled the eastern and southern shores of the Persian Gulf;[4] it was also said that Indathyrses, a Scythian king, had victoriously scoured the whole of Asia, and had penetrated as far as Egypt.[5] Either of these invasions may have been the cause of the Syrian migration. In comparison with the meagre information which has come down to us under the form of legends, it is provoking to think how much actual fact has been lost, a tithe of which would explain the cause of the movement and the mode of its execution. The least improbable hypothesis is that which attributes the appearance of the Shepherds about the XXIIIrd century B.C., to the arrival in Naharaim of those Khati who subsequently fought so obstinately against the armies both of the Pharaohs and the Ninevite kings. They descended from the

[1] Mariette, *Lettre à M. le Vicomte de Rougé sur les fouilles de Tanis*, pp. 10, 11, and *Note sur les Bichmites et les Bouchamorites*, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne et Assyrienne*, vol. i. pp. 91–93.

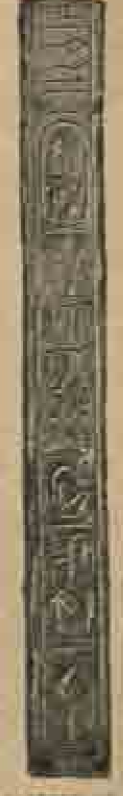
[2] Golénischeff, *Amenemhâït III et les Sphinx de Sân*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xv. pp. 131–136; cf. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 502, 503.

[3] The Hyksôs invasion has been regarded as a natural result of the Elamite conquest, by Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient*, 1st edit., p. 173; later by Fr. Lenormant, *Frammento di un Statua di uno de' Re Pastori di Egitto*, p. 14, and *Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient*, 9th edit., vol. ii. pp. 144; by Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. i. pp. 165, 167; by Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 370, 371; and by Naville, *Bubastis*, pp. 18, 19, 28, 29.

[4] Herodotus, I. i., VII. lxxxix. It was to the exodus of this race, in the last analysis, that I have attributed the invasion of the shepherds (*Histoire ancienne*, 4th edit., pp. 161, 162).

[5] Megasthenes, fragm. 2, in Müller-Didot, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, vol. ii. p. 416; cf. Strabo, xv. 1, § 6, p. 687, and Arrianus, *Indica*, v. § 6; Justinus, i. 1. A certain number of commentators are of opinion that the wars attributed to Indathyrses have been confounded with what Herodotus tells of the exploits of Madyes (IV. ciii., et seq.), and are nothing more than a distorted remembrance of the great Scythian invasion which took place in the latter half of the VIIth century B.C.

mountain region in which the Halys and the Euphrates take their rise, and if the bulk of them proceeded no further than the valleys of the Taurus and the Amanos, some at least must have pushed forward as far as the provinces on the western shores of the Dead Sea. The most adventurous among them, reinforced by the Canaanites and other tribes who had joined them on their southward course, crossed the isthmus of Suez, and finding a people weakened by discord, experienced no difficulty in replacing the native dynasties by their own barbarian chiefs.[1] Both their name and origin were doubtless well known to the Egyptians, but the latter nevertheless disdained to apply to them any term but that of "shemaû,"[2] strangers, and in referring to them used the same vague appellations which they applied to the Bedouin of the Sinaitic peninsula,—Monâtiû, the shepherds, or Sâtiû, the archers. They succeeded in hiding the original name of their conquerors so thoroughly, that in the end they themselves forgot it, and kept the secret of it from posterity.



PALETTE OF A HYKSÔS SCRIBE.[5]

The remembrance of the cruelties with which the invaders sullied their conquest lived long after them; it still stirred the anger of Manetho after a lapse of twenty centuries.[3] The victors were known as the "Plagues" or "Pests,"[4] and every possible crime and impiety was attributed to them. But the brutalities attending the invasion once past, the invaders soon lost their barbarity and became rapidly civilized. Those of them stationed in the encampment at Avaris retained the military qualities and characteristic energy of their race; the remainder became assimilated to their new compatriots, and were soon

[1] MARIETTE, *Aperçu de l'Histoire de l'Égypte*, 1874, pp. 49–51, 172–175, deliberately committed himself to this view, and Padre CESARE DE CARA, *Gli Hyksôs in Egitto*, has written in support of it. At the present time, those scholars who admit the Turanian origin of the Hyksôs are of opinion that only the nucleus of the race, the royal tribe, was composed of Mongols, while the main body consisted of elements of all kinds—Canaanitish, or, more generally, Semitic (NAVILLE, *Bubastis*, pp. 18, 28).

[2] The term *shemmasu*, variant of *shemaû*, is applied to them by Queen Hâtshopsîtu (GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Notice sur un texte de Stabl-Antar*, in the *Recueil*, vol. iii. p. 3); the same term is employed shortly afterwards by Thûtmosis III., to indicate the enemies whom he had defeated at Megiddo (BRUGSCH, *Recueil de Mon.*, vol. i. pl. xliii. l. 1, where the text is defective).

[3] He speaks of them in contemptuous terms as *men of ignoble race*, ἄνθρωποι τὸ γένος ἄσημοι (MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, vol. ii. p. 566).

[4] The epithet *Aati, Iaati, Iadîti*, was applied to the Nubians by the writer of the inscription of Ahmosi-si-Abina (l. 21), and to the Shepherds of the Delta by the author of the *Sallier Papyrus*, No. 1, pl. 1, l. 1. Brugsch explained it as "the rebels," or "disturbers" (*Ægypt. Stud.*, § ii. p. 10), and Goodwin translated it "invaders" (*Hier. Pap.*, in the *Camb. Essays*, 1858, p. 243); Chabas rendered it by "plague-stricken," an interpretation which was in closer conformity with its etymological meaning (*Mél. Égyptolog.*, 1st series, pp. 35–41), and Groff pointed out that the malady called Aït, or Adit in Egyptian, is the malignant fever still frequently to be met with at the present day in the marshy cantons of the Delta, and furnished the proper rendering, which is "The Fever-stricken" (*Études Archéolog.*, : *la Malaria*).

[5] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by M. de Mertens. It is the palette of a scribe, now in the Berlin Museum, and given by King Apopi II. Aauserri to a scribe named Atu (ERMAN, *An Historical Monument*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1881, pp. 97, 98).

recognisable merely by their long hair, thick beard, and marked features. Their sovereigns seem to have realised from the first that it was more to their interest to exploit the country than to pillage it; as, however, none of them was competent to understand the intricacies of the treasury, they were forced to retain the services of the majority of the scribes, who had managed the public accounts under the native kings.[1] Once schooled to the new state of affairs, they readily adopted the refinements of civilized life. The court of the Pharaohs, with its pomp and its usual assemblage of officials, both great and small, was revived around the person of the new sovereign;[3] the titles of the Amenemhâîts and the Usirtasens, adapted to these "princes of foreign lands,"[4] legitimatised them as descendants of Horus and sons of the Sun.[5] They respected the local religions, and went so far as to favour those of the gods whose attributes appeared to connect them with some of their own barbarous divinities. The chief deity of their worship was Baal, the lord of all,[6] a cruel and



A HYKSÔS PRISONER GUIDING THE PLOUGH, AT EL-KAB.[2]

[1] The same thing took place on every occasion when Egypt was conquered by an alien race; the Persian Achæmenians and Greeks made use of the native employés, as did the Romans after them; and lastly, the Mussulmans, Arabs, and Turks (cf. Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 206, 207).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Insinger. The Hyksôs, whom I think I can identify here, is represented among the slaves of Pahiri at El-Kab (Maspero, *Notes sur quelques points de Gramm.*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1879, p. 58; cf. Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 210, note 2); he is the second figure on the right, holding the hilts of the plough.

[3] The narrative of the *Sallier Papyrus*, No. 1, shows us the civil and military chiefs collected round the Shepherd-king Apôpi, and escorting him in the solemn processions in honour of the gods (pl. i. l. 4). They are followed by the scribes and magicians, who give him advice on important occasions (pl. ii. l. 2).

[4] Hiqu Sitû: this is the title of Abisha at Beni-Hassan (cf. Maspero, *D. of Civiliz.*, p. 468), which is also assumed by Khian on several small monuments (cf. Petrie, *Hist. Scarabs*, pl. 33, No. 729); Steindorff (*Zur Gesch. der Hyksos*, pp. 1, 2) has attempted to connect it with the name of the Hyksôs.

[5] The preamble of the two or three Shepherd-kings of whom we know anything, contains the two cartouches, the special titles, and the names of Horus, which formed part of the title of the kings of pure Egyptian race; thus Apôphis II. is proclaimed to be *the living Horus, who joins the two earths in peace, the good god, Âuserri, son of the Sun, Apôpi, who lives for ever*, on the statues of Mirmâshâu, which he had appropriated (E. and J. de Rougé, *Inscrip. hiérogl. en Égypte*, pl. lxxvi., where the proper name has been effaced), and on the pink granite table of offerings in the Gîzeh Museum (Mariette, *Notice des Princip. Mon.*, 1876, p. 209, No. 1001, and *Mon. divers*, pl. 38, pp. 10, 11).

[6] The name of Baal, transcribed Bâlû, is found on that of a certain Pabâlû, "the Gift of Baal," who must have flourished in the time of the last shepherd-kings, or rather under the Theban kings of the XVIIth dynasty, who were their contemporaries (Lieblein, *Recherches sur la Chronologie Égyptienne*, pp. 129–132, whose conclusions have been adopted by Brugsch, *Gesch. Ægypt.*, pp. 238, 239).

savage warrior; his resemblance to Sît, the brother and enemy of Osiris, was so marked, that he was identified with the Egyptian deity, with the emphatic additional title of Sûtkhû, the Great Sît.[1] He was usually represented as a fully armed warrior, wearing a helmet of circular form, ornamented with two plumes: but he also borrowed the emblematic animal of Sît, the fennec, and the winged griffin which haunted the deserts of the Thebaid.[2] His temples were erected in the cities of the Delta, side by side with the sanctuaries of the feudal gods, both at Bubastis[4] and at Tanis.[5] Tanis, now made the capital, reopened its palaces, and acquired a fresh impetus from the royal presence within its walls. Apôphis Âqnûnri,[6] one of its kings, dedicated several tables of offerings in that city, and engraved his cartouches upon the sphinxes and standing colossi of the Pharaohs of the XIIth and XIIIth dynasties. He was, however, honest enough to leave the inscriptions of his predecessors intact, and not to appropriate to himself the credit of works belonging to the Amenemhâîts or to Mirmâshâû.[7] Khiani, who is possibly the Iannas of


TABLE OF OFFERINGS BEARING THE NAME OF APÔPI ÂQNÛNRI.[3]

[1] Sutkhû, Sutkhû, are lengthened forms of Sûtû, or Sîtû; and Chabas, who had at first denied the existence of the final khû (*Mélanges Égypt.*, 2nd series, pp. 187–91, and *Voyage d'un Égyptien*, p. 235), afterwards himself supplied the philological arguments which proved the correctness of the reading (*Les Pasteurs*, p. 35); he rightly refused, however, to recognise in Sutkhû or Sutkhû—the name of the conquerors' god—a transliteration of the Phœnician Sydyk, and would only see in it that of the nearest Egyptian deity. This view is now accepted as the right one, and Sutkhû is regarded as the indigenous equivalent of the great Asiatic god, elsewhere called Baal, or supreme lord. [Professor Petrie found a scarab bearing the cartouche of "Sutekh" Apepi I. at Koptos.—Tr.]

[2] For the aspect of the god Sît, cf. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 102, 103, 132–135.

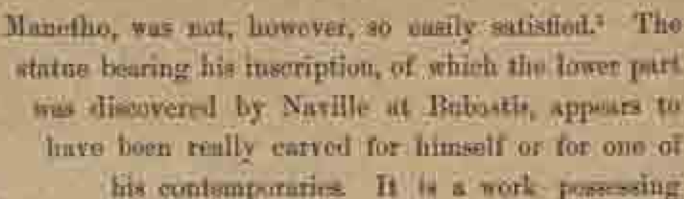
[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by E. Brugsch; cf. Mariette, *Monuments divers*, pl. 38.

[4] Fragment of an inscription which states that Apôphis raised columns and had a metal door made for his god (Naville, *Bubastis*, pls. 22, 23, pls. xxii. A, xxxv. B, C1, C2 for Sutikhû).

[5] As to the restoration or building of temples at Tanis, cf. Mariette, *Lettre à M. le Vicomte de Rougé sur les fouilles de Tanis*, p. 8, *et seq.*; and Flinders Petrie, *Tanis*, i. pp. 7, 8, 9, and ii. pp. 16, 33.

[6] The cartouche name of this king, wrongly deciphered at first by Mariette (*Deuxième Lettre à M. le Vicomte de Rougé*, p. 4) and by E. de Rougé (E. and J. de Rougé, *Inscrip. Hiérogl. recueillies en Égypte*, pl. lxxvi.; Rougé, *Leçons de M. de Rougé*, in the *Mélanges d'Arch. Égypt. et Assyrienne*, vol. ii. p. 280), was afterwards restored to its true form by Mariette himself (Miller-Mariette, *Étude sur une Inscription grecque*, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. i. p. 50), and his reading Âqnûnri, adopted by Brugsch (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 224), has since been accepted by all subsequent writers. The old reading still reappears in the work of Padre Cesare di Cara (*Gli Hyksôs in Egitto*, p. 312) side by side with the true reading.

[7] Table of offerings discovered at Cairo, and brought thither from Heliopolis or Memphis, or perhaps from Tanis (Mariette, *Monuments divers*, pl. 38); statues and sphinx usurped at Tanis itself (Burton, *Excerpta hieroglyphica*, pl. 40; Mariette, *Notice des Princip. Mon.*, 1876, p. 262, No. 6, 264, Nos. 11–13); sphinx usurped at Tell el-Maskhûtah (Maspero, *Sur deux monuments nouveaux*



THE BAGDAD LION, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.[3]

Manetho, was not, however, so easily satisfied.[2] The statue bearing his inscription, of which the lower part was discovered by Naville at Bubastis, appears to have been really carved for himself or for one of his contemporaries. It is a work possessing no originality, though of very commendable execution, such as would render it acceptable to any museum; the artist who conceived it took his inspiration with considerable cleverness from the best examples turned out by the schools of the Delta under the Sovkhotpûs and the Nofirhotpûs. But a small grey granite lion, also of the reign of Khiani, which by a strange fate had found its way to Bagdad, does not raise our estimation of the modelling of animals in the Hyksôs period. It is heavy in form, and the muzzle in no way recalls the fine profile of the lions executed by the sculptors of earlier times. The pursuit of science and the culture of learning appear to have been more successfully perpetuated than the fine arts; a treatise on mathematics, of which a copy has come down to us, would seem to have been recopied, if not remodelled, in the twenty-second year of Apôphis II. Âûsirrî.[4]

du règne de Ramsès II., pp. 1, 2, where the sphinx is given, though attention is not called to the fact that it had been usurped); usurped sphinx in the Louvre (Devéria, *Lettre à M. A. Mariette sur quelques mon. relatifs aux Hyq-sôs*, in the *Revue Arch.*, 2nd series, vol. iv., 1861, pp. 250, 251).

[2] Naville, *Bubastis*, pl. xii., xxxv. A, and pp. 23–26, who reads the name Râyan or Yanrâ, and thinks that this prince must be the Annas or Iannas mentioned by Manetho (Müller-Didot, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, vol. ii. p. 567) as being one of the six shepherd-kings of the XV[th] dynasty. Mr. Petrie proposed to read Khian, Khiani, and the fragment discovered at Gebelein confirms this reading (Daressy, *Notes et Remarques*, in the *Recueil*, vol. xvi. p. 42, § lxxxviii.), as well as a certain number of cylinders and scarabs (Fl. Petrie, *Hist. Scarabs*, pl. 25). Mr. Petrie prefers to place this Pharaoh in the VIII[th] dynasty (*Hist. of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 117–121), and makes him one of the leaders in the foreign occupation to which he supposes Egypt to have submitted at that time (as to this point, cf. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 440, 441); but it is almost certain that he ought to be placed among the Hyksôs of the XVI[th] dynasty (Steindorff, *Zur Gesch. der Hyksos*, pp. 4, 5). The name Khiani, more correctly Khiyani or Khayani, is connected by Tomkins (*Jl. Anthropological Institute*, 1889, p. 183) and Hilprecht (*Assyriaca*, vol. i. p. 130, note 2) with that of a certain Khayanu or Khayan, son of Gabbar, who reigned in Amanus in the time of Salmanasar II., King of Assyria.

[3] Drawn by Boudier, from a sketch made in the British Museum. This miniature lion was first brought into notice by Devéria (*Lettre à M. Auguste Mariette sur quelques monuments relatifs aux Hyq-Sos*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, new series, vol. iv. pp. 256, 257), who read the cartouche Ra-si-nub; it was reproduced by Pleyte (*La Religion des Pré-Israélites*, pl. i. fig. 9), from Devéria's sketch, and was bought for the British Museum by G. Smith, who believed he could detect on it the name of Salatis (*Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 420). Mr. Tomkins made a new drawing of it, and published it in his *Studies on the Times of Abraham*, pl. xl. pp. 140–142. The discovery of the true reading of the cartouche, Sûsirni, and its identification with the cartouche-prenomen of Khiani, are due to Griffith (Naville, *Bubastis*, pp. 24, 25). Ed. Meyer (*Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. i. p. 130) considers this lion not to be Egyptian work at all, but pseudo-Egyptian, and that it was executed in Asia; the head, which had been mutilated, has been restored at a much later date, and has thus lost its ancient character, but the body shows it to have been of pure Egyptian origin.

[4] The cartouche-name Âûsirrî, which is only to be found in the papyrus, was pointed out by Birch (*Geometric Papyrus*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1868, p. 108), who did not classify it; Eisenlohr recognised the fact that it must date from the time of the XVII[th] dynasty (*Ueber altägyptische Maasse*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1875, p. 46, and *Ein Mathematisches Handbuch der Alten Ægypter*, pp. 7, 8), and

If we only possessed more monuments or documents treating of this period, we should doubtless perceive that their sojourn on the banks of the Nile was instrumental in causing a speedy change in the appearance and character of the Hyksôs. The strangers retained to a certain extent their coarse countenances and rude manners: they showed no aptitude for tilling the soil or sowing grain, but delighted in the marshy expanses of the Delta, where they gave themselves up to a semi-savage life of hunting and of tending cattle. The nobles among them, clothed and schooled after the Egyptian fashion, and holding fiefs, or positions at court, differed but little from the native feudal chiefs. We see here a case of what generally happens when a horde of barbarians settles down in a highly organised country



THE BROKEN STATUE OF KHIANI, IN THE GHIZEH MUSEUM.[1]

which by a stroke of fortune they may have conquered: as soon as the Hyksôs had taken complete possession of Egypt, Egypt in her turn took possession of them, and those who survived the enervating effect of her civilization were all but transformed into Egyptians.

If, in the time of the native Pharaohs, Asiatic tribes had been drawn towards Egypt, where they were treated as subjects or almost as slaves,[2]

finally showed, on the evidence of Stern, that it belonged to one of the Apôphis (*An Historical Monument*, in the *Proceedings* of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch., 1881, pp. 97, 98). It is thus placed in the XVIth dynasty (Wiedemann, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, pp. 293, 294), and the hypothesis is confirmed by a monument of Apôphis II. in the south of Egypt, at Gebelein (Daressy, *Notes et Remarques*, § xxx., in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xii. p. 26). The treatise had been composed under Amenemhait III. (Griffith, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, in the *Proceedings* of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch., vol. xiv., 1891, pp. 26, 37).

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Naville; cf. Naville, *Bubastis*, pl. xii.

[2] Cf. in regard to these Asiatic emigrants, Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 468–471.

the attraction which she possessed for them must have increased in intensity under the shepherds. They would now find the country in the hands of men of the same races as themselves—Egyptianised, it is true, but not to such an extent as to have completely lost their own language and the knowledge of their own extraction. Such immigrants were the more readily welcomed, since there lurked a feeling among the Hyksôs that it was necessary to strengthen themselves against the slumbering hostility of the indigenous population. The royal palace must have more than once opened its gates to Asiatic counsellors and favourites. Canaanites and Bedouin must often have been enlisted for the camp at Avaris. Invasions, famines, civil wars, all seem to have conspired to drive into Egypt not only isolated individuals, but whole families and tribes. That of the Beni-Israel, or Israelites, who entered the country about this time, has since acquired a unique position in the world's history. They belonged to that family of Semitic extraction which we know by the monuments and tradition to have been scattered in ancient times along the western shores of the Persian Gulf and on the banks of the Euphrates. Those situated nearest to Chaldæa and to the sea probably led a settled existence; they cultivated the soil, they employed themselves in commerce and industries, their vessels—from Dilmun, from Mâgan, and from Milukhkha—coasted from one place to another, and made their way to the cities of Sumer and Accad. They had been civilized from very early times, and some of their towns were situated on islands, so as to be protected from sudden incursions.[1] Other tribes of the same family occupied the interior of the continent; they lived in tents, and delighted in the unsettled life of nomads. There appeared to be in this distant corner of Arabia an inexhaustible reserve of population, which periodically overflowed its borders and spread over the world. It was from this very region that we see the Kashdim, the true Chaldæans, issuing ready armed for combat,—a people whose name was subsequently used to denote several tribes settled between the lower waters of the Tigris and the Euphrates.[2] It was there, among the marshes on either side of these rivers, that the Aramæans established their first settlements after quitting the desert.[3] There also the oldest legends of the race placed the cradle of the Phœnicians;[4] it was even believed, about the time of Alexander, that the earliest ruins attributable to this people had been discovered on the Bahrein Islands, the

[1] *E.g.* the ancient town of Dilmun (FR. DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 229).

[2] As to the position occupied by the Chaldæans in the marshes, at the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris, on the shores of the Persian Gulf, cf. DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 134, *et seq.*

[3] The Assyrian inscriptions show that there were Aramæans in this region also (FR. DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 257, 258). The tendency to trace all the Aramæans who settled in Syria to the marshy regions which border on the lower Euphrates has become very pronounced of late; cf., amongst others, HALÉVY, *Mélanges*, pp. 29–21; *Recherches Bib.*, pp. 57, 58, 165, 287, 288; and RENAN, *Hist. du Peuple d'Israël*, vol. i. p. 10.

[4] Cf. p. 55 of the present work for a passing allusion to this legend.

largest of which, Tylos and Arados, bore names resembling the two great ports of Tyre and Arvad.[1] We are indebted to tradition for the cause of their emigration and the route by which they reached the Mediterranean. The occurrence of violent earthquakes forced them to leave their home; they travelled as far as the Lake of Syria, where they halted for some time; then resuming their march, did not rest till they had reached the sea, where they founded Sidon.[2] The question arises as to the position of the Lake of Syria on whose shores they rested, some believing it to be the Bahr-i-Nedjif and the environs of Babylon;[3] others, the Lake of Bambykês near the Euphrates,[4] the emigrants doubtless having followed up the course of that river, and having approached the country of their destination on its north-eastern frontier. Another theory would seek to identify the lake with the waters of Merom, the Lake of Galilee, or the Dead Sea; in this case the horde must have crossed the neck of the Arabian peninsula, from the Euphrates to the Jordan, through one of those long valleys, sprinkled with oases, which afforded an occasional route for caravans.[5] Several writers assure us that the Phœnician tradition of this exodus was misunderstood by Herodotus, and that the sea which they remembered on reaching Tyre was not the Persian Gulf, but the Dead Sea. If this had been the case, they need not have hesitated to assign their departure to causes mentioned in other documents. The Bible tells us that, soon after the invasion of Kudur-lagamar, the anger of God being kindled by the wickedness of Sodom and Gomorrah, He resolved to destroy the five cities situated in the valley of Siddim. A cloud of burning brimstone broke over them and consumed them; when the fumes and smoke, as "of a furnace," had passed away, the very site of the towns had disappeared.[6] Previous to their destruction, the lake into which the Jordan empties itself had had but a restricted area: the subsidence of the southern plain, which had been occupied by the impious cities, doubled the size of the lake, and enlarged it to its present

[1] Strabo, xvi. 3, § 4, p. 766, according to the missing narrative of Androsthenes, one of Alexander's admirals. A place on the Persian Gulf named Dora (Strabo, *l. c.*) is also mentioned; it was known to Ptolemy (vi. 7) by the name of Thara, Θαρώ.

[2] Justinus, xviii. iii. 2-4: "Tyriorum gens condita a Phœnicibus fuit, qui terræ motu vexati, relicto patriæ solo, ad Syrium stagnum primo, mox mari proximum litus incoluerunt, condita ibi urbe, quam a piscium ubertate Sidona appellaverunt: nam piscem Phœnices sidon vocant." The ancient editions read "Assyrium stagnum primo, mox mari proximum litus incoluerunt."

[3] G. Rawlinson, *Herod.*, vol. iv. p. 201, and *Hist. of Phœnicia*, pp. 33, 34, from the reading "Assyrium."

[4] A. von Gutschmid, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alten Orients*, p. 36, note. Gutschmid afterwards abandoned this view (*Phœnicia*, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edit., vol. xviii. p. 803 B; cf. *Kleine Schriften*, vol. ii. pp. 41, 42, 86, 87).

[5] They would thus have arrived at the shores of Lake Merom (Hitzig, *Urgesch. der Philistäer*, pp. 181-184), or at the shores either of the Dead Sea or of the Lake of Gennesareth (Kenrick, *Phœnicia*, p. 47); the Arab traditions speak of an itinerary which would have led the emigrants across the desert (C. de Perceval, *Histoire des Arabes*, vol. i. p. 38, et seq.), but they possess no historic value in so far as these early epochs are concerned (Nöldeke, *Ueber die Amalekiter*, p. 34).

[6] *Gen.* xix. 24-29; the whole of this episode belongs to the Jehovistic narrative.

dimensions.[1] The earthquake which caused the Phœnicians to leave their ancestral home may have been the result of this cataclysm, and the sea on whose shores they sojourned would thus be our Dead Sea. One fact, however, appears to be certain in the midst of many hypotheses, and that is that the Phœnicians had their origin in the regions bordering on the Persian Gulf.[2] It is useless to attempt, with the inadequate materials as yet in our possession, to determine by what route they reached the Syrian coast, though we may perhaps conjecture the period of their arrival. Herodotus asserts that the Tyrians placed the date of the foundation of their principal temple two thousand three hundred years before the time of his visit,[3] and the erection of a sanctuary for their national deity would probably take place very soon after their settlement at Tyre: this would bring their arrival there to about the XXVIII[th] century before our era. The Elamite and Babylonian conquests would therefore have found the Phœnicians already established in the country, and would have had appreciable effect upon them.

The question now arises whether the Beni-Israel belonged to the group of tribes which included the Phœnicians, or whether they were of Chaldæan race. Their national traditions leave no doubt upon that point. They are regarded as belonging to an important race, which we find dispersed over the country of Padan-Aram, in Northern Mesopotamia, near the base of Mount Masios, and extending on both sides of the Euphrates.[4] Their earliest chiefs bore the names of towns or of peoples,—Nakhor, Peleg, and Serug:[5] all were descendants of Arphaxad,[6] and it was related that Terakh, the direct ancestor of the Israelites, had dwelt in Ur-Kashdim, the Ur or Uru of the Chaldæans.[7] He is said to have

[1] The theory which endeavours to prove that the southern part of the Dead Sea was originally a plain covered with cities, has been vigorously opposed by Lartet (Duc de Luynes, *Voyage d'Exploration à la mer Morte*, vol. iii. p. 241, et seq.; cf. Sayce, *Patriarchal Palestine*, pp. 177-179).

[2] This opinion was, I believe, first put forward by Bunsen (*Æg. Stelle*, vol. iv. pp. 291, 292); at first rejected by Gutschmid (*Gesch. des Alten Orients*, pp. 26, 27), was afterwards accepted by him (*Kleine Schriften*, vol. ii. pp. 41, 42, 86, 87), and from him passed into Pietschmann, *Ges. der Phönizier*, pp. 114-116.

[3] Herodotus, II. xliv.; cf. Wiedemann's commentary on *Herodots zweites Buch*, pp. 207-211.

[4] The country of Padan-Aram is situated between the Euphrates and the upper reaches of the Khabur, on both sides of the Balikh, and is usually explained as the "plain" or "table-land" of Aram, though the etymology is not certain; the word seems to be preserved in that of Tell-Faddân, near Harrân.

[5] Nakhor has been associated with the ancient village of Khaura, or with the ancient village of Haditha-en-Naura, to the south of Anah; Peleg probably corresponds with Phalga or Phaliga, which was situated at the mouth of the Khabur; Serug with the present Surudj in the neighbourhood of Edessa, and the other names in the genealogy were probably borrowed from as many different localities.

[6] The site of Arphaxad is doubtful, as is also its meaning: the second element is undoubtedly the name of the Chaldæans, but the first is interpreted in several ways—"frontier of the Chaldæans," "domain of the Chaldæans." The similarity of sound was the cause of its being for a long time associated with the Arrapakhitis of classical times; the tendency is now to recognise in it the country nearest to the ancient domain of the Chaldæans, i.e. Babylonia proper (Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 264, 265; Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften*, 1883, pp. 112, 113; Budde, *Die Bib. Urgesch.*, p. 443, note).

[7] Ur-Kasdim has long been sought for in the north, either at Orfa, in accordance with the tradition of the Syrian Churches still existing in the East, or in a certain Ur of Mesopotamia, placed by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxv. 8, 7) between Nisibis and the Tigris (cf. for a very clear summary of these early opinions, Vigouroux, *La Bible et les Découvertes modernes*, 1884, vol. i. pp. 285-294).

had three sons—Abraham, Nakhôr, and Harân. Harân begat Lot, but died before his father in Ur-Kashdim, his own country; Abraham and Nakhôr both took wives, but Abraham's wife remained a long time barren. Then Terakh, with his son Abraham, his grandson Lot, the son of Harân, and his daughter-in-law Sarah,[1] went forth from Ur-Kashdim (Ur of the Chaldees) to go into the land of Canaan; and they came unto Kharân, and dwelt there, and Terakh died in Kharân.[2] It is a question whether Kharân is to be identified with Harrân in Mesopotamia, the city of the god Sin; or, which is more probable, with the Syrian town of Haurân,[3] in the neighbourhood of Damascus.[4] The tribes who crossed the Euphrates became subsequently a somewhat important people. They called themselves, or were known by others, as the 'Ibrîm, or Hebrews, the people from beyond the river;[5] and this appellation, which we are accustomed to apply to the children of Israel only, embraced also, at the time when the term was most extended, the Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, Ishmaelites, Midianites, and many other tribes settled on the borders of the desert to the east and south of the Dead Sea.[6] These peoples all traced their descent from Abraham, the son of Terakh, but the children of Israel claimed the privilege of being the only legitimate issue of his marriage with Sarah, giving naïve or derogatory accounts of the relations which connected the others with

at the present day Halévy still looks for it on the Syrian bank of the Euphrates, to the south-east of Thapsacus (*Mélanges d'Epigraphie et d'Archéologie Sémitiques*, p. 84, and *Recherches Bibliques*, p. 715, note 1). Rawlinson's proposal to identify it with the town of Uru has been successively accepted by nearly all Assyriologists; by Oppert (*Les Inscriptions de Dur-Sarkayan*, in PLACE's *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, vol. ii. p. 289, note 1), by Schrader (*Die Keilinschriften und das alte Testament*, 1872, pp. 283, 284, and latterly in the article, *Ur-Kasdim*, in the *Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Altertums*, 1894, pp. 1729, 1730). Sayce remarks that the worship of Sin, which was common to both towns, established a natural link between them, and that an inhabitant of Uru would have felt more at home in Harrân than in any other town (*The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments*, 3rd edit., p. 159, and *Patriarchal Palestine*, pp. 166, 167).

[1] The names of Sarah and Abraham, or rather the earlier form, Abram, have been found, the latter under the form Abrâmu, in the contracts of the first Chaldæan empire (HALÉVY, *Recherches Bibliques*, p. 270; SAYCE, *The Higher Criticism*, etc., p. 159). For the explanation of Sârâ in Chaldæan use, cf. MEISSNER, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, p. 213.

[2] Gen. xi. 27–32. In the opinion of most critics, verses 27, 31, 32 form part of the document which was the basis of the various narratives still traceable in the Bible; it is thought that the remaining verses bear the marks of a later redaction, or that they may be additions of a later date. The most important part of the text, that relating the migration from Ur-Kashdim to Kharân, belongs, therefore, to the very oldest part of the national tradition, and may be regarded as expressing the knowledge which the Hebrews of later times possessed concerning the origin of their race.

[3] RENAN, *Histoire du Peuple d'Israël*, vol. i. pp. 91, 92, where the name of Terakh is compared with that of Trachonitis, and the Biblical Kharân identified with the modern Haurân.

[4] HALÉVY, *Mélanges d'Epigraphie et d'Archéologie Sémitiques*, pp. 82–84, where Kharân is connected with Spelunca, a Roman station in Central Syria; cf. *Recherches Bibliques*, 715, note 1.

[5] The most ancient interpretation identified this nameless river with the Euphrates; an identification still admitted by most critics (BUDDE, *Die Biblische Urgeschichte*, p. 393, note 1; RENAN, *Histoire du Peuple d'Israël*, vol. i. p. 91): others prefer to recognise it as being the Jordan (ED. MEYER, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. i. p. 215; STADE, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. pp. 110, 119). Halévy (*Mélanges d'Epigraphie*, etc., p. 81) prefers to identify it with one of the rivers of Damascus, probably the Abana (cf. p. 8 of the present volume).

[6] For the way in which Hebrew historians have taken cognisance of the relationship which connected them with neighbouring peoples, cf. WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena zur Gesch. Israels*, p. 330, seq.

their common ancestor; Ammon and Moab were, for instance, the issue of the incestuous union of Lot and his daughters.[1] Midian and his sons were descended from Keturah, who was merely a second wife,[2] Ishmael was the son of an Egyptian slave,[3] while the "hairy" Esau had sold his birthright and the primacy of the Edomites to his brother Jacob, and consequently to the Israelites, for a dish of lentils.[4] Abraham left Kharân at the command of Jahveh, his God, receiving from Him a promise that his posterity should be blessed above all others. Abraham pursued his way into the heart of Canaan till he reached Shechem, and there, under the oaks of Moreh, Jahveh, appearing to him a second time, announced to him that He would give the whole land to his posterity as an inheritance. Abraham virtually took possession of it, and wandered over it with his flocks, building altars at Shechem, Bethel, and Mamre,[5] the places where God had revealed Himself to him, treating as his equals the native chiefs, Abimelech of Gerar and Melchizedek of Jerusalem,[6] and granting the valley of the Jordan as a place of pasturage to his nephew Lot, whose flocks had increased immensely.[7] His nomadic instinct having led him into Egypt, he was here robbed of his wife by Pharaoh.[8] On his return he purchased the field of Ephron, near Kirjath-Arba, and the cave of Machpelah, of which he made a burying-place for his family.[9] Kirjath-Arba, the Hebron of subsequent times,

[1] *Gen.* xix. 30-38. For the origin of this account, cf. Reuss, *L'Hist. Sainte et la Loi*, vol. i. p. 363, n. 3; it appears from the passage in *Deut.* ii. 9, 19, which speaks of the Moabites and Ammonites, that the writer did not then know of this tradition, or did not choose to take it into consideration, and confined himself to stating the descent of the two peoples without connecting it with any incestuous origin.

[2] *Gen.* xxv. 1-6. Other Hebrew documents prefer to classify the Midianites among the descendants of Ishmael (*Gen.* xxxvii. 25, 27, 28; *Judges* viii. 24).

[3] *Gen.* xvi., xxi. 9-21, xxv. 12-18, where we have two different forms of the narrative, the first Jehovistic (ch. xvi.), the second Elohistic (xxi. 9-21); cf. Reuss, *L'Histoire Sainte et la Loi*, vol. i. p. 127, note 78, for the comparison of the two versions.

[4] *Gen.* xxvii. For Wellhausen's theory of the probable date of this episode, cf. his *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, p. 328, et seq.

[5] *Gen.* xii. 1-4, 6-8. The mention of these three places would indicate, as far as the redaction is concerned, that it was made at a period anterior to that when all other localities for worship except the temple at Jerusalem were proscribed by the law.

[6] Cf. the meeting with Melchizedek after the victory over the Elamites (*Gen.* xiv. 18-20) and the agreement with Abimelech about the well (*Gen.* xxi. 22-34). The mention of the covenant of Abraham with Abimelech belongs to the oldest part of the national tradition, and is given to us in the Jehovistic narrative (Reuss, *L'Histoire Sainte et la Loi*, vol. i. pp. 368, 369). Many critics have questioned the historical existence of Melchizedek, and believed that the passage in which he is mentioned is merely a kind of parable intended to show the head of the race paying tithe of the spoil to the priest of the supreme God residing at Jerusalem (Reuss, *L'Histoire Sainte et la Loi*, vol. i. p. 349); the information, however, furnished by the Tel-el-Amarna tablets about the ancient city of Jerusalem (Zimmern, *Die Keilschriftbriefe aus Jerusalem*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. vi. pp. 245-263) and the character of its early kings have determined Sayce to pronounce Melchizedek to be an historical personage (*The Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, pp. 174-178, and *Patriarchal Palestine*, p. 71, et seq.).

[7] *Gen.* xiii. 1-13. Lot has been sometimes connected of late with the people called on the Egyptian monuments Rotanu, or Lotanu, whom we shall have occasion to mention frequently further on; he is supposed to have been their eponymous hero (Renan, *Histoire du Peuple Hébreu*, vol. i. pp. 12, 115). Lôtan, which is the name of an Edomite clan (*Gen.* xxxvi. 20, 29), is a racial adjective, derived from Lôt (Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israels*, vol. i. pp. 118, 119).

[8] *Gen.* xii. 9-20, xiii. 1. Abraham's visit to Egypt reproduces the principal events of that of Jacob (Reuss, *L'Histoire Sainte et la Loi*, vol. i. p. 342, note 5).

[9] *Gen.* xiii. 18, xxiii. (Elohistic narrative). The tombs of the patriarchs are believed by the



THE TRADITIONAL OAK OF ABRAHAM AT HEBRON.[1]

became from henceforward his favourite dwelling-place, and he was residing there when the Elamites invaded the valley of Siddim,[2] and carried off Lot among their prisoners. Abraham set out in pursuit of them, and succeeded in delivering his nephew.[3] God (Jahveh) not only favoured him on every occasion, but expressed His will to extend over Abraham's descendants His sheltering protection. He made a covenant with him, enjoining the use on the occasion of the mysterious rites employed among the nations when effecting a treaty of peace. Abraham offered up as victims a heifer, a goat, and a three-year-old ram, together with a turtle-dove and a young pigeon; he cut the animals into pieces, and piling them in two heaps, waited till the evening. "And when the sun was going down, a deep sleep fell upon Abraham; and lo, an horror of great darkness fell upon him," and a voice from on high said to him: "Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred years; and also that nation, whom they shall serve, will I judge: and afterward shall they come out with great substance. . . . And it came to pass, that when the sun went down, and it was dark, behold a smoking furnace, and a burning lamp that passed between these pieces." Jahveh sealed the covenant by consuming the offering.[4]

Two less important figures fill the interval between the Divine prediction of

Mohammedans to exist to the present day in the cave which is situated within the enclosure of the mosque at Hebron, and the tradition on which this belief is based goes back to early Christian times; cf. Vigouroux, *La Bible et les Découvertes modernes*, 1884, vol. i. pp. 512-518, where we find summed up the results of the most recent researches on the subject.

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph brought home by Lortet.

[2] On the subject of this invasion, cf. pp. 47, 48 of the present work.

[3] *Gen.* xiv. 12-24.

[4] *Gen.* xv., Jehovistic narrative.

servitude and its accomplishment. The birth of one of them, Isaac, was ascribed to the Divine intervention at a period when Sarah had given up all hope of becoming a mother. Abraham was sitting at his tent door in the heat of the day, when three men presented themselves before him, whom he invited to repose under the oak while he prepared to offer them hospitality. After their meal, he who seemed to be the chief of the three promised to return within a year, when Sarah should be blessed with the possession of a son. The announcement came from Jahveh, but Sarah was ignorant of the fact, and laughed to herself within the tent on hearing this amazing prediction; for she said, "After I am waxed old shall I have pleasure, my lord being old also?" The child was born, however, and was called Isaac, "the laugher," in remembrance of Sarah's mocking laugh.[1] There is a remarkable resemblance between his life and that of his father.[2] Like Abraham he dwelt near Hebron,[3] and departing thence wandered with his household round the wells of Beersheba. Like him he was threatened with the loss of his wife; like him, also, he renewed relations with Abimelech of Gerar.[4] He married his relative Rebecca, the granddaughter of Nâkhor and the sister of Laban.[5] After twenty years of barrenness, his wife gave birth to twins, Esau and Jacob, who contended with each other from their mother's womb, and whose descendants kept up a perpetual feud.[6] We know how Esau, under the influence of his appetite, deprived himself of the privileges of his birthright, and subsequently went forth to become the founder of the Edomites.[7] Jacob spent a portion of his youth in Padan-Aram, here he served Laban for the hands of his cousins Rachel and Leah; then, owing to the bad faith of his uncle, he left him secretly, after twenty years' service, taking with him his wives and innumerable flocks.[8] At first he wandered aimlessly along the eastern bank of the Jordan, where Jahveh revealed Himself to him in his troubles. Laban pursued and overtook him, and, acknowledging his own injustice, pardoned him for having taken flight. Jacob

[1] *Gen.* xviii. 1-16, according to the Jehovistic narrative. *Gen.* xvii. 15-22 gives another account, in which the Elohistic writer predicts the birth of Isaac in a different way. The name of Isaac, "the laugher," possibly abridged from Isaak-el, "he on whom God smiles" (RENAN, *Histoire du Peuple Israël*, vol. i. p. 107), is explained in three different ways: first, by the laugh of Abraham (ch. xvii. 17); secondly, by that of Sarah (xviii. 12) when her son's birth was foretold to her; and lastly, by the laughter of those who made sport of the delayed maternity of Sarah (xxi. 6).

[2] Many critics see in the life of Isaac a colourless copy of that of Abraham, while others, on the contrary, consider that the primitive episodes belonged to the former, and that the parallel portions of the two lives were borrowed from the biography of the son to augment that of his father (WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, p. 338).

[3] *Gen.* xxxv. 27., Elohistic narrative.

[4] *Gen.* xxvi. 1-33, Jehovistic narrative. In *Gen.* xxv. 11 an Elohistic interpolation makes Isaac also dwell in the south, near to the "Well of the Living One Who seeth me."

[5] *Gen.* xxiv., where two narratives appear to have been amalgamated; in the second of these, Abraham seems to have played no part, and Eliezer apparently conducted Rebecca direct to her husband Isaac (vers. 61-67).

[6] *Gen.* xxv. 20-26.

[7] *Gen.* xxv. 29-34; cf. what is said of this descent on pp. 65, 66 of the present volume.

[8] *Gen.* xxvii. 41-46, xxviii., xxxi., xxxii. 1.

raised a heap of stones on the site of their encounter, known at Mizpah to after-ages as the "Stone of Witness"—Gal-Ed (Galeed).[1] This having been accomplished, his difficulties began with his brother Esau, who bore him no good will. One night, at the ford of the Jabbok, when he had fallen behind his companions, "there wrestled a man with him until the breaking of the day," without prevailing against him. The stranger endeavoured to escape before daybreak, but only succeeded in doing so at the cost of giving Jacob his blessing. "What is thy name? And he said, Jacob. And he said, Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel: for thou hast striven with God and with men, and hast prevailed." Jacob called the place Peniel, "for," said he, "I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved." The hollow of his thigh was "strained as he wrestled with him," and he became permanently lame.[2] Immediately after the struggle he met Esau, and endeavoured to appease him by his humility, building a house for him, and providing booths for his cattle, so as to secure for his descendants the possession of the land. From this circumstance the place received the name of Succôth—the "Booths"—by which appellation it was henceforth known.[3] Another locality where Jahveh had met Jacob while he was pitching his tents, derived from this fact the designation of the "Two Hosts"—Mahanaim.[4] On the other side of the river, at Shechem,[5] at Bethel,[6] and at Hebron, near to the burial-place of his family,[7] traces of him are everywhere to be found blent with those of Abraham. By his two wives and their maids he had twelve sons. Leah was the mother of Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, and Zabulon; Gad and Asher were the children of his slave Zilpah; while Joseph and Benjamin were the only sons of Rachel—Dan and Naphtali[8] being the offspring of her servant Bilhah. The preference which his father showed to him caused Joseph to be hated by his brothers; they sold him to a caravan of Midianites on their way to Egypt, and persuaded Jacob that a wild beast had devoured him. Jahveh was, however, with Joseph, and "made all that he did to prosper in his hand."

[1] *Gen.* xxxi. 45-54, where the writer evidently traces the origin of the word Gilead to Gal-Ed. We gather from the context that the narrative was connected with the cairn at Mizpah which separated the Hebrew from the Aramæan speaking peoples.

[2] *Gen.* xxxii. 22-32. This is the account of the Jahvistic writer. The Elohist gives a different version of the circumstances which led to the change of name from Jacob to Israel; he places the scene at Bethel, and suggests no precise etymology for the name Israel (*Gen.* xxxv. 9-15).

[3] *Gen.* xxxiii. 1-17. [The Hebrew states that Jacob built the house, etc., for himself and not for Esau.—Ed.]

[4] *Gen.* xxxii. 2, 3, where the theophany is indicated rather than directly stated.

[5] *Gen.* xxxiii. 18-20. Here should be placed the episode of Dinah seduced by an Amorite prince, and the consequent massacre of the inhabitants by Simeon and Levi (*Gen.* xxxiv.). The almost complete dispersion of the two tribes of Simeon and Levi is attributed to this massacre; cf. *Gen.* xlix. 5-7.

[6] *Gen.* xxxv. 1-15, where is found the Elohistic version (9-15) of the circumstances which led to the change of name from Jacob to Israel.

[7] *Gen.* xxxv. 27-29.

[8] The enumeration of all the sons is given in *Gen.* xxxv. 23-26, the details of the births of the children of Leah are found in *Gen.* xxix. 31-35, xxx. 14-21; those of the children of Rachel in *Gen.* xxx. 22-24, xxxv. 16-19; and those of the children of Bilhah and Zilpah in *Gen.* xxx. 1-13.

He was bought by Potiphar, a great Egyptian lord and captain of Pharaoh's guard, who made him his overseer; his master's wife, however, "cast her eyes upon Joseph," but finding that he rejected her shameless advances, she accused him of having offered violence to her person.[1] Being cast into prison, he astonished his companions in misfortune by his skill in reading dreams, and was summoned to Court to interpret to the king his dream of the seven lean kine who had devoured the seven fat kine, which he did by representing the latter as seven years of abundance, of which the crops should be swallowed up by seven years of famine. Joseph was thereupon raised by Pharaoh to the rank of prime minister. He stored up the surplus of the abundant harvests, and as soon as the famine broke out, distributed the corn to the hunger-stricken people in exchange for their silver and gold, and for their flocks and fields. Hence it was that the whole of the Nile valley, with the exception of the lands belonging to the priests, gradually passed into the possession of the royal treasury. Meanwhile his brethren, who also suffered from the famine, came down into Egypt to buy corn. Joseph revealed himself to them, pardoned the wrong they had done him, and presented them to the Pharaoh. "And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Say unto thy brethren, This do ye; lade your beasts, and go, get you unto the land of Canaan; and take your father and your household, and come unto me: and I will give you the good of the land of Egypt, and ye shall eat the fat of the land." Jacob thereupon raised his camp and came to Beersheba, where he offered sacrifices to the God of his father Isaac; and Jahveh commanded him to go down into Egypt, saying, "I will there make of thee a great nation: I will go down with thee into Egypt: and I will also surely bring thee up again: and Joseph shall put his hand upon thine eyes." The whole family were installed by Pharaoh in the province of Goshen, as far as possible from the centres of the native population, "for every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians."[2]

In the midst of these stern yet touching narratives in which the Hebrews of later times delighted to trace the history of their remote ancestors, one important fact arrests our attention: the Beni-Israel quitted Southern Syria and settled on the banks of the Nile. They had remained for a considerable time in what was known later as the mountains of Judah. Hebron had served as their rallying-point; the broad but scantily watered wadys separating the cultivated lands from the desert, were to them a patrimony, which they shared

[1] For the resemblance which has been remarked between this episode and a passage in the "Tale of the Two Brothers," where the wife of Anupu endeavours to corrupt her young brother-in-law Bitiu, but finds that he repulses her advances, cf. Ebers, *Ægypten und die Bücher Mose's*, pp. 314, 315; and Maspero, *Les contes populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 2nd edit., pp. xii.–xiv.

[2] The history of Joseph is contained in Gen. xxxvii., xxxix.–xlvi. The commentary of Vigouroux, *La Bible et les Découvertes modernes*, vol. ii. pp. 1–227, and that of Brugsch, *Steinschrift und Bibelwort*, pp. 77–103, give an idea of the manner in which orthodox commentators and Egyptologists can defend the authenticity of the narrative by references to the ancient monuments.

with the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns. Every year, in the spring, they led their flocks to browse on the thin herbage growing in the bottoms of the valleys, removing them to another district only when the supply of fodder was exhausted. The women spun, wove, fashioned garments, baked bread, cooked the viands, and devoted themselves to the care of the younger children, whom they suckled beyond the usual period. The men lived like the Bedouin—periods of activity alternating regularly with times of idleness, and the daily routine, with its simple duties and casual work, often gave place to quarrels for the possession of some rich pasturage or some never-failing well.[1]

A comparatively ancient tradition relates that the Hebrews arrived in Egypt during the reign of Aphôbis, a Hyksôs king, doubtless one of the Apôpi, and possibly the monarch who restored the monuments of the Theban Pharaohs, and engraved his name on the sphinxes of Amenemhâît III. and on the colossi of Mirmâshâû.[2] The land which the Hebrews obtained is that which, down to the present day, is most frequently visited by nomads, who find there an uncertain hospitality. The tribes of the isthmus of Suez are now, in fact, constantly shifting from one continent to another, and their encampments in any place are merely temporary. The lord of the soil must, if he desire to keep them within his borders, treat them with the greatest prudence and tact. Should the government displease them in any way, or appear to curtail their liberty, they pack up their tents and take flight into the desert. The district occupied by them one day is on the next vacated and left to desolation.[3] Probably the same state of things existed in ancient times, and the border nomes on the east of the Delta were in turn inhabited or deserted by the Bedouin of the period. The towns were few in number, but a series of forts protected the frontier. These were mere village-strongholds perched on the summit of some eminence, and surrounded by a strip of cornland. Beyond the frontier extended a region of bare rock, or a wide plain saturated with the ill-regulated surplus water of the inundation. The land of Goshen was bounded by

[1] Compare the picture of the Semitic nomads traced by Renan, *Histoire du Peuple d'Israël*, vol. i. pp. 18–23, with that of the Bedouin furnished by the *Memoirs of Sinuhit* (cf. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 471–473); the narrative of Genesis bears witness to a state of things analogous to that revealed by the Egyptian text as existing in the age of the XIIth and XIIIth dynasties.

[2] The year XVII. of Apôphis has been pointed out as the date of their arrival (Georgius Syncellus, *Chronography*, Dindorf's edit., p. 201), and this combination, probably proposed by some learned Jew of Alexandria, was adopted by Christian chronologers. It is unsupported by any fact of Egyptian history, but it rests on a series of calculations founded on the information contained in the Bible. Starting from the assumption that the Exodus must have taken place under Ahmosis, and that the children of Israel had been four hundred and thirty years on the banks of the Nile, it was found that the beginning of their sojourn fell under the reign of the Apôphis mentioned by Josephus, and, to be still more correct, in the XVIIth year of that prince (Erman, *Zur Chronologie der Hyksos*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1880, pp. 125–127).

[3] In the last century, and even in our own times, we have examples of several migrations of tribes established on the isthmus in the eastern districts of the Delta, who passed from Egypt into Syria or from Syria into Egypt, to escape the exactions of Egyptian or Turkish governors.

the cities of Heliopolis on the south, Bubastis on the west, and Tanis and Mendes on the north: the garrison at Avaris could easily keep watch over it and maintain order within it, while they could at the same time defend it from the incursions of the Monatiû and the Hirû-Shâitû.[1] The Beni-Israel throve in these surroundings so well adapted to their traditional tastes. Even if their subsequent importance as a nation has been over-estimated, they did not at least share the fate of many foreign tribes, who, when transplanted into Egypt, waned and died out, or, at the end of two or three generations, became merged in the native population.[2] In pursuing their calling as shepherds, almost within sight of the rich cities of the Nile valley, they never forsook the God of their fathers to bow down before the Enneads or Triads of Egypt; whether He was already known to them as Jahveh, or was worshipped under the collective name of Elohim, they served Him with almost unbroken fidelity even in the presence of Râ and Osiris, of Phtah and Sûtkhû.[3]

The Hyksôs conquest had not in any way modified the feudal system of the country.[4] The Shepherd-kings must have inherited the royal domain just as they found it at the close of the XIVth dynasty, but doubtless the whole Delta, from Avaris to Sais, and from Memphis to Buto, was their personal appanage.[5] Their direct authority probably extended no further south than the pyramids, and their supremacy over the fiefs of the Saïd was at best

[1] The limits of the land of Goshen are not clearly defined: I have adopted those indicated by Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, pp. 73, 74, 488–513, and Naville, *Goshen and the Shrine of Saft el Henneh*, pp. 14–20; also Brugsch, *Steininschrift und Bibelwort*, pp. 116, 117. Goshen comprised the provinces situated on the borders of the cultivable cornland, and watered by the infiltration of the Nile, which caused the growth of a vegetation sufficient to support the flocks during a few weeks; and it may also have included the imperfectly irrigated provinces which were covered with pools and reedy swamps after each inundation; cf. the description of the districts frequented by the Bedouin in Jomard, *Observations sur les Arabes de l'Égypte Moyenne*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xii. pp. 310, 311.

[2] We are told that when the Hebrews left Ramses, they were "about six hundred thousand on foot that were men, beside children. And a mixed multitude went up also with them; and flocks and herds, even very much cattle" (*Exod.* xii. 37, 38).

[3] Renan, *Histoire du Peuple d'Israël*, vol. i. pp. 142–153, where exception must be taken to what the author says with regard to the pernicious influence of Egypt. If any Egyptian influence took effect, it is impossible to say at the present time whether it were good or bad; every definite trace of it has disappeared from the Biblical narrative.

[4] This is evident from the very passage in which Manetho describes the expulsion of the Hyksôs: Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Θηβαΐδος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων γενέσθαι φησὶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ποιμένας ἐπανάστασιν (Müller-Didot, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, vol. ii. p. 567). Hence the document of which Manetho made use inferred that not only the Theban princes but those of the whole of Egypt were subject to the Shepherds, since it describes them as rebelling against their masters.

[5] The monuments found at Tanis and Bubastis (cf. pp. 58, 59 of the present work) sufficiently prove that the eastern part of the Delta was under the immediate authority of the Shepherd-kings. As for the remainder of the country, there is adequate proof afforded by a passage of the inscription in the Stabl-Antar, in which Queen Hâtshopsîtû relates that she "raised up the monuments destroyed in the times when the Amû reigned over the country of the north" (Golénischeff, *Notice sur un Texte hiéroglyphique du Stabl-Antar*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. iii. pp. 2, 3). The fragment of the text in which Minephtah speaks "of the kings of Lower Egypt who possessed the whole land" (Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, vol. i. pl. 4, ll. 39, 40; Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 53, ll. 39, 40) refers to the same period, but it recalls the fact of their suzerainty over the entire valley (E. de Rougé, *Mémoire sur les Attaques dirigées contre l'Égypte par les peuples de la Mer*, p. 7).

precarious. The turbulent lords who shared among them the possession of the valley had never lost their proud or rebellious spirit, and under the foreign as under the native Pharaohs regulated their obedience to their ruler by the energy he displayed, or by their regard for the resources at his disposal. Thebes had never completely lost the ascendency which it obtained over them at the fall of the Memphite dynasty. The accession of the Xoite dynasty, and the arrival of the Shepherd-kings, in relegating Thebes unceremoniously to a second rank, had not discouraged it, or lowered its royal prestige in its own eyes or in those of others: the lords of the south instinctively rallied around it, as around their natural citadel, and their resources, combined with its own, rendered it as formidable a power as that of the masters of the Delta. If we had fuller information as to the history of this period, we should doubtless see that the various Theban princes took occasion, as in the Heracleopolitan epoch, to pick a quarrel with their sovereign lord, and did not allow themselves to be discouraged by any check.[1] The centuries of rule attributed by the chronicles to the Hyksôs of the XVIth dynasty were not probably, as far as they were concerned, years of perfect tranquillity, or of undisputed authority. In inscribing their sole names on the lists, the compilers denoted merely the shorter or longer period during which their Theban vassals[2] failed in their rebellious efforts, and did not dare to assume openly the title or ensigns of royalty. A certain Apôphis, probably the same who took the prænomen of Aqnûnri, was reigning at Tanis when the decisive revolt broke out, and Saqnûnri Tiûaa I., who was the leader on the occasion, had no other title of authority over the provinces of the south[3] than that of *hiqu*, or regent.

[1] The length of time during which Egypt was subject to Asiatic rule is not fully known. Historians are agreed in recognising the three epochs referred to in the narrative of Manetho (MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Frag. Historicorum Græcorum*, vol. ii. pp. 566–568), as corresponding with (1) the conquest and the six first Hyksôs kings, including the XVth Theban dynasty; (2) the complete submission of Egypt to the XVIth foreign dynasty; (3) the war of independence during the XVIIth dynasty, which consisted of two parallel series of kings, the one Shepherds (Pharaohs), the other Thebans (MASPERO, *Une Enquête judiciaire à Thèbes*, pp. 73, 79, and *Revue Critique*, 1879, vol. ii. pp. 118, 119). There has been considerable discussion as to the duration of the oppression. The best solution is still that given by Erman (*Zur Chronologie der Hyksos*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1879, pp. 125–127), according to whom the XVth dynasty lasted 284, the XVIth 234, and the XVIIth 143 years, or, in all, 661 years. The invasion must, therefore, have taken place about 2340 B.C., or about the time when the Elamite power was at its highest. The advent of the XVIth dynasty would fall about 2062 B.C., and the commencement of the war of independence between 1730 and 1720 B.C.

[2] The supremacy of Thebes over the other principalities is proved by the title of "Theban" dynasty, which Manetho attributed to the indigenous Pharaohs who contended with the last of the Shepherds (MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Frag. Hist. Græcorum*, vol. ii. pp. 567, 568), as well as by the account given in the *Sallier Papyrus*, No. 1, which makes the "Regent of Thebes" the rival of the Sovereign of Avaris (pl. i. ll. 1, 2).

[3] *Sallier Papyrus*, No. 1, pl. i. l. 1; cf. MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 198, 199. The early Egyptologists who studied this period thought that the founder of the XVIIth Theban dynasty was the king mentioned at El-Kab, Saqnûnri Tiâaqni (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Examen de l'Ouvrage de M. le Chev. de Bunsen*, ii. p. 31, and *Athenæum Français*, 1852, p. 432; BRUGSCH, *Ægyptische Studien*, § ii. p. 12). Chabas says that this must be the first of the two Saqnûnris mentioned in the Abbott Papyrus (pl. iii. ll. 8–11), who bore the name of Tiâa (*Les Pasteurs en Égypte*, pp. 37–40). The proof that the Apôphis of the Sallier Papyrus is probably Apôpi Aqnûnri is furnished by the form of the

We are unacquainted with the cause of the outbreak or with its sequel, and the Egyptians themselves seem to have been not much better informed on the subject than ourselves. They gave free flight to their fancy, and accommodated the details to their taste, not shrinking from the introduction of daring fictions into the account. A romance, which was very popular with the literati four or five hundred years later, asserted that the real cause of the war was a kind of religious quarrel.[1] "It happened that the land of Egypt belonged to the Fever-stricken, and, as there was no supreme king at that time, it happened then that King Saqnûnri was regent of the city of the south, and that the Fever-stricken of the city of Râ were under the rule of Râ-Apôpi in Avaris.[2] The Whole Land tribute to the latter in manufactured products, and the north did the same in all the good things of the Delta. Now, the King Râ-Apôpi took to himself Sûtkhû for lord, and he did not serve any other god in the Whole Land except Sûtkhû, and he built a temple of excellent and everlasting work at the gate of the King Râ-Apôpi, and he arose every morning to sacrifice the daily victims, and the chief vassals were there with garlands of flowers, as it was accustomed to be done for the temple of Phrâ-Harmâkhis."[3] Having finished the temple, he thought of imposing upon the Thebans the cult of his god, but as he shrank from employing force in such a delicate matter, he had recourse to stratagem. He took counsel with his princes and generals, but they were unable to propose any plan.

cartouche prenomen, as Brugsch saw as soon as Mariette had given the true reading of the name (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 228, where the prenomen of one of the two Tiûâas is mistakenly read Aqnûnri, like that of the Shepherd-king): the two epithets, Saqnûnri, Aqnûnri, are formed on the same model, and as Apôpi reigned before his rival, it was evidently Tiûâa who derived his prenomen Saqnûnri from that of Aqnûnri.

[1] The *Sallier Papyrus*, No. 1, was written in the year X., probably in the reign of Minephtah; in any case, under the rule of a Pharaoh who is to be placed in the second half of the XIXth dynasty. The value of the document forming its first pages was recognised by E. de Rougé (*Athenæum Français*, 1854, p. 532), and the interpretation of a few lines attempted shortly after by Brugsch (*Ægyptische Studien*, vol. i. pp. 8–21). It has since been translated by Goodwin (*Hieratic Papyri*, in the *Cambridge Essays*, 1858, pp. 243–245), by Chabas (*Les Pasteurs en Égypte*, pp. 16–19), by Brugsch (*Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 78; *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 222–226), by Ebers (*Ægypten und die Bücher Mose's*, p. 204, et seq.), by Lushington (*Frag. of the 1st Sallier Pap.*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. viii. pp. 1–4), by Maspero (*Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 195–214). The results were at first received as historical, except by Goodwin (cf. Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. iv. p. 671). The true nature of the document was indicated at length by Maspero (*Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 195–216, and *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 2nd edit., pp. xxviii.–xxxi.), and the majority of Egyptologists have since fallen in with this opinion (Wiedemann, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 71, and *Ægyptische Geschichte*, pp. 299, 300; Erman, *Neuægyptische Grammatik*, p. 2, and *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben*, p. 502; Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. i. pp. 135, 256, and *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 212), without, however, accepting my view that the Egyptian story belongs to the class of wager and riddle narratives.

[2] The text is here uncertain, and Piehl, *Varia*, § xiv., in the *Zeitschrift*, 1885, p. 60, as well as Lefébure, *Un des Noms de la Royauté septentrionale*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1893, vol. xxxi. p. 116, has propounded readings of it different from mine. Lefébure renders it, "The scourge of the towns, Apepi-Râ, was chief of the north in Avaris, while Sekenen-Râ was chief of the south at Thebes," but "there was no king in that day."

[3] *Sallier Papyrus*, No. 1, pl. i. ll. 1–4; cf. Maspero, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 195–203, and *Contes populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 2nd edit., pp. 278, 279.

The college of diviners and scribes was more complaisant: "Let a messenger go to the regent of the city of the South to tell him: The King Râ-Apôpi commands thee: 'That the hippopotami which are in the pool of the town are to be exterminated in the pool, in order that slumber may come to me by day and by night.' He will not be able to reply good or bad, and thou shalt send him another messenger: The King Râ-Apôpi commands thee: 'If the chief of the South does not reply to my message, let him serve no longer any god but Sûtkhû. But if he replies to it, and will do that which I tell him to do, then I will impose nothing further upon him, and I will not in future bow before any other god of the Whole Land than Amonrâ, king of the gods!'" Another Pharaoh of popular romance, Nectanebo, possessed, at a much later date, mares which conceived at the neighing of the stallions of Babylon, and his friend Lycerus had a cat which went forth every night to wring the necks of the cocks of Memphis:[1] the hippopotami of the Theban lake, which troubled the rest of the King of Tanis, were evidently of close kin to these extraordinary animals. The sequel is unfortunately lost. We may assume, however, without much risk of error, that Saqnûnri came forth safe and sound from the ordeal; that Apôpi was taken in his own trap, and saw himself driven to the dire extremity of giving up Sûtkhû for Amonrâ or of declaring war. He was likely to adopt the latter alternative, and the end of the manuscript would probably have related his defeat.



PALETTE OF TIÛÂA.[2]

Hostilities continued for a century and a half from the time when Saqnûnri Tiûâa declared himself son of the Sun and king of the two Egypts. From the moment in which he surrounded his name with a cartouche, the princes of the Saïd threw in their lot with him, and the XVIIth dynasty had its beginning on the day of his proclamation.[3] The strife at first was undecisive and without marked advantage to either side:[4] at length the Pharaoh whom the

[1] Found in a popular story, which came in later times to be associated with the traditions connected with Æsop: cf. *La Vie d'Esope le Phrygien*, translated by La Fontaine (*Fables*, ed. Lemerre, vol. i. pp. 41, 42, 45). The correctness of this interpretation is called in question by Piehl, *Varia*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1885, p. 60, note 2.

[2] Drawn from the original by Faucher-Gudin; cf. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., pl. cxxl. 1, 3, and Pierret, *Catalogue de la Salle Historique de la Galerie Égyptienne*, p. 153, No. 614 *bis*. This small object, which was attributed to Saqnûnri III. Tiûâqni, has been restored to Tiûâa by Maspero, *Une Enquête judiciaire à Thèbes*, p. 78.

[3] Maspero, *Une Enquête judiciaire*, pp. 79, 80; cf. *Revue Critique*, 1870, vol. ii. pp. 119, 120. In this, as in many other cases, a change of dynasty in the lists of Manetho does not indicate the accession of a new family, but a change in the condition of the reigning family.

[4] Manetho says so formally: τῶν ἐκ τῆς Θηβαΐδος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων γενέσθαι φησὶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιμένας ἐπανάστασιν, καὶ πόλεμον αὐτοῖς συῤῥαγῆναι μέγαν καὶ πολυχρόνιον (Müller-Didot, *Frag. Hist. Græcorum*, vol. ii. p. 567). Erman thinks, on the contrary, that Tiûâa found no support among the petty princes, but that they preferred to continue vassals of a foreigner rather than recognise the sovereignty of one of their equals (*Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben*, p. 152).

Greek copyists of Manetho call Alisphragmouthosis, defeated the barbarians, drove them away from Memphis and from the western plains of the Delta, and shut them up in their entrenched camp at Avaris,[1] between the Sebennytic branch of the Nile and the Wady Tumilât. The monuments bearing on this period of strife and misery are few in number, and it is a fortunate circumstance if some insignificant object turns up which would elsewhere be passed over as unworthy of notice. One of the officials of Tiûâa I. has left us his writing palette, on which the cartouches of his master are incised with a rudeness baffling description. We have also information of a prince of the blood, a king's son, Tûâû, who accompanied this same Pharaoh in his expeditions; and the Gizeh Museum is proud of having in its possession the wooden sabre which this individual placed on the mummy of a certain Âqhorû, to enable him to defend himself against the monsters of the lower world. A second Saqnûnri Tiûâa succeeded the first, and like him was buried in a little brick pyramid on the border of the Theban necropolis.[2] At his death the series of rulers was broken, and we meet with several names which are difficult to classify — Sakhontinibrî, Sanakhtû-nirî,[4] Hotpûrî, Manhotpûrî,

TÛÂÛ'S SABRE.[3]

[1] Manetho, in Müller-Didot, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, vol. ii. pp. 567, 568. The variant readings Miphramouthôsis and Misphragmouthôsis are found in the MSS., and much labour has been expended in the effort to identify the disfigured name with one of the known kings. Unger sees in it that of Ahmassipiri (cf. p. 94 of the present work), one of the sons of Âhmosis who did not reign (*Chronologie des Manetho*, pp. 155, 156), but the majority of Egyptologists have identified it with the name of Thûtmosis III., following Lepsius in assuming that the Hyksôs were not expelled until the reign of that prince, which is incorrect, as we shall see later on; others are of opinion that the Hyksôs were expelled in the reign of Âhmosis, but consider Manetho's account to be a romance in which facts and names are jumbled together without any regard to truth (Wiedemann, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 302).

[2] The two Tiûâas and their pyramids were made known by the *Abbott Papyrus*, pl. iii. ll. 8–11, where Tiûâa is called Tiûâa-âa, *i.e.* Tiu, the twice great. Their true place in the series was determined by Chabas, *Les Pasteurs en Égypte*, pp. 33–40. It is worth considering whether Tiûâa-âa is not the same person as Tiûâqni, whose name is sometimes written in the short form Tiûâa (Bouriant, *Notes de Voyage*, § 6, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xi. p. 159), and that there were, therefore, only two instead of the usually assumed three Tiûâas.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph taken by Emil Brugsch-Bey: cf. Mariette, *Notice des Principaux Monuments*, 1864, p. 210, and Maspero, *Une Enquête judiciaire à Thèbes*, pp. 77, 78. The object is reproduced by Mariette, *Monuments divers*, pl. 51 *h*, and p. 16; *Album Photographique du Musée de Boulaq*, pl. 27.

[4] No contemporary monument of Sakhontinibrî or Sanakhtûnirî has yet been found. The first is mentioned, as far as I know, only in the series of Theban kings to whom the official of the Necropolis, Khâbekhnit, rendered homage in the time of the XX[th] dynasty (Burton, *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, pl. 32; Wilkinson, *Extracts from several Hieroglyphical Subjects*, pl. v. 2; Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. ii. p. 868; Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments*, pl. iii. p. 1; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. 2 *a*). The second is mentioned on the table of offerings in the Marseilles Museum (E. de Saulcy, *Études sur la série des rois inscrits à la Salle des Ancêtres de Touthmès III.*, p. 47.

Râhotpû.[1] As we proceed, however, information becomes more plentiful, and the list of reigns almost complete. The part which the princesses of older times played in the transmission of power had, from the XII[th] dynasty downward, considerably increased in importance, and threatened to overshadow that of the princes.[2] The question presents itself whether, during these centuries of perpetual warfare, there had not been a moment when, all the males of the family having perished, the women alone were left to perpetuate the solar race on the earth and to keep the succession unbroken. As soon as the veil over this period of history begins to be lifted, we distinguish among the personages emerging from the obscurity as many queens as kings presiding over the destinies of Egypt. The sons took precedence of the daughters when both were the offspring of a brother and sister born of the same parents, and when, consequently, they were of equal rank; but, on the other hand, the sons forfeited this equality when there was any inferiority in origin on the maternal side, and their prospect of succession to the throne diminished in proportion to their mother's remoteness from the line of Râ. In the latter case all their sisters, born of marriages which to us appear incestuous, took precedence of them, and the eldest daughter became the legitimate Pharaoh, who sat in the seat of Horus on the death of her father, or even occasionally during his lifetime. The prince whom she married governed for her, and discharged those royal duties which could be legally performed by a man only,—such as offering worship to the supreme gods, commanding the army, and administering justice; but his wife never ceased to be sovereign, and however small the intelligence or firmness of which she might be possessed, her husband was obliged to leave to her, at all events on certain occasions, the direction of affairs. At her death her children inherited the crown: their father had

No. 3; MASPERO, *Catalogue du Musée Égyptien de Marseille*, p. 4), and on one of the walls of the Hall of Ancestors at Karnak (PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Monuments Égyptiens*, pl. ii.; E. DE ROUGÉ, *Étude sur la série des rois*, pp. 35, 36, in such a position as to associate him with the end of the XVII[th] dynasty, and more especially with the group of Saqnûnrî III., Tiûâqni, and Kamosû. They might, strictly speaking, be called secondary kings, who were contemporaneous with the Saqnûnrîs or Ahmosis (MASPERO, *Les Momies royales de Deir-el-Baharî*, in the *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission du Caire*, vol. i. pp. 638, 639.

[1] Hotpûrî and Manhotpûrî are both mentioned in the fragments of a fantastic story (copied during the XX[th] dynasty), bits of which are found in most European museums (MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne*, 2nd edit., pp. 287–290). In one of these fragments, preserved in the Louvre, mention is made of Hotpûrî's tomb, certainly situated at Thebes (ID., *ibid.*, pp. 291, 292); we possess scarabs of this king, and Petrie discovered at Coptos a fragment of a stele bearing his name and titles, and describing the works which he executed in the temples of the town (*History of Egypt*, pp. 246, 247). The XIV[th] year of Manhotpûrî is mentioned in a passage of the story, as being the date of the death of a personage born under Hotpûrî (MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne*, 2nd edit., p. 290). These two kings belong, as far as we are able to judge, to the middle of the XVII[th] dynasty; I am inclined to place beside them the Pharaoh Nûbhotpûrî, of whom we possess a few rather coarse scarabs (FLINDERS PETRIE, *Historical Scarabs*, pl. 26).

[2] On the subject of these queens, see MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 258, 250, 270–276.

formally to invest the eldest of them with royal authority in the room of the deceased, and with him he shared the externals, if not the reality, of power.[1] It is doubtful whether the third Saqnûnri Tiûâa known to us—he who added an epithet to his name, and was commonly known as Tiûâqni, "Tiûâa the brave"[2]—united in his person all the requisites of a Pharaoh qualified to reign in his own right. However this may have been, at all events his wife, Queen Âhhotpû, possessed them. His eldest son Ahmosû died prematurely; the two younger brothers, Kamosû and a second Ahmosû, the Amosis of the Greeks, assumed the crown after him. It is possible, as frequently happened, that their young sister Âhmasi-Nofrîtari entered the harem of both brothers consecutively. We cannot be sure that she was united to Kamosû, but at all events she became the wife of Âhmosis, and the rights which she possessed, together with those which her husband had inherited from their mother Âhhotpû, gave him a legal claim such as was seldom enjoyed by the Pharaohs of that period, so many of them being sovereigns merely *de facto*, while he was doubly king by right.[4]



NOFRÎTARI, FROM THE WOODEN STATUETTE IN THE TURIN MUSEUM.[3]

Tiûâqni, Kamosû, and Âhmosis quickly succeeded each other. Tiûâqni

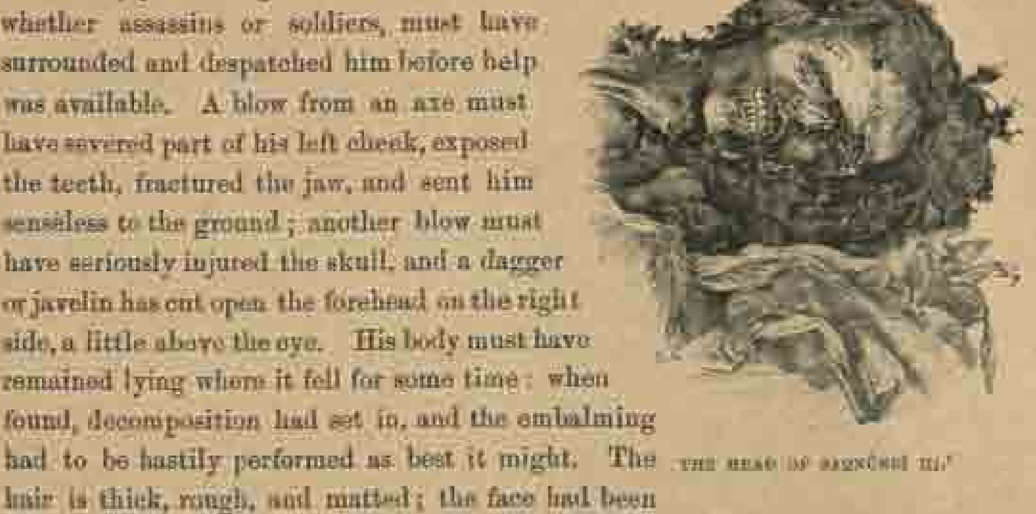
[1] Thus we find Thûtmosis I. formally enthroning his daughter Hâtshopsîtû, towards the close of his reign (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Études des Monuments du Massif de Karnak*, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne et Assyrienne*, vol. i. pp. 47, 48; NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir-el-Bahari*, pp. 15, 16).

[2] It would seem that the epithet *Qeni* (= the brave, the robust) did not form an indispensable part of his name, any more than Âhmosi did of the names of members of the family of Âhmosis, the conqueror of the Shepherds (MASPERO, *Les Momies royales de Deir-el-Bahari*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission française*, vol. i. p. 622). It is to him that the Tiûâa cartouche refers, which is to be found on the statue mentioned by Daninos-Pasha, published by BOURIANT (*Notes de Voyage*, § 6, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xi. p. 159), and on which we find Âhmosis, a princess of the same name, together with Queen Âhhotpû I.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Flinders Petrie.

[4] I have attempted to construct a genealogy of this family in *Les Momies royales de Deir-el-Bahari* (*Mémoires de la Mission du Caire*, vol. i. pp. 626–637). One part of it is certain: (1) the marriage of Âhhotpû I. with Tiûâa III. (BOURIANT, *Notes de Voyage*, § 6, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xi. p. 159), where a deceased elder son, named Âhmosis, is mentioned together with his mother Âhhotpû

very probably waged war against the Shepherds, and it is not known whether he fell upon the field of battle or was the victim of some plot; the appearance of his mummy proves that he died a violent death when about forty years of age.[1] Two or three men, whether assassins or soldiers, must have surrounded and despatched him before help was available. A blow from an axe must have severed part of his left cheek, exposed the teeth, fractured the jaw, and sent him senseless to the ground; another blow must have seriously injured the skull, and a dagger or javelin has cut open the forehead on the right side, a little above the eye. His body must have remained lying where it fell for some time: when found, decomposition had set in, and the embalming had to be hastily performed as best it might. The hair is thick, rough, and matted; the face had been shaved on the morning of his death, but by touching the cheek we can ascertain how harsh and abundant the hair must have been. The mummy is that of a fine, vigorous man, who might have lived to a hundred years, and he must have defended himself resolutely against his assailants; his features bear even now an expression of fury. A flattened patch of exuded brain appears above one eye, the forehead is wrinkled, and the lips, which are drawn back in a circle about the gums, reveal the teeth still biting into the tongue. Kamosû did not reign long;[3] we know nothing of the



THE HEAD OF SAQNÛNRÎ III.[2]

and his sister Âhmosis, probably the future Queen Ahmasi-Nofritari. The other sons are not named on this monument, which is dedicated to the deceased by his father, his mother, and the sister who would have reigned with him had he lived; (2) the parentage of Âhhotpû I. and of Âhmosis (Stele of Edfû, published by U. BOURIANT, *Petits Monuments et Petits Textes*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ix. pp. 92, 93; cf. MASPERO, *Les Momies royales*, pp. 625–628); (3) the fact that Nofritari was her husband's sister, both on the father's side, as is shown by the words "royal sister" on her protocol between the titles "daughter" and "wife of a king" (*Les Momies royales*, p. 533), and also on the mother's side, as is proved by the place which she occupies by the side of Âhhotpû on Daninos-Pasha's statue (BOURIANT, *Notes de Voyage*, § 8, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. i. p. 150). The order in which Kamosû should be placed is not quite certain; the probability is, however, that he ought to come between Tiûâqni and Âhmosis, and that he was a brother of the latter.

[1] All these details as to the king's appearance and the manner of his death are furnished by the mummy which is at present in the museum at Gîzeh (MASPERO, *Les Momies royales de Déir-el-Baharî*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pp. 526–529). The name Taâaken, which Wiedemann assigns to this prince (*Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 301), is merely a misspelling of the name Tiûâqni, due to the engraver who executed the inscription on the coffin (MASPERO, *Les Momies royales*, pp. 526, 527). The worship of Tiûâqni was continued down to the XXth dynasty (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 2 *a*, *d*).

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey, taken in 1886.

[3] With regard to Kamosû, we possess, in addition to the miniature bark which was discovered on the sarcophagus of Queen Âhhotpû, and which is now in the museum at Gîzeh (VIREY, *Notice des Principaux Monuments exposés au Musée de Gîzeh*, pp. 213, 214, No. 955), a few scattered references to his worship existing on the monuments, on a stele at Gîzeh (LIEBLEIN, *Dictionnaire des Noms

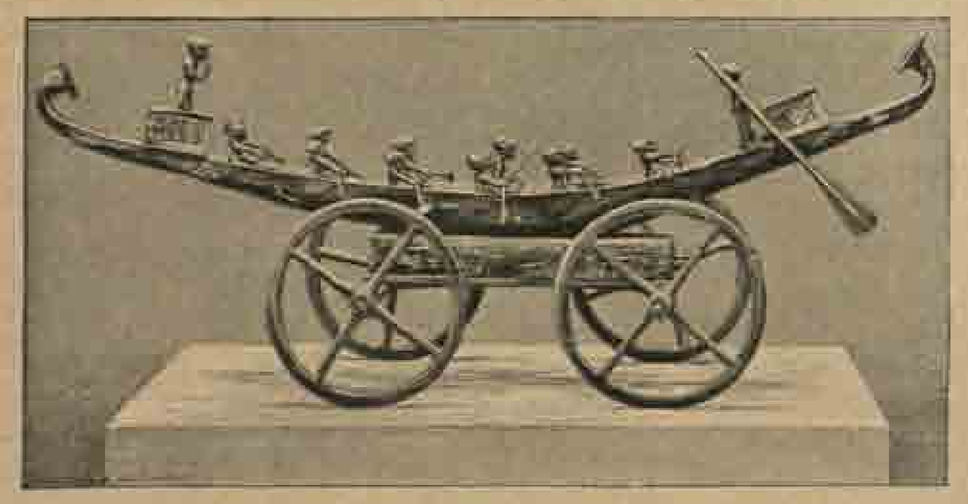
events of his life, but we owe to him one of the prettiest examples of the Egyptian goldsmith's art—the gold boat mounted on a carriage of wood and bronze, which was to convey his double on its journeys through Hades. This boat was afterwards appropriated by his mother Âhhotpû. Âhmosis[2] must have been about twenty-five years of age when he ascended the throne; he was of medium height, as his body when mummied measured only 5 feet 6 inches in length, but the development of the neck and chest indicates extraordinary strength. The head is small in proportion to the bust, the forehead low and narrow, the cheek-bones project, and the hair is thick and wavy. The face exactly resembles that of Tiûâqni, and the likeness alone would proclaim the affinity, even if we were ignorant of the close relationship which united these two Pharaohs.[3] Âhmosis seems to have been a strong, active, warlike man; he was successful in all the wars in which we know him to have been engaged, and he ousted the Shepherds from the last towns occupied by them. It is possible that modern writers have exaggerated the credit due to Âhmosis for expelling the Hyksôs. He found the task already half accomplished, and the warfare of his forefathers for at least a century must have prepared the way for his success; if he appears to have played the most important *rôle* in the history of the deliverance, it is owing to our ignorance of the work of others, and he thus benefits by the oblivion into which their deeds have passed. Taking this into consideration, we must still admit that the Shepherds, even when driven into Avaris, were not adversaries to be despised. Forced by the continual pressure of the Egyptian armies into this corner of the Delta, they were as a compact body the more able to make a protracted resistance against very superior forces. The impenetrable marshes of Menzaleh on the north, and the desert of the Red Sea on the south, completely covered both their wings; the shifting network of the branches of the Nile, together with the artificial canals, protected them as by a series of moats in front, while Syria in their rear offered them inexhaustible resources for revictualling their troops, or levying recruits among tribes of kindred race. As long as they could hold their ground there, a re-invasion was always possible;

Hiéroglyphiques, p. 756, No. 1922), on a table of offerings in the Marseilles Museum (E. de Saulcy, *Étude sur la série des rois inscrits à la Salle des Ancêtres de Thoutmès III.*, pp. 48, 56, 71), and in the list of princes worshipped by the "servants of the Necropolis" (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 2 *a*, *d*). His pyramid was at Drah-Abu'l-Neggah, beside those of Tiûâa and Amenôthes I. (*Abbott Papyrus*, l. iii. l. 12).

[2] The name Âhmosû or Âhmosi is usually translated "Child *of* the Moon-god" (Brugsch, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 231); the real meaning is, "the Moon-god has brought forth," "him" or "her" (referring to the person who bears the name) being understood (Maspero, in the *Revue Critique*, 1880, vol. i. p. 106).

[3] Here again my description is taken from the present appearance of the mummy, which is now in the Gîzeh Museum (Maspero, *Les Momies royales de Déir el-Baharî*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission du Caire*, vol. i. pp. 533–535). It is evident, from the inspection which I have made, that Âhmosis was about fifty years old at the time of his death, and, allowing him to have reigned twenty-five years, he must have been twenty-five or twenty-six when he came to the throne.

one victory would bring them to Memphis, and the whole valley would again fall under their suzerainty. Âhmosis, by driving them from their last stronghold, averted this danger. It is, therefore, not without reason that the official chroniclers of later times separated him from his ancestors and made him the head of a new dynasty. His predecessors had in reality been merely Pharaohs on sufferance, ruling in the south within the confines of their Theban principality, gaining in power, it is true, with every generation, but never able to attain to the suzerainty of the whole country. They were reckoned



THE SMALL GOLD VOTIVE BARQUE OF PHARAOH KAMOSÎ, IN THE GÎZEH MUSEUM.[1]

in the XVIIth dynasty together with the Hyksôs sovereigns of uncontested legitimacy, while their successors were chosen to constitute the XVIIIth, comprising Pharaohs with full powers, tolerating no competitors, and uniting under their firm rule the two regions of which Egypt was composed—the possessions of Sît and the possessions of Horus.[2]

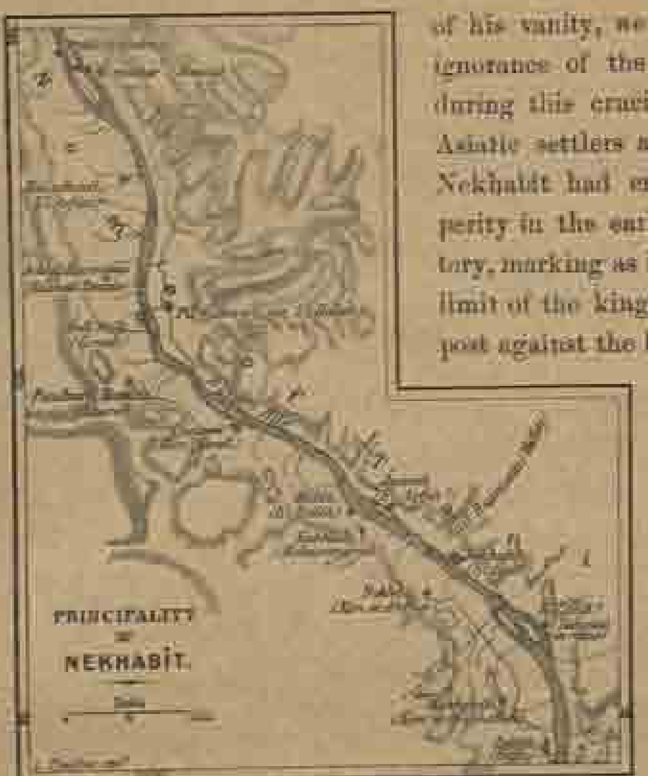
The war of deliverance broke out on the accession of Âhmosis, and continued during the first five years of his reign.[3] One of his lieutenants, the king's

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey, taken in 1878.

[2] Manetho, or his abridgers, call the king who drove out the Shepherds Amôsis or Tethmôsis (Müller-Didot, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, vol. ii. pp. 572–578). Lepsius thought he saw grounds for preferring the second reading, and identified this Tethmôsis with Thûtmosis Manakhpirrî, the Thûtmosis III. of our lists; Âhmosis could only have driven out the greater part of the nation. This theory, to which Naville still adheres (*Bubastis*, pp. 29, 30), as also does Steindorff (*Zur Geschichte der Hyksos*, pp. 7, 8), was disputed nearly fifty years ago by E. de Rougé (*Examen de l'ouvrage de M. le Chevalier de Bunsen*, ii. pp. 38–43): nowadays we are obliged to admit that, subsequent to the Vth year of Âhmosis, there were no longer Shepherd-kings in Egypt, even though a part of the conquering race may have remained in the country in a state of slavery, as we shall soon have occasion to observe (cf. pp. 48, 83 of the present work).

[3] This is evident from a passage in the biography of Âhmosi-si-Abina (l. 14), where it is stated that, after the taking of Avaris, the king passed into Asia in the year VI. (cf. p. 88 of the present work). The first few lines of the *Great Inscription of El-Kab* (ll. 5–15) seem to refer to four successive campaigns, *i.e.* four years of warfare up to the taking of Avaris, and to a fifth year spent in pursuing the Shepherds into Syria.

namesake—Âhmosi-si-Abina—who belonged to the family of the lords of Nekhabît, has left us an account, in one of the inscriptions in his tomb, of the numerous exploits in which he took part side by side with his royal master, and thus, thanks to this fortunate record of his vanity, we are not left in complete ignorance of the events which took place during this crucial struggle between the Asiatic settlers and their former subjects.[1] Nekhabît had enjoyed considerable prosperity in the earlier ages of Egyptian history, marking as it did the extreme southern limit of the kingdom, and forming an outpost against the barbarous tribes of Nubia.[2] As soon as the progress of conquest had pushed the frontier as far south as the first cataract, it declined in importance, and the remembrance of its former greatness found an echo only in proverbial expressions or in titles used at the Pharaonic court.[3] The nomes situated to the south of Thebes, unlike those of Middle Egypt, did not comprise any extensive fertile or well-watered territory calculated to enrich its possessors or to afford sufficient support for a large population: they consisted of long strips of alluvial soil, shut in between the river and the mountain range, but above


PRINCIPALITY OF NEKHABÎT.

[1] The inscriptions in the tomb of Âhmosi-si-Abina (Âhmosis, son of Abina) were copied by Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. i. pp. 655–658; afterwards by Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 12 *a–d*, and by Brugsch, *Ægyptische Chrestomathie*, vol. i. pl. 6. The principal inscription was hastily examined by Champollion, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, 2nd edit., pp. 194, 195 (cf. Champollion-Figeac, *L'Égypte Ancienne*, pp. 108, 300); it was then made use of by E. de Rougé, *Examen de l'ouvrage de M. le Chevalier de Bunsen*, ii. pp. 31–42, and particularly in the *Mémoire sur l'inscription du tombeau d'Ahmès*, the conclusions in which treatise were used by Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, pp. 80, 81, 86, 90. It has been translated in full by Brugsch, *Reiseberichte aus Ægypten*, pp. 217–220, and afterwards in *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 220–225; by Chabas, *Les Pasteurs en Égypte*, pp. 19–22; by Lepage-Renouf, in *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. vi. pp. 5–10; and lastly, by Padre Cesare di Cara, *Gli Hyksôs o Re Pastori di Egitto*, pp. 224–228.

[2] Cf. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 74.

[3] The vulture of Nekhabît is used to indicate the south, while the uræus of Buto denotes the extreme north; the title Rî-Nekhabît, "Chief of Nekhabît," which is, hypothetically, supposed to refer to a judicial function (Brugsch, *Dictionnaire hiéroglyphique*, *Supplément*, pp. 391–393; Erman, *Commentar zur Inschrift des Una*, in the *Zeitschrift*, p. 51, and *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben*, p. 134), is none the less associated with the expression, "Nekhabît-Nekhabît," as an indication of the south, and, therefore, can be traced to the prehistoric epoch when Nekhabît was the primary designation of the south.

the level of the inundation, and consequently difficult to irrigate. These nomes were cultivated, moreover, by a poor and sparse population. It needed a fortuitous combination of circumstances to relieve them from their poverty-stricken condition — either a war, which would bring into prominence their strategic positions; or the establishment of markets, such as those of Syene and Elephantine, where the commerce of neighbouring regions would naturally centre; or the erection, as at Ombos or Edfû, of a temple which would periodically attract a crowd of pilgrims.[1] The principality of the Two Feathers comprised, besides Nekhabit, at least two such towns—Anit,[2] on its northern boundary, and Nekhnit almost facing Nekhabit on the left bank of the river.[3] These three towns sometimes formed separate estates for as many independent lords:[5] even when united they constituted a fiefdom of but restricted area and of slender revenues, its chiefs ranking below those of the great feudal princes of Middle Egypt. The rulers of this fiefdom led an obscure existence during the whole period of the Memphite empire, and when at length Thebes gained the ascendancy, they rallied to the latter and acknowledged her suzerainty. One of them, Sovkûnakhiti, gained the favour of Sovkhotpû III Sakhemûaziatûri, who granted him lands which made the



THE WALLS OF EL-KAB SEEN FROM THE TOMB OF PIHIRI.[4]

[1] In regard to the markets of Elephantine and Syene, and the profits derived from them by the local magnates, cf. MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 424, et seq.; the greatness of Edfû and Ombos dates principally from the Greek era, when the Ptolemies rebuilt and enlarged the temples of these two cities.

[2] Anit is one of the most frequently occurring names of Esneh (BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire géographique*, pp. 39, 40, 352, 353).

[3] Nekhnit (BRUGSCH, *Die Ægyptologie*, p. 441) is the Hieraconpolis of Greek and Roman times, Haît-Bokû, the modern name of which is Kom-el-Ahmar (BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, p. 210). A summary description has been given of it by BOURIANT, *Les Tombeaux de Hiéraconpolis*, in the *Études Archéologiques, Historiques et Linguistiques, dédiées à M. le Dr C. Leemans*, pp. 35–40.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey, taken in 1882.

[5] Pihiri was, therefore, prince of Nekhabit and of Anit at one and the same time (TYLOR-GRIFFITH, *The Tomb of Paheri at El-Kab*, pl. iii.), whereas the town of Nekhnit had its own special rulers, several of whom are known to us from the tombs at Kom-el-Ahmar (BOURIANT, *Les Tombeaux de Hiéraconpolis*, pp. 39, 40).

fortune of his house;[1] another of them, Aï, married Khonsu, one of the daughters of Sovkûmsaûf I. and his Queen Nûbkhâs,[2] and it is possible that the misshapen pyramid of Qûlah, the most southern in Egypt proper, was built for one of these royally connected personages. The descendants of Aï attached themselves faithfully to the Pharaohs of the XVII[th] dynasty, and helped them to the utmost in their struggle against the invaders. Their capital, Nekhabît, was situated between the Nile and the Arabian chain, at the entrance to a valley which penetrates some distance into the desert, and leads to the gold-mines on the Red Sea. The town profited considerably from the precious metals brought into it by the caravans, and also from the extraction of natron, which from prehistoric times was largely employed in embalming.[3] It had been a fortified place from the outset, and its walls, carefully repaired by successive ages, were still intact at the beginning of this century. They described at this time a rough quadrilateral, the two longer sides of which measured some 1900 feet in length, the two shorter being about one-fourth less. The southern face was constructed in a fashion common in brick buildings in Egypt, being divided into alternate panels of horizontally laid courses, and those in which the courses were concave; on the north and west façades the bricks were so laid as to present an undulating arrangement running uninterruptedly from one end to the other.[4] The walls are 38 feet thick, and their average height 27 feet; broad and easy steps lead to the foot-walk on the top. The gates are unsymmetrically placed, there being one on the north, east, and west sides respectively; while the southern side is left without an opening. These walls afforded protection to a dense but unequally distributed population, the bulk of which was housed towards the north and west sides, where the remains of an immense number of dwellings may still be seen. The temples were crowded together in a small square enclosure, concentric with the walls of the *enceinte*, and the principal sanctuary was dedicated to Nekhabît, the vulture goddess, who gave her name to the city.[5] This enclosure formed a kind of citadel, where the garrison could hold out when

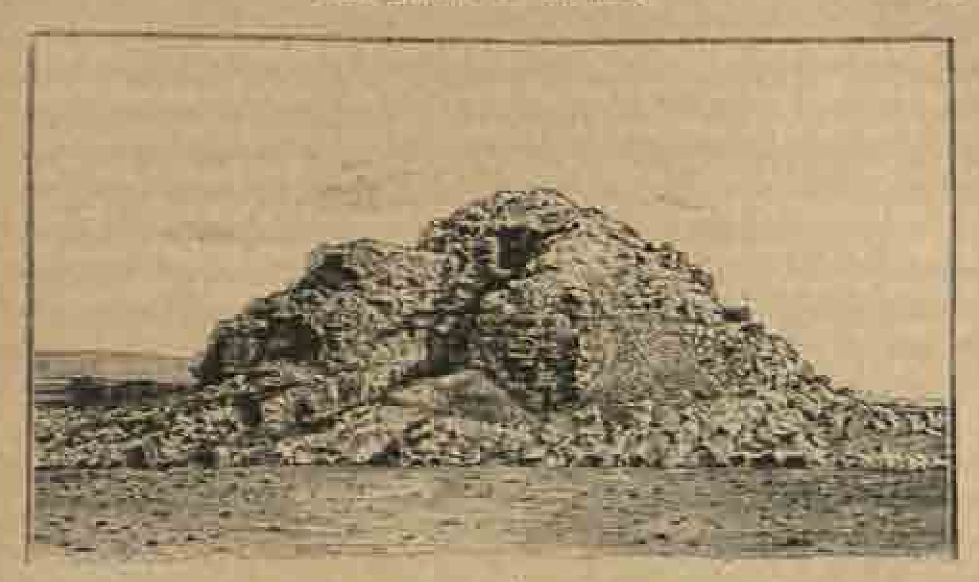
[1] Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. i. pp. 273, 658, 659; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 13, *b*, *c*.

[2] Tomb No. ix. of Bansonbû, at El-Kab (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 62 *a*), interpreted for the first time by Lieblein, *Recherches sur la Chronologie Égyptienne*, pp. 134, 135; cf. Brugsch, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 180, and the genealogical table appended thereto.

[3] In regard to this Nekhabît natron and the use to which it was put, cf. Maspero, *Études sur quelques Papyrus du Louvre*, p. 50, and Dümichen, *Der Grabpalast des Petuamenemapt*, pp. 15-18.

[4] Cf. what is said in regard to these arrangements in Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 450.

[5] A part of the latter temple, that which had been rebuilt in the Saïte epoch, was still standing at the beginning of the present century, with columns bearing the cartouches of Hakori (Saint-Genis, *Description des ruines d'El-Kâb*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, 2nd edit., vol. i. pp. 346-350, and *Antiquités*, vol. i. pl. 66); it was destroyed about the year 1825, and Champollion found only the foundations of the walls (*Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, 2nd edit., pp. 100, 104, 195, 382). Cf. in regard to these buildings, Brugsch, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, pp. 353-355.



THE RUINS OF THE PYRAMID OF QÛLAH, NEAR MOHAMMERIEH.[1]

the outer part had fallen into the enemy's hands.[2] The times were troublous; the open country was repeatedly wasted by war, and the peasantry had more than once to seek shelter behind the protecting ramparts of the town, leaving their lands to lie fallow. Famine constantly resulted from these disturbances, and it taxed all the powers of the ruling prince to provide at such times for his people. A chief of the Commissariat, Bebi by name, who lived about this period, gives us a lengthy account of the number of loaves, oxen, goats, and pigs, which he allowed to all the inhabitants both great and little, down even to the quantity of oil and incense, which he had taken care to store up for them: his prudence was always justified by the issue, for "during the many years in which the famine recurred, he distributed grain in the city to all those who hungered."[3]

Babai, the first of the lords of El-Kab whose name has come down to us, was a captain in the service of Saqnûnri Tiûâqni.[4] His son Âhmosi, having approached the end of his career, cut a tomb for himself in the hill which overlooks the northern side of the town. He relates on the walls of his

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey, taken in 1884.

[2] The description of the town of Nekhabît is borrowed from Saint-Genis, *Description des ruines d'El-Kab ou Elethyia*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, 2nd edit., vol. i. pp. 341–353.

[3] Tomb No. 10, El-Kab (Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. i. pp. 273, 274, 659). The inscription has been copied and translated several times by Brugsch (*Recueil de Monuments*, vol. i. pl. lxxii. 3; *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 244–247; *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Ægyptiacarum*, pp. 1527, 1528), who thought it might refer to the seven years of famine described in Gen. xli., et seq.

[4] *Great Inscription of El-Kab*, l. 4. There are still some doubts as to the descent of this Âhmosi. Some authorities hold that Babai was the name of his father and Abina that of his grandfather (E. de Rougé, *Mémoire sur l'inscription d'Ahmès*, pp. 125, 126); others think that Babai was his father and Abina his mother (Tylor-Griffith, *The Tomb of Paheri at El-Kab*, p. 7; Eisenlohr, *Aus einem Briefe an Dr L. Stern*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1885, p. 57); others, again, make out Babai and Abina to be variants of the same name, probably a Semitic one, borne by the father of Âhmosi (Brugsch, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 227, et seq.; Krall, *Ægyptische Studien*, pp. 70, 71): the majority of modern Egyptologists (including myself) regard this last hypothesis as being the most probable one.

sepulchre, for the benefit of posterity, the most praiseworthy actions of his long life. He had scarcely emerged from childhood when he was called upon to act for his father, and before his marriage he was appointed to the command of the barque *The Calf*. From thence he was promoted to the ship *The North*, and on account of his activity he was chosen to escort his namesake the king on foot, whenever he drove in his chariot. He repaired to his post at the moment when the decisive war against the Hyksôs broke out.[1] The tradition current in the time of the Ptolemies reckoned the number of men under the command of King Ahmosis when he encamped before Avaris at 480,000. This immense multitude failed to bring matters to a successful issue, and the siege dragged on indefinitely. The king at length preferred to treat with the Shepherds, and gave them permission to retreat into Syria safe and sound, together with their wives, their children, and all their goods.[2] This account, however, in no way agrees with the all too brief narration of events furnished by the inscription in the tomb. The army to which Egypt really owed its deliverance was not the undisciplined rabble of later tradition, but, on the contrary, consisted of troops similar to those which subsequently invaded Syria, some 15,000 to 20,000 in number, fully equipped and ably officered, supported, moreover, by a fleet ready to transfer them across the canals and arms of the river in a vigorous condition and ready for the battle.[3] As soon as this fleet arrived at the scene of hostilities, the engagement began. Ahmosi-si-Abîna conducted the manœuvres under the king's eye, and soon gave such evidence of his capacity, that he was transferred by royal favour to the *Rising in Memphis*—a vessel with a high freeboard. He was shortly afterwards appointed to a post in a division told off for duty on the river Zadîku, which ran under the walls of the enemy's fortress.[4] Two successive and vigorous attacks made in this quarter were barren of important results. Ahmosi-si-Abîna succeeded in each of the attacks in killing an enemy, bringing back as trophies a hand of each of his victims, and his prowess, made known to the king by one of the heralds, twice procured for him "the gold of valour," probably in the form of collars, chains, or bracelets.[5]

[1] *Great Inscription of El-Kab*, ll. 5–7.

[2] MANETHO, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, vol. ii. pp. 567, 568.

[3] It may be pointed out that Ahmosi, son of Abîna, was a sailor and a leader of sailors; that he passed from one vessel to another, until he was at length appointed to the command of one of the most important ships in the royal fleet. Transport by water always played considerable part in the wars which were carried on in Egyptian territory; I have elsewhere drawn attention to campaigns conducted in this manner under the Heracleopolitan dynasties (MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 436–438), and we shall see that the Ethiopian conquerors adopted the same mode of transit in the course of their invasion of Egypt.

[4] The name of this canal was first recognised by Brugsch (*Reiseberichte aus Ægypten*, p. 218), then misunderstood and translated "the water bearing the name of the water of Avaris" (*Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 81; cf. CHABAS, *Les Pasteurs en Égypte*, p. 19). It is now read "Zadîku," and, with the Egyptian article, Pa-zadîku, or Tzadîku (BRUGSCH, *Dict. Géogr.*, p. 1008; C. DI CARA, *Gli Hyksos o Re Pastori di Egitto*, p. 325). The name is of Semitic origin, and is derived from the root meaning "to be just;" we do not know to which of the watercourses traversing the east of the Delta it ought to be applied.

[5] *Inscription of El-Kab*, ll. 6–10. The fact that the attacks from this side were not successful is

The assault having been repulsed in this quarter, the Egyptians made their way towards the south, and came into conflict with the enemy at the village of Taqimit.[1] Here, again, the battle remained undecided, but Ahmosi-si-Abina had an adventure. He had taken a prisoner, and in bringing him back lost himself, fell into a muddy ditch, and, when he had freed himself from the dirt as well as he could, pursued his way by mistake for some time in the



THE TOMBS OF THE PRINCES OF NEKHABÎT, ON THE HILLSIDE ABOVE EL-KAB.[2]

direction of Avaris. He found out his error, however, before it was too late, came back to the camp safe and sound, and received once more some gold as a reward of his brave conduct.[3] A second attack upon the town was crowned with complete success; it was taken by storm, given over to pillage, and Âhmosi-si-Abina succeeded in capturing one man and three women, who were afterwards, at the distribution of the spoil, given to him as slaves.[4] The enemy evacuated in haste the last strongholds which they held in the east of the Delta, and took refuge in the Syrian provinces on the Egyptian frontier. Whether it was that they assumed here a menacing attitude, or whether Âhmosis hoped to deal them a

proved by the sequel. If they had succeeded, as is usually supposed, the Egyptians would not have fallen back on another point further south in order to renew the struggle.

[1] The site of Taqimit is unknown (Brugsch, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, p. 881). Piehl questions the existence of this place (*Notes de Philologie Égyptienne*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1892-93, vol. xv. pp. 256, 257).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey, taken in 1884.

[3] *Inscription of El-Kab*, ll. 10-12; the text is not very explicit, but I can see no other possible interpretation of it than that here adopted (cf. a different explanation in Piehl, *Notes de Philologie Égyptienne*, in the *Proceedings*, 1892-93, vol. xv. pp. 257, 258).

[4] *Inscription of El-Kab*, ll. 12, 13. The prisoner who was given to Ahmosis after the victory, is probably Paamu, the Asiatic, mentioned in the list of his slaves which he had engraved on one of the walls of his tomb (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 12, *e*, l. 12).

crushing blow before they could find time to breathe, or to rally around them sufficient forces to renew the offensive, he made up his mind to cross the frontier, which he did in the 5th year of his reign.[1] It was the first time for centuries that a Pharaoh had trusted himself in Asia, and the same dread of the unknown which had restrained his ancestors of the XII[th] dynasty, doubtless arrested Âhmosis also on the threshold of the continent. He did not penetrate farther than the border provinces of Zahi, situated on the edge of the desert, and contented himself with pillaging the little town of Sharuhana.[2] Ahmosi-si-Abina was again his companion, together with his cousin, Ahmosi-Pannekhabît, then at the beginning of his career, who brought away on this occasion two young girls for his household.[3] The expedition having accomplished its purpose, the Egyptians returned home with their spoil, and did not revisit Asia for a long period. If the Hyksôs generals had fostered in their minds the idea that they could recover their lost ground, and easily re-enter upon the possession of their African domain, this reverse must have cruelly disillusioned them. They must have been forced to acknowledge that their power was at an end, and to renounce all hope of returning to the country which had so summarily ejected them. The majority of their own people did not follow them into exile, but remained attached to the soil on which they lived, and the tribes which had successively settled down beside them—including the Beni-Israel themselves—no longer dreamed of a return to their fatherland. The condition of these people varied according to their locality. Those who had taken up a position in the plain of the Delta were subjected to actual slavery. Âhmosis destroyed the camp at Avaris, quartered his officers in the towns, and constructed forts at strategic points, or rebuilt the ancient citadels to resist the incursions of the Bedouin. The

[1] Champollion's copy is dated in the year V. (*Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. i. p. 656, l. 14, as also that of Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 12, *d*, l. 14); Brugsch (*Reiseberichte aus Ægypten*, p. 218, and *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 282) has read "year VI." According to Piehl (*Notes de Philologie Égyptienne*, in the *Proceedings*, 1892–93, vol. xv. p. 258), we ought to assume, not that Sharuhana was taken in the year V., but that the Egyptians besieged it *for five years*.

[2] Sharuhana, which is mentioned again under Thûtmosis III. (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 31 *b*, l. 12), is not the plain of Sharon, as Birch imagined (*The Annals of Thothmes III., as derived from the Hieroglyphical Inscriptions*, p. 38), but the Sharuhen of the Biblical texts, in the tribe of Simeon (*Josh.* xix. 6), as Brugsch recognised it to be (*Geographische Inschriften*, vol. ii. p. 32). It is probably identical with the modern Tell-esh-Sheriah, which lies north-west of Beersheba.

[3] *Inscription of El-Kab*, ll. 13–15; *Inscription of the statue of Âhmosi Pannekhabît, face A*, ll. 3, 4. Âhmosi Pannekhabît lay in tomb No. 2, at El-Kab (Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. cxlv. 4). His history is briefly told on one of the walls (Ernest Poitevin, *Notice sur Ahmès, dit Pensouvan*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1st series, vol. xi. pp. 65–73; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 43 *a*, *b*), and on two sides of the pedestal of his statues. We have one of them, or rather two plates from the pedestal of one of them, in the Louvre (Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments Égyptiens*, pl. iv. 2, 3; Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, pl. xiv. A, B; cf. Birch, *The Annals of Thothmes III., as derived from the Hieroglyphical Inscriptions*, pp. 33, 34; Chabas, *Mémoire sur les Pasteurs*, pp. 22, 23; Brugsch, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 235, 236; C. de Cara, *Gli Hyksôs*, pp. 328–330); the other is in a good state of preservation, and belongs to Mr. Finlay (Maspero, *Notes sur quelques Points de Grammaire*, etc., § xliv., in the *Zeitschrift*, 1883, pp. 77, 78). The inscription is found in a mutilated condition on the wall of the tomb (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 43), but the three monuments which have come down to us are sufficiently complementary to one another to enable us to restore nearly the whole of the original text.

vanquished people in the Delta, hemmed in as they were by a network of fortresses, were thus reduced to a rabble of serfs, to be taxed and subjected to the *corvée* without mercy. But further north, the fluctuating population which roamed between the Sebennytic and Pelusiac branches of the Nile were not exposed to such rough treatment. The marshes of the coast-line afforded them a safe retreat, in which they could take refuge at the first threat of exactions on the part of the royal emissaries. Secure within dense thickets, upon islands approached by interminable causeways, often covered with water, or by long tortuous canals concealed in the thick growth of reeds, they were able to defy with impunity the efforts of the most disciplined troops, and treason alone could put them at the mercy of their foes. Most of the Pharaohs felt that the advantages to be gained by conquering them would be outweighed by the difficulty of the enterprise; all that could result from a campaign would be the destruction of one or two villages, the acquisition of a few hundred refractory captives, of some ill-favoured cattle, and a trophy of nets and worm-eaten boats. The kings, therefore, preferred to keep a close watch over these undisciplined hordes, and as long as their depredations were kept within reasonable limits, they were left unmolested to their wild and precarious life.

The Asiatic invasion had put a sudden stop to the advance of Egyptian rule in the vast plains of the Upper Nile. The Theban princes, to whom Nubia was directly subject, had been too completely engrossed in the wars against their hereditary enemy, to devote much time to the continuation of that work of colonization in the south which had been carried on so vigorously by their forefathers of the XIIth and XIIIth dynasties.[1] The inhabitants of the Nile valley, as far as the second cataract, rendered them obedience, but without any change in the conditions and mode of their daily life, which appear to have remained unaltered for centuries. The temples of Usirtasen and Amenemhâît were allowed to fall into decay one after another,[2] the towns waned in prosperity, and were unable to keep their buildings and monuments in repair; the inundation continued to bring with it periodically its fleet of boats, which the sailors of Kûsh had laden with timber, gum, elephants' tusks, and gold dust: from time to time a band of Bedouin from Uaûait or Mazaiû would suddenly bear down upon some village and carry off its spoils; the nearest garrison would be called to its aid, or, on critical occasions, the king himself, at the head of his guards, would fall on the marauders and drive them back into the mountains. Âhmosis, being greeted on his return from Syria by the news of such an outbreak, thought it a favourable moment to impress

[1] In regard to Nubia, see what is said in MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 394-398, 478, et seq., 532, 533.

[2] As will be seen later on, the temples of Semneh and Wady-Halfah were rebuilt under Thûtmosis III.

upon the nomadic tribes of Nubia the greatness of his conquest.[1] On this occasion it was the people of Khonthannûnofir, settled in the wadys east of the Nile, above Semneh, which required a lesson. The army which had just expelled the Hyksôs was rapidly conveyed to the opposite borders of the country by the fleet, the two Âhmosi of Nekhabît occupying the highest posts. The Egyptians, as was customary, landed at the nearest point to the enemy's territory, and succeeded in killing a few of the rebels. Âhmosi-si-Abina brought back two prisoners and three hands, for which he was rewarded by a gift of two female Bedouin slaves, besides the "gold of valour." This victory in the south following on such decisive success in the north, filled the heart of the Pharaoh with pride, and the view taken of it by those who surrounded him is evident even in the brief sentences of the narrative. He is described as descending the river on the royal galley, elated in spirit and flushed by his triumph in Nubia, which had followed so closely on the deliverance of the Delta. But scarcely had he reached Thebes, when an unforeseen catastrophe turned his confidence into alarm, and compelled him to retrace his steps. It would appear that at the very moment when he was priding himself on the successful issue of his Ethiopian expedition, one of the sudden outbreaks, which frequently occurred in these regions, had culminated in a Sudanese invasion of Egypt. We are not told the name of the rebel leader, nor those of the tribes who took part in it. The Egyptian people, threatened in a moment of such apparent security by this inroad of barbarians, regarded them as a fresh incursion of the Hyksôs, and applied to these southerners the opprobrious term of "Fever-stricken," already used to denote their Asiatic conquerors. The enemy descended the Nile, committing terrible atrocities, and polluting every sanctuary of the Theban gods which came within their reach. They had reached a spot called Tentoâ,[2] before they fell in with the Egyptian troops. Âhmosi-si-Abina again distinguished himself in the engagement. The vessel which he commanded, probably the *Rising in Memphis*, ran alongside the chief galliot of the Sudanese fleet, and took possession of it after a struggle, in which Âhmosi made two of the enemy's sailors prisoners with his own hand. The king generously rewarded those whose valour had thus turned the day in his favour, for the danger had appeared to him critical; he allotted to every man on board the victorious

[1] *Inscription of El-Kab*, ll. 15-17. As to the position of the land of Khonthannûnofir, cf. what is said in MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 496.

[2] The name of this locality does not occur elsewhere; it would seem to refer, not to a village, but rather to a canal, or the branch of a river, or a harbour somewhere along the Nile. I am unable to locate it definitely, but am inclined to think we ought to look for it, if not in Egypt itself, at any rate in that part of Nubia which is nearest to Egypt. M. Revillout, taking up a theory which had been abandoned by Chabas (*Mémoire sur les Pasteurs*, pp. 43, 45), and recognising in this expedition an offensive incursion of the Shepherds, suggests that Tentoa may be the modern Tantah in the Delta (*Revue Égyptologique*, vol. vii. p. 83, n. 1).

vessel five slaves, and five *aruræ* of land situated in his native province of each respectively.[1] The invasion was not without its natural consequences to Egypt itself. A certain Titiânû, who appears to have been at the head of a powerful faction, rose in rebellion at some place not named in the narrative, but in the rear of the army. The rapidity with which Ahmosis repulsed the Nubians, and turned upon his new enemy, completely baffled the latter's plans, and he and his followers were cut to pieces, but the danger had for the moment been serious.[2] It was, if not the last expedition undertaken in this reign, at least the last commanded by the Pharaoh in person. By his activity and courage Ahmosis had well earned the right to pass the remainder of his days in peace.

A revival of military greatness always entailed a renaissance in art, followed by an age of building activity. The claims of the gods upon the spoils of war must be satisfied before those of men, because the victory and the booty obtained through it were alike owing to the divine help given in battle. A tenth, therefore, of the slaves, cattle, and precious metals was set apart for the service of the gods, and even fields, towns, and provinces were allotted to them, the produce of which was applied to enhance the importance of their cult or to repair and enlarge their temples. The main body of the building was strengthened, halls and pylons were added to the original plan, and the impulse once given to architectural work, the co-operation of other artificers soon followed. Sculptors and painters whose art had been at a standstill for generations during the centuries of Egypt's humiliation, and whose hands had lost their cunning for want of practice, were now once more in demand. They had probably never completely lost the technical knowledge of their calling, and the ancient buildings furnished them with various types of models, which they had but to copy faithfully in order to revive their old traditions. A few years after this revival a new school sprang up, whose originality became daily more patent, and whose leaders soon showed themselves to be in no way inferior to

[1] *Inscription of El-Kab*, ll. 17–21.

[2] *Inscription of El-Kab*, ll. 21–23. The wording of the text is so much condensed that it is difficult to be sure of its meaning. Modern scholars agree with Brugsch (*Reiseberichte aus Ægypten*, pp. 219, 220, and *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 233) that Titiânû is the name of a man, but several Egyptologists believe its bearer to have been chief of the Ethiopian tribes (Wiedemann, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, pp. 309, 310), while others think him to have been a rebellious Egyptian prince (Erman, *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben*, p. 152; Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient*, 4th edit., p. 170), or a king of the Shepherds (Revillout, *Revue Égyptologique*, vol. vii. p. 82, note 1), or give up the task of identification in despair (Chabas, *Mémoire sur les Pasteurs en Égypte*, p. 46). The tortuous wording of the text, and the expressions which occur in it, seem to indicate that the rebel was a prince of the royal blood, and even that the name he bears was not his real one. Later on we shall find that, on a similar occasion, the official documents refer to a prince who took part in a plot against Ramses III. by the fictitious name of Pentaûîrît (Devéria, *Le Papyrus judiciaire de Turin*, pp. 60–63, 123, 156); Titiânû was probably a nickname of the same kind inserted in place of the real name. It seems that, in cases of high treason, the criminal not only lost his life, but his name was proscribed both in this world and in the next.

the masters of the older schools. Âhmosis could not be accused of ingratitude to the gods; as soon as his wars allowed him the necessary leisure, he began his work of temple-building. The accession to power of the great Theban families had been of little advantage to Thebes itself. Its Pharaohs, on assuming the sovereignty of the whole valley, had not hesitated to abandon their native city, and had made Heracleopolis, the Fayûm or even Memphis, their seat of government, only returning to Thebes in the time of the XIIIth dynasty, when the decadence of their power had set in. The honour of furnishing rulers for its country had often devolved on Thebes, but the city had reaped but little benefit from the fact;[1] this time, however, the tide of fortune was to be turned. The other cities of Egypt had come to regard Thebes as their metropolis from the time when they had learned to rally round its princes to wage war against the Hyksôs. It had been the last town to lay down arms at the time of the invasion, and the first to take them up again in the struggle for liberty. Thus the Egypt which vindicated her position among the nations of the world was not the Egypt of the Memphite dynasties. It was the great Egypt of the Amenemhâits and the Usirtasens, still further aggrandised by recent victories. Thebes was her natural capital, and its kings could not have chosen a more suitable position from whence to command effectually the whole empire. Situated at an equal distance from both frontiers, the Pharaoh residing there, on the outbreak of a war either in the north or south, had but half the length of the country to traverse in order to reach the scene of action. Âhmosis spared no pains to improve the city, but his resources did not allow of his embarking on any very extensive schemes; he did not touch the temple of Amon, and if he undertook any buildings in its neighbourhood, they must have been minor edifices. He could, indeed, have had but little leisure to attempt much else, for it was not till the XXIInd year of his reign that he was able to set seriously to work.[2] An opportunity then occurred to revive a practice long fallen into disuse under the foreign kings, and to set once more in motion an essential part of the machinery of Egyptian administration. The quarries of Tûrah, as is well known, enjoyed the privilege of furnishing the finest materials to the royal architects; nowhere else could be found limestone of such whiteness, so easy to cut, or so calculated to lend itself to the carving of delicate inscriptions and bas-reliefs.[3] The commoner veins had never ceased to be worked by private enterprise,

[1] Cf. what is said in regard to this neglect of Thebes in Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 464, 528.

[2] E. de Rougé, *Étude des Monuments du Massif de Karnak*, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne et Assyrienne*, vol. i. p. 41. In the inscription of the year XXII., Âhmosis expressly states that he opened new chambers in the quarries of Turah for the works in connection with the Theban Amon, as well as for those of the temple of the Memphite Ptah (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 3 a, ii. 3, 4).

[3] Cf. what is said in regard to the Tûrah limestone in Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 383, 384.

gangs of quarrymen being always employed, as at the present day, in cutting small stone for building purposes, or in ruthlessly chipping it to pieces to burn for lime in the kilns of the neighbouring villages; but the finest veins were always kept for State purposes. Contemporary chroniclers might have formed a very just estimate of national prosperity by the degree of activity shown in working these royal preserves; when the amount of stone extracted was lessened, prosperity was on the wane, and might be pronounced to be at its lowest ebb when the noise of the quarryman's hammer finally ceased to be heard. Every dynasty whose resources were such as to justify their resumption of the work proudly recorded the fact on stelæ which lined the approaches to



A CONVOY OF TÛRAH QUARRYMEN DRAWING STONE.[1]

the masons' yards. Ahmosis reopened the Tûrah quarry-chambers, and procured for himself "good stone and white" for the temples of Amon at Thebes and of Phtah at Memphis. No monument has as yet been discovered to throw any light on the fate of Memphis subsequent to the time of the Amenemhâîts. It must have suffered quite as much as any city of the Delta from the Shepherd invasion, and from the wars which preceded their expulsion, since it was situated on the highway of an invading army, and would offer an attraction for pillagers. By a curious turn of fortune it was the "Fankhûi," or Asiatic prisoners, who were set to quarry the stone for the restoration of the monuments which their own forefathers had reduced to ruins.[2] The bas-reliefs sculptured on the stelæ of Ahmosis show them in full activity under the *corvée*; we see here the stone block detached from the quarry being squared by the chisel, or transported on a sledge drawn by oxen.[3]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a sketch by VYSE-PERRING, *The Pyramids of Gizeh*, vol. iii., plate facing p. 99; cf. LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 3 *a*.

[2] The *Fankhûi* are, properly speaking, all white prisoners, without distinction of race. Their name is derived from the root *fnkhu*, *fonkhu* = to bind, press, carry off, steal, destroy (MASPERO, *Les Contes Populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 1st edit., p. 126, note 2; MAX MÜLLER, *Asien und Europa nach Altägyptischen Denkmälern*, pp. 208–212); if it is sometimes used in the sense of Phœnicians (BRUGSCH, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 242, 258, 663; WIEDEMANN, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 319), it is only in the Ptolemaic epoch, by assonance with the Greek Φοίνικες. Here the term "Fankhûi" refers to the Shepherds and Asiatics made prisoners in the campaign of the year V. against Sharuhana.

[3] CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. ii. p. 188; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, vol. i. pl. xv., and pp. 195, 196; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 3 *a*–*b*; VYSE-PERRING, *The Pyramids of Gizeh*, vol. iii. p. 94, *et seq.*; cf. BRUGSCH, *Das Ægyptische Troja*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1867, p. 92.

Âhmosis had several children by his various wives; six at least owned Nofritari for their mother and possessed near claims to the crown, but she may have borne him others whose existence is unrecorded. The eldest appears to have been a son, Sipiri; he received all the honours due to an hereditary prince, but died without having reigned,[1] and his second brother, Amenhotpû—called by the Greeks Amenôthes[2]—took his place. Âhmosis was laid to rest in the chapel which he had prepared for himself in the cemetery of Drah-abu'l-Neggah, among the modest pyramids of the XIth, XIIIth, and XVIIth dynasties.[3] He was venerated as a god, and his cult was continued for six or eight centuries later, until the increasing insecurity of the Theban necropolis at last necessitated the removal of the kings from their funeral chambers.[4] The coffin of Âhmosis was found to be still intact, though it was a poorly made one, shaped to the contours of the body, and smeared over with yellow; it represents the king with the false beard depending from his chin, and his breast covered with a pectoral ornament, the features, hair, and accessories being picked out in blue. His name has been hastily inscribed in ink on the front of the winding-sheet, and when the lid was removed, garlands of faded pink flowers were still found about the neck, laid there as a last offering by the priests who placed the Pharaoh and his compeers in their secret burying-place.[5] Amenôthes I. had not attained his majority when his father "thus winged his way to heaven," leaving him as heir

[1] As to Sipiri, cf. BIRCH, *Étude sur le Papyrus Abbott*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1st series, vol. xvi. pp. 272, 273; CHABAS, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 3rd series, vol. i. p. 69; MASPERO, *Une Enquête judiciaire à Thèbes au temps de la XX^{e} dynastie*, p. 89, and *Les Momies royales de Deir-el-Bahari*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pp. 630, 637; WIEDEMANN, *The King Ahmes-Sa-pa-ar*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. viii., 1886, pp. 220–223.

[2] The form Amenôphis, which is usually employed, is, properly speaking, the equivalent of the name Amenemapît, or Amenapît, which belongs to a king of the XXIst Tanite dynasty (WIEDEMANN, *Zur XXI dynastie Manetho's*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1882, pp. 86–88); the true Greek transcription of the Ptolemaic epoch, corresponding to the pronunciation *Amenhotpu*, or *Amenhotpe*, is Amenôthes (MASPERO, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, § xxxvi., in the *Zeitschrift*, 1882, pp. 128, 129). Under the XVIIIth dynasty the cuneiform transcription of the tablets of Tel el-Amarna, Amankhatbi, seems to indicate the pronunciation Amanhatpi, Amanhatpi, side by side with the pronunciation Amanhotpu, Amenhotpe.

[3] The precise site is at present unknown; we see, however, that it was in this place, when we observe that Âhmosis was worshipped by the *Servants of the Necropolis*, amongst the kings and princes of his family who were buried at Drah-abu'l-Neggah (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 2 *a*, *b*).

[4] His priests and the minor *employés* of his cult are mentioned on a stele in the museum at Turin (No. 85, ORCURTI, *Catalogo Illustrato dei Monumenti Egizii*, vol. ii. pp. 42, 43), and on a brick in the Berlin Museum (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 25, *bis E*). He is worshipped as a god, along with Osiris, Horus, and Isis, on a stele in the Lyons Museum (DEVÉRIA, *Notices sur les Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée de Lyon*, pp. 12, 13, and pl. ii., No. 85), brought from Abydos; he had, probably, during one of his journeys across Egypt, made a donation to the temple of that city, on condition that he should be worshipped there for ever; for a stele at Marseilles shows him offering homage to Osiris in the bark of the god Sokar (MASPERO, *Catalogue du Musée Égyptien de Marseille*, No. 22, pp. 20, 21), and another stele in the Louvre informs us that Pharaoh Thûtmosis IV. several times sent one of his messengers to Abydos for the purpose of presenting land to Osiris and to his own ancestor Âhmosis (C 53, in PIERRET, *Recueil d'Inscriptions inédites du Musée Égyptien du Louvre*, vol. ii. pp. 14, 15).

[5] MASPERO, *Les Momies royales de Deir-el-Bahari*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission*, vol. i. pp. 533, 535.

to the throne.[2] Nofritari assumed the authority; after having shared the royal honours for nearly twenty-five years with her husband, she resolutely refused to resign them.[1] She was thus the first of those queens by divine right who, scorning the inaction of the harem, took on themselves the right to fulfil the active duties of a sovereign, and claimed the recognition of the equality or superiority of their titles to those of their husbands or sons. The



COFFIN OF AHHOTPU IN THE GIZEH MUSEUM.[3]

aged Ahhotpû, who, like Nofritari, was of pure royal descent, and who might well have urged her superior rank, had been content to retire in favour of her children;[4] she lived to the tenth year of her grandson's reign, respected by all her family, but abstaining from all interference in political affairs.[5] When at length she passed away, full of days and honour, she was embalmed with special care, and her body was placed in a gilded mummy-case, the head of which presented a faithful copy of her features.[6] Beside her were piled the

[1] The last date known is that of the year XXII. at Turah; cf. pp. 92, 93 of the present work. Manetho's lists give, in one place, twenty-five years and four months after the expulsion; in another, twenty-six years in round numbers, as the total duration of his reign (Müller-Didot, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, vol. ii. p. 572, et seq.), which has every appearance of probability.

[2] There is no direct evidence to prove that Amenôthes I. was a minor when he came to the throne: still the presumptions in favour of this hypothesis, afforded by the monuments, are so strong that many historians of ancient Egypt have accepted it (Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 80, and *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 260, 261; Wiedemann, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 313). Queen Nofritari is represented as reigning, side by side with her reigning son, on some few Theban tombs which can be attributed to their epoch (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 1, 4 c).

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey, taken in 1882.

[4] Maspero, *Les Momies royales de Déir-el-Baharî*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. p. 627, where the true condition of this Ahhotpu has been presented for the first time.

[5] The high position which she occupied is clearly shown by the inscriptions on the tomb of her steward Karsa, published by Bouriant, *Petits Monuments*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ix. pp. 94, 95; then by Piehl, *Varia*, § xviii., in the *Zeitschrift*, 1888, pp. 117, 118.

[6] Her portrait is given above on p. 3 of the present work, in the form of an initial letter. For an

jewels she had received in her lifetime from her husband and son. The majority of them are for feminine use: a fan with a handle plated with gold, a mirror of gilt bronze with ebony handle, bracelets and ankle-rings, some of solid and some of hollow gold, edged with fine chains of plaited gold wire, others formed of beads of gold, lapis-lazuli, cornelian, and green felspar, many of them engraved with the cartouche of Âhmosis. Belonging also to Âhmosis we have a beautiful quiver, in which figures of the king and the gods stand out in high relief on a gold plaque, delicately chased with a graving tool: the background is formed of small pieces of lapis and blue glass, cunningly cut to fit each other. One bracelet in particular, found on the queen's wrist, consisted of three parallel bands of solid gold set with turquoises, and having a vulture with extended wings on the front. The queen's hair was held in place by a gold circlet, scarcely as large as a bracelet; a cartouche was affixed to the circlet, bearing the name of Âhmosis in blue paste, and flanked by small sphinxes, one on each side, as supporters. A thick flexible chain of gold was passed several times round her neck, and attached to it as a pendant was a beautiful scarab, partly of gold and partly of blue porcelain striped with gold. The breast ornament was completed by a necklace of several rows of twisted cords, from which depended antelopes pursued by tigers, sitting jackals, hawks, vultures, and the winged uræus, all attached to the winding-sheet by means of a small ring soldered on the back of each animal.[2] The fastening of this necklace was formed of the heads of two gold hawks, the details of the heads being worked out in blue enamel. Both weapons and amulets



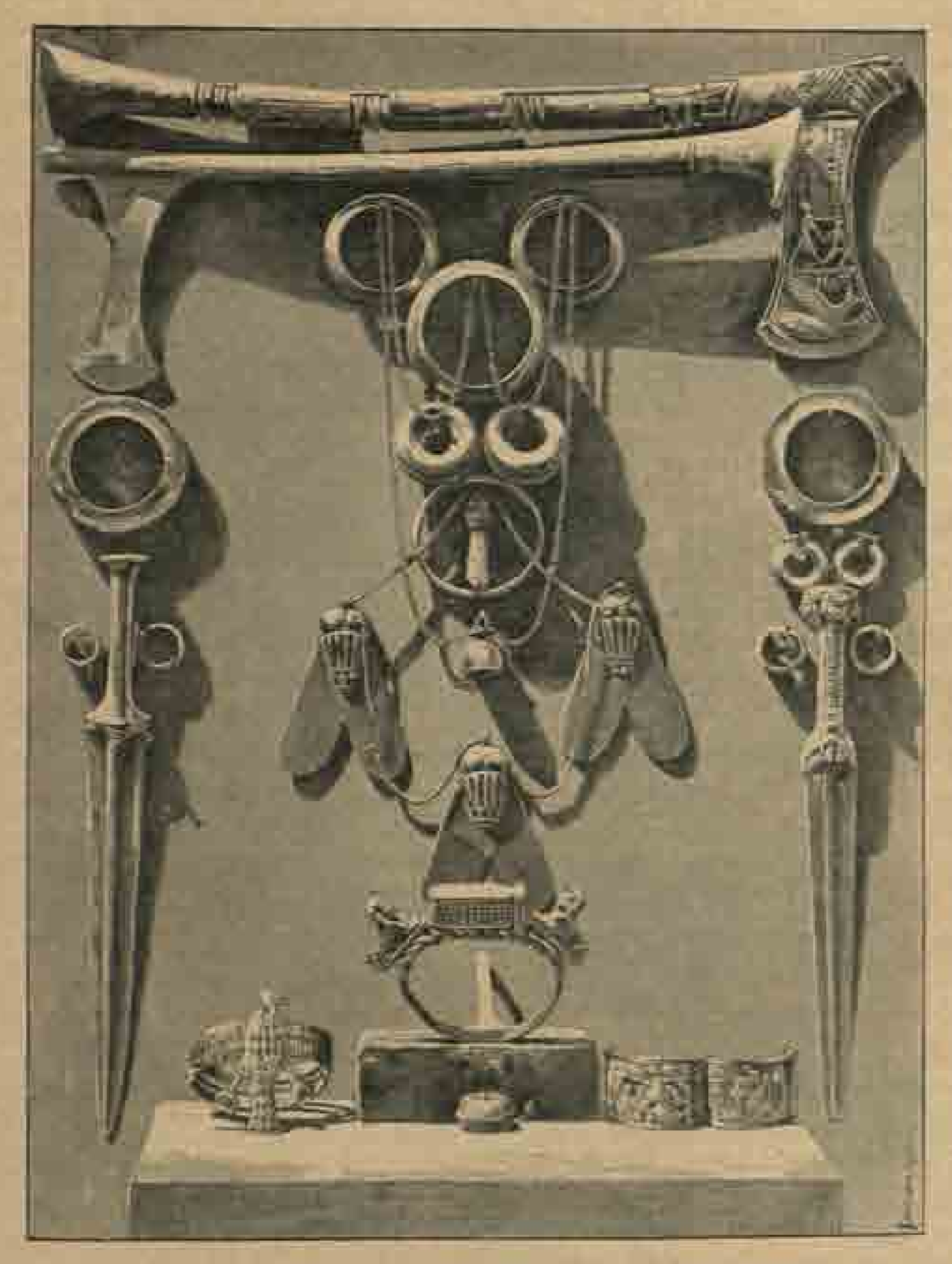
NOFRÎTARI, THE BLACK-SKINNED QUEEN.[1]

account of its discovery, cf. Dr. MAUNIER's letter, *Deux Documents relatifs aux fouilles de Mariette*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xii. pp. 216-218; and DEVÉRIA, *Œuvres*, vol. i. p. 380, *et seq.* The objects have been described and reproduced by BIRCH, *On Gold-jewelled Ornaments found at Thebes in 1859*, in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xx. p. 166, and *Facsimiles of the Egyptian Relics discovered at Thebes in the Tomb of Queen Aah-hotep*, 4to, 1863; MARIETTE, *Notice des Principaux Monuments*, 1864, pp. 218-227.

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from the photograph by M. de Mertens taken in the Berlin Museum.

[2] This necklace has been reproduced on p. 2 of the present work, where it serves as a frontispiece to the chapter.

were found among the jewels, including three gold flies suspended by a



THE JEWELS AND WEAPONS OF QUEEN ÂHHOTPÛ I. IN THE GÎZEH MUSEUM.[1]

thin chain, nine gold and silver axes, a lion's head in gold of most minute

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Béchard, in MARIETTE, *Album photographique du Musée de Boulaq*, pl. 3. The dagger is reproduced by itself on p. 204 of the present volume, side by side with a Mycenæan dagger of similar form and ornamentation.

workmanship,[1] a sceptre of black wood plated with gold, daggers to defend the deceased from the dangers of the unseen world, boomerangs of hard wood, and the battle-axe of Âhmosis. Besides these, there were two boats, one of gold and one of silver, originally intended for the Pharaoh Kamosû—models of the skiff in which his mummy crossed the Nile to reach its last resting-place, and to sail in the wake of the gods on the western sea.[2]

Nofritari thus reigned conjointly with Amenôthes, and even if we have no record of any act in which she was specially concerned, we know at least that her rule was a prosperous one, and that her memory was revered by her subjects. While the majority of queens were relegated after death to the crowd of shadowy ancestors to whom habitual sacrifice was offered, the worshippers not knowing even to which sex these royal personages belonged, the remembrance of Nofritari always remained distinct in their minds, and her cult spread till it might be said to have become a kind of popular religion. In this veneration Âhmosis was rarely associated with the queen, but Amenôthes[3] and several of her other children shared in it—her son Sipiri, for instance,[4] and her daughters Sitamon,[5] Sitkamosi,[6] and Maritamon;[7] Nofritari became, in fact, an actual goddess, taking her place beside Amon, Khonsû, and Maut,[8] the members of the Theban Triad, or standing alone as an object of worship for her devotees.[9] She was identified with Isis, Hathor, and the mistresses of Hades, and adopted their attributes, even to the black or blue coloured skin of these funerary divinities.[10] Considerable endowments

[1] It is reproduced, as nearly as possible full size, as a tail-piece on p. 108 of the present volume. The drawing is by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey.

[2] See the drawing of the gold skiff and its carriage on p. 81 of the present volume.

[3] A list of the monuments on which she is represented as being worshipped in conjunction with her son Amenôthes I. has been very carefully compiled by Wiedemann, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, pp. 313, 314.

[4] Stele from Karnak in Mariette, *Monuments divers*, pl. 89; stele at Turin in Champollion-Figeac, *Égypte Ancienne*, pl. 67, and Maspero, *Rapport sur une Mission en Italie*, in the *Recueil*, vol. iii. p. 113; coffin of Bûtehamon in Schiaparelli, *Il Libro dei Funerali*, pp. 17, 18; cf. for these representations collectively, Maspero, *Les Momies royales de Deîr-el-Baharî*, p. 630.

[5] Sitamon is mentioned, with her mother, on the Karnak stele (Mariette, *Monuments divers*, p. 89) and on the coffin of Bûtehamon (Schiaparelli, *ibid.*, pp. 17, 18); for the position to be assigned to this princess, cf. Maspero, *Les Momies royales*, etc., p. 631.

[6] Archdale-Bonomi-Birch, *Gallery of Antiquities selected from the Brit. Mus.*, pt. i. p. 73, pl. 30, fig. 142; and Prisse d'Avennes, *Notice sur les Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée Britannique*, pp. 16, 17; cf. Maspero, *Les Momies*, etc., pp. 540–543, 623, 624.

[7] Coffin of Bûtehamon in Schiaparelli, *Il Libro dei Funerali*, pp. 17, 18; tomb of Qenî at Deir el-Medineh, in Wiedemann, *Tombs of the XIXth Dynasty at Dêr el-Medineh* in the *Proceedings* of the Bibl. Archæol. Soc., 1886, vol. viii. p. 231.

[8] She is worshipped with the Theban Triad by Hrihor, at Karnak, in the temple of Khonsû (Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. ii. p. 227; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 246 a).

[9] Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., vol. ii. p. 32, where her sacred bark is represented, and Seti I. in adoration before her.

[10] Her statue in the Turin Museum represents her as having black skin (Champollion, *Lettres à M. le duc de Blacas*, i. pp. 21, 22). She is also painted black standing before Amenôthes (who is white) in the Deir el-Medineh tomb, now preserved in the Berlin Museum (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 1); cf. Erman, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss der Ægyptischen Altertümer*, 1894, pp. 149, 150, Nos. 2060, 2061; in that of Nibanûtirû (Champollion, *Monuments*, etc., vol. i. p. 325, and pl. clxx. 1).

were given for maintaining worship at her tomb, and were administered by a special class of priests.[1] Her mummy reposed among those of the princes of her family, in the hiding-place at Deîr-el-Bahari: it was enclosed in an enormous



THE TWO COFFINS OF AHHOTPÛ II. AND NOFRÎTARI STANDING IN THE VESTIBULE OF THE OLD BÛLAK MUSEUM.[2]

wooden sarcophagus covered with linen and stucco, the lower part being shaped to the body, while the upper part representing the head and arms could be lifted off in one piece. The shoulders are covered with a network in relief, the meshes

and in that of Ûmmîri, at Sheikh Abd el-Qurnah (ID., *ibid.*, p. 324). Her face is painted blue in the tomb of Kasa (WIEDEMANN, *Tombs of the XIX^th Dyn. at Dêr el-Medinet*, in the *Proceedings* of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., 1886, vol. viii. p. 226). The representations of this queen with a black skin have caused her to be taken for a negress, the daughter of an Ethiopian Pharaoh (ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, vol. iii. 1, p. 92; ARUNDALE-BONOMI-BIRCH, *Gallery of Antiquities*, ii. p. 71; BRUGSCH, *Hist. d'Égypte*, pp. 85, 86; LEPSIUS, *Briefe aus Ægypten*, p. 268; WIEDEMANN, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 309), or at any rate the daughter of a chief of some Nubian tribe (ED. MEYER, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 221, note 1); it was thought that Ahmosis must have married her to secure the help of the negro tribes in his wars, and that it was owing to this alliance that he succeeded in expelling the Hyksôs. Later discoveries have not confirmed these hypotheses. Nofrîtari was most probably an Egyptian of unmixed race, as we have seen, and daughter of Ahhotpû I. (see p. 77 of this volume); and the black or blue colour of her skin is merely owing to her identification with the goddesses of the dead (BRUGSCH, *Gesch. Ægyptens*, pp. 253, 269; LAUTH, *Aus Ægyptens Vorzeit*, pp. 245, 246).

[1] The monuments connected with her priests, her cultus, and the appanage of her tomb are enumerated exhaustively in WIEDEMANN, *Ægypt. Gesch.*, p. 310.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey, taken in 1882.

of which are painted blue on a yellow background. The Queen's hands are crossed over her breast, and clasp the *crux ansata*, the symbol of life. The whole mummy-case measures a little over nine feet from the sole of the feet to the top of the head, which is furthermore surmounted by a cap, and two long ostrich-feathers. The appearance is not so much that of a coffin as of one of those enormous caryatides which we sometimes find adorning the front of a temple.[1]

We may perhaps attribute to the influence of Nofritari the lack of zest evinced by Amenôthes for expeditions into Syria. Even the most energetic kings had always shrunk from penetrating much beyond the isthmus. Those who ventured so far as to work the mines of Sinai had nevertheless felt a secret fear of invading Asia proper—a dread which they never succeeded in overcoming. When the raids of the Bedouin obliged the Egyptian sovereign to cross the frontier into their territory, he would retire as soon as possible, without attempting any permanent conquest.[2] After the expulsion of the Hyksôs, Âhmosis seemed inclined to pursue a less timorous course. He made an advance on Sharûhana and pillaged it, and the booty he brought back ought to have encouraged him to attempt more important expeditions; but he never returned to this region, and it would seem that when his first enthusiasm had subsided, he was paralysed by the same fear which had fallen on his ancestors. Nofritari may have counselled her son not to break through the traditions which his father had so strictly followed, for Amenôthes I. confined his campaigns to Africa, and the traditional battle-fields there. He embarked for the land of Kûsh on the vessel of Âhmosi-si-Abina "for the purpose of enlarging the frontiers of Egypt." It was, we may believe, a thoroughly conventional campaign, conducted according to the strictest precedents of the XII^th dynasty. The Pharaoh, as might be expected, came into personal contact with the enemy, and slew their chief with his own hand; the barbarian warriors sold their lives dearly, but were unable to protect their country from pillage, the victors carrying off whatever they could seize—men, women, and cattle. The pursuit of the enemy had led the army some distance into the desert, as far as a halting-place called the "Upper cistern"—*Khnumît hirît*; instead of retracing his steps to the Nile squadron, and returning slowly by boat, Amenôthes resolved to take a short cut homewards. Âhmosi conducted him back overland in two days, and was rewarded for his speed by the gift of a quantity of gold, and two female slaves.[3] An incursion into Libya followed quickly on the

[1] Maspero, *Les Momies royales de Déir-el-Baharî*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, etc., vol. i. pp. 533, 536.

[2] Cf. what is said on this subject in Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 351, 468, et seq., and pp. 16, 17, and 88 of the present volume.

[3] *Great Inscription of El-Kab*, ll. 23–28. A monument at Vienna informs us that Amenôthes I. was worshipped in the Ethiopian district of Kara or Kari (Bergmann, *Inschriftliche Denkmäler*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ix. p. 59; cf. Wiedemann, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 321).

Ethiopian campaign. The tribe of the Kihaka, settled between Lake Mareotis and the Oasis of Amon, had probably attacked in an audacious manner the western provinces of the Delta;[1] a raid was organized against them, and the issue was commemorated by a small wooden stele, on which we see the victor represented as brandishing his sword over a barbarian lying prostrate at his feet.[2] The exploits of Amenôthes appear to have ended with this raid, for we possess no monument recording any further victory gained by him. This, however, has not prevented his contemporaries from celebrating him as a conquering and victorious king. He is portrayed standing erect in his chariot ready to charge, or as carrying off two barbarians whom he holds half suffocated in his sinewy arms,[4] or as gleefully smiting the princes of foreign lands.[5] He acquitted himself of the duties of the chase as became a true Pharaoh, for we find him depicted in the act of seizing a lion by the tail and raising him suddenly in mid-air previous to despatching him.[6]



STATUE OF AMENÔTHES I. IN THE TURIN MUSEUM.[3]

[1] Statue of Ahmosi Pannekhabît, A, ll. 5, 6. The name is written Amû Kihaka, and the combination of these two terms appears to me to designate the part of the tribe living near Amû (cf., for a parallel construction, PIEHL, *Varia*, § lxii., in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxviii. p. 15); the capital of the Libyan nome (PETRIE, *Naucratis*, i. p. 94, and pl. xxvii. 2). Brugsch identifies them with the Iobacchi, the Libyans mentioned by Ptolemy (IV. v. 29; cf. VIVIEN DE SAINT-MARTIN, *Le Nord de l'Afrique*, p. 445; BRUGSCH, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 261, 262). Wiedemann would look for them on the Asiatic side (*Ægyptische Geschichte*, pp. 317, 318).

[2] ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, vol. iii. 1, pp. 108, 109, and pl. ii. B.

[3] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph supplied by Flinders Petrie.

[4] Small wooden stele in the British Museum, probably belonging to the same find as the stelæ in the Louvre (ARUNDALE-BONOMI-BIRCH, *Gallery of Antiquities*, ii. p. 74, and pl. 30, fig. 143).

[5] Small wooden stelæ in the Louvre, Nos. 338, 340, 341 (PIERRET, *Catalogue de la Salle historique*, pp. 81, 82); published in ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, vol. iii. 1, pp. 108–110, and pl. ii. A, D.

[6] ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, vol. iii. 1, p. 110, and pl. ii. E.



STELE OF AMENÔTHES I. IN THE LOUVRE.[1]

These are, indeed, but conventional pictures of war, to which we must not attach an undue importance. Egypt had need of repose in order to recover from the losses it had sustained during the years of struggle with the invaders. If Amenôthes courted peace from preference and not from political motives, his own generation profited as much by his indolence as the preceding one had gained by the energy of Âhmosis. The towns in his reign resumed their ordinary life, agriculture flourished, and commerce again followed its accustomed routes. Egypt increased its resources, and was thus able to prepare for future conquest. The taste for building had not as yet sufficiently developed to become a drain upon the public treasury. We have, however, records showing that Amenôthes excavated a cavern in the mountain of Ibrim in Nubia, dedicated to Satit, one of the goddesses of the cataract.[2] It is also stated that he worked regularly the quarries of Silsileh, but we do not know for what buildings the sandstone thus extracted was destined.[3] Karnak was also adorned with chapels, and with at least one colossus,[4] while several chambers built of the white limestone of Tûrah were added to Ombos.[5] Thebes had thus every reason to cherish the memory of this pacific king. As Nofritari had been metamorphosed into a form of Isis, Amenôthes was similarly

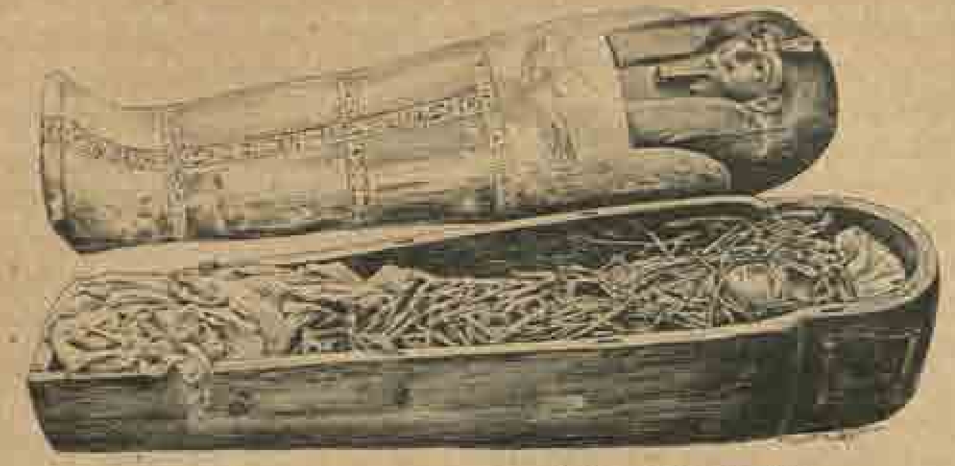
[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the wooden stele No. 342 in the Louvre (Pierret, *Catalogue de la Salle historique*, p. 22); cf. Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, vol. iii. 1, p. 190, and pl. ii. C.

[2] Rosellini, *ibid.*, vol. iii. 1, pp. 78–79, and pl. xxviii. 1.

[3] A bas-relief on the western bank of the river represents him deified (Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. i. p. 249, and pl. cxi. 1; Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, vol. iii. 1, pp. 79, 80, and pl. i. 1 of the same volume); Pâmâtû, the name of a superintendent of the quarries who lived in his reign, has been preserved in several graffiti (Eisenlohr, *An Historical Monument*, in the *Proceedings* of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., 1881, p. 101; Flinders Petrie, *A Season in Egypt*, pl. xv., No. 470); while another graffito gives us only the protocol of the sovereign, and indicates that the quarries were worked in his reign (Flinders Petrie, *ibid.*, pl. xvi., No. 489).

[4] The chambers of white limestone are marked I, K, on Mariette's plan (*Karnak*, pl. v.); it is possible that they may have been merely decorated under Thûtmosis III., whose cartouches alternate with those of Amenôthes I. (Mariette, *Karnak*, pp. 31, 37). The colossus is now in front of the third Pylon, and Wiedemann concluded from this fact that Amenôthes had begun extensive works for enlarging the temple of Amon (*Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 318); Mariette believed, with greater probability, that the colossus formerly stood at the entrance to the XIIth dynasty temple, but was removed to its present position by Thûtmosis III. (*Karnak*, pp. 27, note 3, 60).

[5] Maspero, *Notes sur quelques points de Gramm. et d'Hist.*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 78; the fragments have since disappeared (Morgan, *Catalogue des Monuments*, vol. i. p. 1).



THE COFFIN AND MUMMY OF AMENÔTHES I. IN THE GÎZEH MUSEUM.[1]

represented as Osiris, the protector of the Necropolis, and he was depicted as such with the sombre colour of the funerary divinities;[2] his image, moreover, together with those of the other gods, was used to decorate the interiors of coffins, and to protect the mummies of his devotees.[3] One of his statues, now in the Turin Museum, represents him sitting on his throne in the posture of a king giving audience to his subjects, or in that of a god receiving the homage of his worshippers. The modelling of the bust betrays a flexibility of handling which is astonishing in a work of art so little removed from barbaric times; the head is a marvel of delicacy and natural grace. We feel that the sculptor has taken a delight in chiselling the features of his sovereign, and in reproducing the benevolent and almost dreamy expression which characterised them.[4] The cult of Amenôthes lasted for seven or eight centuries, until the time when his coffin was removed and placed with those of the other members of his family in the place where it remained concealed until our own times.[5] It is

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Émil Brugsch-Bey, taken in 1882.

[2] The cult of Amenôthes I. and the principal monuments which are as yet known connected with it are given in WIEDEMANN, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, pp. 319, 320. A black Amenôthes, followed by his son Sipiri, is reproduced in ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, vol. iii. 1, pp. 98–106, pl. xxix. 2.

[3] Wiedemann (*Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 319) has collected several examples, to which it would be easy to add others. The names of the king are in this case constantly accompanied by unusual epithets, which are enclosed in one or other of his cartouches: Mons. Revillout, deceived by these unfamiliar forms, has made out of one of these variants, on a painted cloth in the Louvre, a new Amenôthes, whom he styles Amenôthes V. (*Le Roi Amenophis V*, in the *Bulletin des Musées*, vol. i. pp. 112–114). For "Pa-akhû-ni-Amun," a surname of the deified Amenôthes I., frequently met with, and signifying "the intimate friend or image of Amon," see LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 2 *b*, *e*; and cf. A. B. EDWARDS, *On a Fragment of Mummy-Case*, in the *Actes du Congrès des Orientalistes de Leyden*, sect. 3, pp. 173–175.

[4] CHAMPOLLION, *Lettres à M. le duc de Blacas*, vol. i. pp. 20, 21; ORCURTI, *Catalogo Illustrato*, vol. ii. p. 71, No. 37. Another statue of very fine workmanship, but mutilated, is preserved in the Gîzeh Museum (MARIETTE, *Notice des principaux Monuments*, 1874, p. 200, No. 870, and *Monuments divers*, pl. 101, *Texte*, p. 29; MASPERO, *Guide du Visiteur*, p. 241, No. 4424; VIREY, *Notice des principaux Monuments*, p. 172, No. 690); this statue is of the time of Sati I., and, as is customary, represents Amenôthes in the likeness of the king then reigning.

[5] We know, from the *Abbott Papyrus*, pl. ii. ll. 2–7, 7–11 (cf. MASPERO, *Une Enquête judiciaire à Thèbes*, pp. 13, 15, 71, 72; CHABAS, *Une Spoliation des Hypogées de Thèbes*, in the *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 3rd

shaped to correspond with the form of the human body and painted white; the face resembles that of his statue, and the eyes of enamel, touched with kohl, give it a wonderful appearance of animation. The body is swathed in orange-coloured linen, kept in place by bands of brownish linen, and is further covered by a mask of wood and cartonnage, painted to match the exterior of the coffin. Long garlands of faded flowers deck the mummy from head to foot. A wasp, attracted by their scent, must have settled upon them at the moment of burial, and become imprisoned by the lid; the insect has been completely preserved from corruption by the balsams of the embalmer, and its gauzy wings have passed uncrumpled through the long centuries.[1]

Amenôthes had married Ahhotpû II., his sister by the same father and mother;[2] Ahmasi, the daughter born of this union, was given in marriage to Thûtmosis, one of her brothers, the son of a mere concubine, by name Senisonbû.[3] Ahmasi, like her ancestor Nofrîtari, had therefore the right to exercise all the royal functions, and she might have claimed precedence of her husband. Whether from conjugal affection or from weakness of character, she yielded, however, the priority to Thûtmosis, and allowed him to assume the sole government. He was crowned at Thebes on the 21st of the third month of Pirît; and a circular, addressed to the representatives of the ancient seignorial families and to the officers of the crown, announced the names assumed by the new sovereign. "This is the royal rescript to announce to you that my Majesty has arisen king of the two Egypts, on the seat of the Horus of the living, without equal, for ever, and that my titles are as follows: The vigorous bull Horus, beloved of Mâît, the Lord of the Vulture and of the Uræus who raises itself as a flame, most valiant,—the golden Horus, whose years are good and who puts life into all hearts, king of the two Egypts, ÂKHOPIRKERÎ, son of the Sun, THÛTMOSIS, living for ever.[4] Cause, therefore, sacrifices to be offered to the gods of the

ments, vol. i. pp. 60, 61), that the pyramid of Amenôthes I. was situated at Drah Abou'l-Neggah, among those of the Pharaohs of the XIth, XIIIth, and XVIIth dynasties. The remains of it have not yet been discovered.

[1] MASPERO, *Les Momies royales*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pp. 536, 537.

[2] Ahhotpû II. may be seen beside her husband on several monuments given by WIEDEMANN, *Ægypt. Geschichte*, pp. 316, 317. The proof that she was full sister of Amenôthes I. is furnished by the title of "hereditary princess" which is given to her daughter Ahmasi; this princess would not have taken precedence of her brother and husband Thûtmosis, who was the son of an inferior wife, had she not been the daughter of the only legitimate spouse of Amenôthes I. The marriage had already taken place before the accession of Thûtmosis I., as Ahmasi figures in a document dated the first year of his reign (ERMAN, *Rundschreiben Thutmosis' I an die Behörden mit der Anzeige seines Regierungsantrittes*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxix. p. 117).

[3] ERMAN, *ibid.*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxix. pp. 117–119. The absence of any cartouche shows that Senisonbû did not belong to the royal family, and the very form of the name points her out to have been of the middle classes, and merely a concubine. The accession of her son, however, ennobled her, and he represents her as a queen on the walls of the temple at Deir el-Bahari (NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, etc., pp. 12–14); even then he merely styles her "Royal Mother," the only title she could really claim, as her inferior position in the harem prevented her from using that of "Royal Spouse."

[4] This is really the protocol of the king, as we find it on the monuments (LEPSIUS, *Königsbuch*, pl. xxiv.), with his two Horus names and his solar titles.

south and of Elephantinê,[1] and hymns to be chanted for the well-being of the King Âkhopirkerî, living for ever, and then cause the oath to be taken in the name of my Majesty, born of the royal mother Sonisonbû, who is in good health.—This is sent to thee that thou mayest know that the royal house is prosperous, and in good health and condition, the 1st year, the 21st of the third month of Pirit, the day of coronation."[2] The new king was tall in stature, broad-shouldered, well knit, and capable of enduring the fatigues of war without flagging. His statues represent him as having a full, round face, long nose, square chin, rather thick lips, and a smiling but firm expression. Thûtmosis brought with him on ascending the throne the spirit of the younger generation, who, born shortly after the deliverance from the Hyksôs, had grown up in the peaceful days of Amenôthes, and, elated by



THÛTMOSIS I., FROM A STATUE IN THE GHIZEH MUSEUM.[3]

the easy victories obtained over the nations of the south, were inspired by ambitions unknown to the Egyptians of earlier times. To this younger race Africa no longer offered a sufficiently wide or attractive field; the whole country was their own as far as the confluence of the two Niles, and the Theban gods were worshipped at Napata no less devoutly than at Thebes itself.[4] What remained to

[1] The copy of the letter which has come down to us is addressed to the commander of Elephantinê: hence the mention of the gods of that town. The names of the divinities must have been altered to suit each district, to which the order to offer sacrifices for the prosperity of the new sovereign was sent.

[2] Ostracon from the Ghizeh Museum, published by Erman, *Rundschreiben Thutmosis' I an die Behörden mit der Anzeige seines Regierungsantrittes*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxix. pp. 116–118.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the photograph taken in 1882 by Emil Brugsch-Bey.

[4] A misinterpreted passage of Gazzera (*Descrizione dei Monumenti Egizi del Regio Museo*, p. 25,

be conquered in that direction was scarcely worth the trouble of reducing to a province or of annexing as a colony; it comprised a number of tribes hopelessly divided among themselves, and consequently, in spite of their renowned bravery, without power of resistance. Light columns of troops, drafted at intervals on either side of the river, ensured order among the submissive, or despoiled the refractory of their possessions in cattle, slaves, and precious stones. Thûtmosis I. had to repress, however, very shortly after his accession, a revolt of these borderers at the second and third cataracts, but they were easily overcome in a campaign of a few days' duration, in which the two Ahmosis of El-Kab took an honourable part. There was, as usual, an encounter of the two fleets in the middle of the river: the young king himself attacked the enemy's chief, pierced him with his first arrow, and made a considerable number of prisoners. Thûtmosis had the corpse of the chief suspended as a trophy in front of the royal ship, and sailed northwards towards Thebes, where, however, he was not destined to remain long.[1] An ample field of action presented itself to him in the north-east, affording scope for great exploits, as profitable as they were glorious.[2] Syria offered to Egyptian cupidity a virgin prey in its large commercial towns inhabited by an industrious population, who by maritime trade and caravan traffic had amassed enormous wealth. The country had been previously subdued by the Chaldæans, who still exercised an undisputed influence over it, and it was but natural that the conquerors of the Hyksôs should act in their turn as invaders. The incursion of Asiatics into Egypt thus provoked a reaction which issued in an Egyptian invasion of Asiatic soil. Thûtmosis and his contemporaries had inherited none of the instinctive fear of penetrating into Syria which influenced Âhmosis and his successor: the Theban legions were, perhaps, slow to advance, but once they had trodden the roads of Palestine, they were not likely to

and pl. i. No. 8) has misled Wiedemann (*Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 317) to believe that a small stele in the museum at Turin was found at Meroë, and proves the presence of Egyptian armies in that town. Gazzera does not say that the object in question was discovered at Meroë, but only that the wood out of which it is cut is wood from Meroë, "un pezzetto di legno duro di Meroe, tagliato in forma di stela." The date of "l'anno ventisei," attributed to this monument, is not in reality traced on it, but the Italian author, applying an erroneous hypothesis of Champollion's, counted the spikes on the palm stems surrounding the stele; as there are twenty-six on each side, he thought that the Egyptian draughtsman intended to notify in this manner the twenty-sixth year of the king's reign.

[1] *Inscription of Ahmosi-si-Abina*, l. 23, et seq.; cf. Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 12 *d*; Chabas, *Les Pasteurs en Égypte*, pp. 21, 22, 28, 48, 49; Brugsch, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 268. That this expedition must be placed at the beginning of the king's reign, in his first year, is shown by two facts: (1) It precedes the Syrian campaign in the biography of the two Ahmosis of El-Kab; (2) the Syrian campaign must have ended in the second year of the reign, since Thûtmosis I., on the stele of Tombos which bears that date (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 5 *a*, ll. 13, 14), gives particulars of the course of the Euphrates, and records the submission of the countries watered by that river (E. de Rougé, *Étude des Monuments du Massif de Karnak*, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne et Assyriennes*, vol. i. p. 41).

[2] It is impossible at present to draw up a correct table of the native or foreign sovereigns who reigned over Egypt during the time of the Hyksôs. I have given (Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*,

forego the delights of conquest. From that time forward there was perpetual warfare and pillaging expeditions from the plains of the Blue Nile to those of the Euphrates, so that scarcely a year passed without bringing to the city of Amon its tribute of victories and riches gained at the point of the sword. One day the news would be brought that the Amorites or the Khâti had taken the field, to be immediately followed by the announcement that their forces had been shattered against the valour of the Egyptian battalions. Another day, Pharaoh would re-enter the city with the flower of his generals and veterans; the chiefs whom he had taken prisoners, sometimes with his own hand, would be conducted through the streets, and then led to die at the foot

pp. 789, 790) the list of the kings of the XIII[th] and XIV[th] dynasties which are known to us from the Turin Papyrus. I have append that of the Pharaohs of the following dynasties, who are mentioned either in the fragments of Manetho or on the monuments:

XV[th] DYNASTY.

The Shepherds in the Delta.	The Thebans in the Saîd.
I. [Shalit], Salatis, Saites.	I. Amûntimaios.
II. ? Beôn.	. . . .
III. ? Apakhnas, Apakhnas.	. . . .
IV. [Apôpi I.], Apôphis, Aphôbis.	. . . .
V. ? Staan, Iannas, Annas.	. . . .
VI. ? Asses, Asseth.	. . . .

XVI[th] DYNASTY.

The Shepherds over the whole of Egypt.

. . . .

Sûsirnîî Khiani.

. . . .

Apôpi II. Âûsirî.

XVII[th] DYNASTY.

The Shepherds in the Delta.	The Thebans in the Saîd.
I. Apôpi III. Aqnûnrî.	I. Tiûâa I. Saqnûnrî I.
. . . .	II. Tiûâa II. Saqnûnrî II.
. . . .	. . . .
. . . .	Akhpirkaqerîtroshi ?
. . . .	Tetiimosi ?
. . . .	. . . .
. . . .	Sakhontinibri ?
. . . .	Sanakhtûrî ?
. . . .	Hotpûrî ?
. . . .	Manhotpûrî ?
. . . .	Nûbhotpûrî
. . . .	. . . .
. . . .	Tiûâqni Saqnûnrî III.
. . . .	Uazkhopirrî Kamosû.
. . . .	Nebpehtirî Âhmosî I.

The date of the invasion may be placed between 2300 and 2250 B.C.; if we count 661 years for the three dynasties together, as Erman proposes (*Zur Chronologie der Hyksos*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1879, pp. 125–127), we find that the accession of Âhmosis would fall between 1640 and 1590 (see p. 73, note 1, of the present volume). I should place it provisionally in the year 1600, in order not to leave the position of the succeeding reigns uncertain; I estimate the possible error at about half a century.

of the altars, while fantastic processions of richly clothed captives, beasts led by halters, and slaves bending under the weight of the spoil would stretch in an endless line behind him. Meanwhile the Timihû, roused by some unknown cause, would attack the outposts stationed on the frontier, or news would come that the Peoples of the Sea had landed on the western side of the Delta; the Pharaoh had again to take the field, invariably with the same speedy and successful issue. The Libyans seemed to fare no better than the Syrians, and before long those who had survived the defeat would be paraded before the Theban citizens, previous to being sent to join the Asiatic prisoners in the mines or quarries; their blue eyes and fair hair showing from beneath strangely shaped helmets, while their white skins, tall stature, and tattooed bodies excited for a few hours the interest and mirth of the idle crowd. At another time, one of the customary raids into the land of Kûsh would take place, consisting of a rapid march across the sands of the Ethiopian desert and a cruise along the coasts of Pûanît. This would be followed by another triumphal procession, in which fresh elements of interest would appear, heralded by flourish of trumpets and roll of drums; Pharaoh would re-enter the city borne on the shoulders of his officers, followed by negroes heavily chained, or coupled in such a way that it was impossible for them to move without grotesque contortions, while the acclamations of the multitude and the chanting of the priests would resound from all sides as the *cortège* passed through the city gates on its way to the temple of Amon. Egypt, roused as it were to warlike frenzy, hurled her armies across all her frontiers simultaneously, and her sudden appearance in the heart of Syria gave a new turn to human history. The isolation of the kingdoms of the ancient world was at an end; the conflict of the nations was about to begin.





SYRIA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EGYPTIAN CONQUEST.

NINEVEH AND THE FIRST CHALDÆAN KINGS—THE PEOPLES OF SYRIA, THEIR TOWNS, THEIR CIVILIZATION, THEIR RELIGION—PHŒNICIA.

The dynasty of Uruazagga—The Cossæans: their country, their gods, their conquest of Chaldæa—The first sovereigns of Assyria, and the first Cossæan kings: Agumkakrimê.

The Egyptian names for Syria: Kharû, Zahi, Lotanû, Kefâtiu—The military highway from the Nile to the Euphrates: first section from Zalu to Gaza—The Canaanites: their fortresses, their agricultural character; the forest between Jaffa and Mount Carmel, Megiddo—The three routes beyond Megiddo: Qodshu—Aleppo, Naharaim, Carchemish; Mitanni and the countries beyond the Euphrates.

Disintegration of the Syrian, Canaanite, Amorite, and Khâti populations; obliteration of types—Influence of Babylon on costumes, customs, and religion—Baalim and Astartes, plant-gods and stone-gods—Religion, human sacrifices, festivals; sacred stones—Tombs and the fate of man after death—Phœnician cosmogony.

Phœnicia—Arvad, Marathus, Simyra, Botrys—Byblos, its temple, its goddess, the myth of Adonis: Aphaka and the valley of the Nahr-Ibrahim; the festivals of the death and resurrection of Adonis—Berytus and its god El; Sidon and its suburbs—Tyre: its foundation, its gods, its necropolis, its domain in the Lebanon.

Isolation of the Phœnicians with regard to the other nations of Syria: their love of the sea and the causes which developed it—Legendary accounts of the beginning of their colonization—Their commercial proceedings, their banks and factories; their ships—Cyprus, its wealth, its occupations—The Phœnician colonies in Asia Minor and the Ægean Sea: purple dye—The nations of the Ægean.





THE MODERN VILLAGE OF ZERIN, IN GALILEE, SEEN FROM THE SOUTH.[1]

CHAPTER II.

SYRIA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EGYPTIAN CONQUEST

Ninomb and the first Cossæan Kings—The peoples of Syria, their towns, their civilization, their religion—Phœnicia.

THE world beyond the Arabian desert presented to the eyes of the enterprising Pharaohs an active and bustling scene. Babylonian civilization still maintained its hold there without a rival, but Babylonian rule had ceased to exercise any longer a direct control, having probably disappeared with the sovereigns who had introduced it. When Ammisatana died, about the year 2099, the line of Khammurabi became extinct, and a family from the Sea-lands came into power.[2] This unexpected revolution of affairs did not by any means restore to the cities of Lower Chaldæa the supreme authority which they once possessed. Babylon had made such good use of its centuries of rule that it had gained upon its rivals, and was not likely now to fall back into a secondary place. Henceforward, no matter what dynasty came into power, as soon as the fortune of war had placed it upon the throne, Babylon succeeded in adopting it, and at once made it its own.

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph; the vignette, by Faucher-Gudin, represents an Asiatic draped with a blue and a red shawl; cf. CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. cclxvii. 2; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. clvii.

[2] The origin of this second dynasty and the reading of its name still afford matter for discussion. The name was provisionally written Shishku, Sisku, by Pinches, who was the first to discover it (*Notes on a New List of Early Babylonian Kings*, in the *Proceedings* of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., 1880-81, vol. iii. pp. 21, 22); it was at once connected by Lauth (*Remarks on the Name Shishku*, *ibid.*, 1880-81, vol. iii. pp. 46-48) with the name Sheshach, which signifies Babylon in Jeremiah (ch. xxv. 26 and

The new lord of the country, Ilumailu, having abandoned his patrimonial inheritance, came to reside near to Merodach.[1] He was followed during the four next centuries by a dynasty of ten princes, in uninterrupted succession. Their rule was introduced and maintained without serious opposition. The small principalities of the south were theirs by right, and the only town which might have caused them any trouble—Assur—was dependent on them, being satisfied with the title of vicegerents for its princes,—Khallu, Irishum, Ismidagan and his son Samsiramman I., Igurkapkapu and his son Samsiramman II.[2] As to the course of events beyond the Khabur, and any efforts Ilumailu's descendants may have made to establish their authority in the direction of the Mediterranean, we have no inscriptions to inform us, and must be content to remain in ignorance. The last two of these princes, Melamkurkurra and Eâgamil, were not connected with each other, and had no direct relationship with their predecessors.[3] The shortness of their

ii. 41). But Shishaku is only an indirect way of writing Babel by athbash, and Pinches had observed that the group might be read Shishaku, Urusagga, or Uruku, as well as Shishku: the reading Uruku even inclined H. Rawlinson to make Uruk-Erech the cradle of the IInd Babylonian dynasty (*Proceedings*, 1880-81, vol. iii. pp. 38, 42). Eastlake endeavoured to prove by means of philology what excellent grounds there were for this comparison (*Uruku versus Shishku*, *ibid.*, 1881-82, vol. iv. pp. 36-40), which Tiele declares improbable (*Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, p. 104); while Hommel, after having inclined for a short time to the reading Urusagga (*Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 169, 352), now declares Uruku to be nearly certain (*A Supplementary Note to Gish-Gashik*, in the *Proceedings*, 1893-94, vol. xvi. pp. 13-15). Fr. Delitzsch accepts the reading Urusagga and recognises Babylon in it, but Winckler (*Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 67, 68, 327, 328) believes it to be merely the name of a district of Babylon, where the dynasty may have originated. Finally, Hilprecht (*Assyriaca*, vol. i. pp. 25-28, 101-108) asserts, from Knudtzon's copy (*Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, vol. i. p. 60), that the second sign in the name is the syllable *ku*; and while recognising the attractiveness of H. Rawlinson's and Hommel's hypothesis, declares himself unable to affirm anything concerning the value and the true signification of the group written *Shish-ku*. Among these conflicting opinions, it behoves us to remember that Gulkishar, the only prince of this dynasty whose title we possess, calls himself *King of the Country of the Sea*, that is to say, of the marshy country at the mouth of the Euphrates (Hilprecht, *Babyl. Exped. of University of Pennsylvania*, vol. i. pl. 30, ll. 3, 6): this simple fact invites us to seek the cradle of the family in those districts of Southern Chaldæa (Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, vol. i. pp. 24-28). Sayce rejects this identification on philological and chronological grounds, and sees in Gulkishar, "King of the Sea-lands," a vassal Kaldâ prince (*Academy*, March 2, 1895).

[1] The name has been read An-ma-an or Anman by Pinches (*Notes on a New List of Early Babylonian Kings*, in *Proc. Bib. Arch. Soc.*, 1880-81, vol. iii. pp. 40-42; cf. Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, vol. i. pp. 101-106), subsequently Ilumailu (in Fr. Delitzsch-Mürdter, *Gesch. Bab. und Assyr.*, 2nd ed., *Table*), Mailu (by Winckler, *Gesch. Bab. und Assyr.*, p. 68), finally Anummailu and perhaps Ilumailu (by Hommel, *Suppl. Note to Gish-Gashik*, in *Proceedings*, 1893-94, vol. xvi. p. 14). The true reading of it is still unknown. Hommel believed he had discovered in Hilprecht's book (*Bab. Exp. of Univ. of Pennsylv.*, vol. i. pl. 15, No. 26) an inscription belonging to the reign of this prince; but Hilprecht (*Assyriaca*, vol. i. pp. 101-106) has shown that it belonged to a king of Erech, An-a-am, anterior to the time of An-ma-an.

[2] Inscription of Irishum, son of Khallu, on a brick found at Kalah-Shergat, published in Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pl. 6, No. 2 (cf. Winckler, *Studien und Beiträge zur Babylonisch-Assyrischen Geschichte*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pl. iii. 10; and Schrader, *Altest-Assyrische Inschriften*, in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. i. pp. 2, 3, No. 3), and an inscription of Samsiramman II., son of Igurkapkapu, on another brick from the same place, in Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pl. 6, No. 1 (cf. Winckler, *Stud. und Beit.*, pl. iii. 4; and Schrader, *Altest. Assyr. Inschrift.*, pp. 2, 3, No. 1). Samsiramman I. and his father Ismidagan are mentioned in the great inscription of Tiglath-pileser I. (col. vii. ll. 60-70, col. viii. ll. 1-4, 47-49), as having lived 641 years before King Assurdan, who himself had preceded Tiglath-pileser by sixty years: they thus reigned between 1900 and 1800 years before our era, according to tradition, whose authenticity we have no other means of verifying.

[3] The name of the last is read Eâgamil for want of anything better: Oppert makes it Ekga (*The*

reigns presents a striking contrast with the length of those preceding them, and probably indicates a period of war or revolution. When these princes disappeared, we know not how or why, about the year 1714 B.C., they were succeeded by a king of foreign extraction; and one of the semi-barbarous race of Kashshu ascended the throne which had been occupied since the days of Khammurabi by Chaldæans of ancient stock.[1]

These Kashshu, who spring up suddenly out of obscurity, had from the earliest times inhabited the mountainous districts of Zagros, on the confines of Elymais and Media, where the Cossæans of the classical historians flourished in the time of Alexander.[2] It was a rugged and unattractive country, protected by nature and easy to defend, made up as it was of narrow tortuous valleys, of plains of moderate extent but of rare fertility, of mountain chains whose grim sides were covered with forests, and whose peaks were snow-crowned during half the year, and of rivers, or, more correctly speaking, torrents, for the rains and the melting of the snow[3] rendered them impassable in spring and

Sacred Field of the Goddess Nind, p. 9), simply transcribing the signs; and Hilprecht (*Assyriaca*, vol. i. p. 103, note), who took up the question again after him, has no reading to propose.

[1] I give here the list of the kings of the second dynasty, from the documents discovered by Pinches, *Notes on a New List of Early Babylonian Kings*, in the *Proceedings*, 1880–81, vol. iii. pp. 22, 42, 43, and *The Babylonian Kings of the Second Period*, in the *Proceedings*, 1883–84, vol. vi. p. 193; cf. the corrections of Fr. Delitzsch, *Assyriologische Miscellen*, in the *Berichte* of the Saxony Academy of Science, 1893, vol. ii. p. 184, and of Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, vol. i. p. 60:

Anman [Ilumailu]	2082–2022 B.C.	Kurgalalamma, his son	1834–1780 B.C.
Kiannibi [Itti-ili-nibi]	2022–1967	Adarakalama, his son	1780–1756
Damkiilishu	1967–1931	Ekurulanna	1756–1730
Ishkibal	1931–1916	Melamkurkurra [Melammatati]	1730–1723
Shushshi, his brother	1916–1889	Eâgâmil [Eâgâ]	1723–1714
Gulkishar	1889–1834		

No monument remains of any of these princes, and even the reading of their names is merely provisional: those placed between brackets represent Delitzsch's readings. A Gulkishar is mentioned in an inscription of Belnadinabal (Hilprecht, *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, vol. i. pl. 30, ll. 3, 6, and *Assyriaca*, vol. i. pp. 23–32); but Jensen is doubtful if the Gulkishar mentioned in this place is identical with the one in the lists (*Gulkischar—Muabbit-Kischschati—König von Babylon aus der Dynastie von Sis-azag und Gulkischar, König des Meerlandes*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. viii. pp. 220–224).

[2] The Kashshu are identified with the Cossæans by Sayce (*The Languages of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Elam and Media*, in the *Transactions* of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. iii. pp. 475, 476), by Schrader (*Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, pp. 176, 271), by Fr. Delitzsch (*Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 31, 32, 124, 128, 129, and *Die Sprache der Kossäer*, pp. 1–4), by Halévy (*Notes Assyriologiques*, § 24, *Les Cosséens et leur Langue*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. iv. pp. 208, 209), by Tiele (*Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, pp. 62, 63, 67–71), by Hommel (*Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 275–278), and by Jensen (*Gulkischar—Muabbit-Kischschati—König von Babylon aus der Dynastie von Sis-azag und Gulkischar, König des Meerlandes*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. viii. p. 222, note 1). Oppert maintains that they answer to the Kissians of Herodotus (III. xci., VII. lxii.) and of Strabo (XV. iii., § 2, p. 728), that is to say, to the inhabitants of the district of which Susa is the capital (*La Langue Cissienne ou Cassite non Cosséenne*, in the *Zeit. für Assyriologie*, vol. iii. pp. 421–423). Lehmann supports this opinion (*Schamaschschumukin, König von Babylonien*, p. 63, n. 2, and *Noch einmal Kassû: Kiççioi, nicht Kossaioi*, *Zeitschrift*, vol. vii. pp. 328–334). Winckler gives none (*Gesch. Babyl. und Assyr.*, pp. 78, 79), and several Assyriologists incline to that of Kiepert (*Lehrbuch der Alten Geogr.*, p. 139), according to which the Kissians are identical with the Cossæans.

[3] Cf. the description of it given by Sennacherib in his second campaign (G. Smith, *History of Sennacherib*, pp. 43, 44, ll. 2–69), which can be completed by that given by E. Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, vol. ix. pp. 167, 168, from the accounts of modern travellers.

autumn. The entrance to this region was by two or three well-fortified passes: if an enemy were unwilling to incur the loss of time and men needed to carry these by main force, he had to make a detour by narrow goat-tracks, along which the assailants were obliged to advance in single file, as best they could, exposed to the assaults of a foe concealed among the rocks and trees. The tribes who were entrenched behind this natural rampart made frequent and unexpected raids upon the marshy meadows and fat pastures of Chaldæa: they dashed through the country, pillaging and burning all that came in their way, and then, quickly regaining their hiding-places, were able to place their booty in safety before the frontier garrisons had recovered from the first alarm.[1] These tribes were governed by numerous chiefs acknowledging a single king—*ianzi*—whose will was supreme over nearly the whole country:[2] some of them had a slight veneer of Chaldæan civilization, while among the rest almost every stage of barbarism might be found. The remains of their language show that it was remotely allied to the dialect of Susa, and contained many Semitic words.[3] What is recorded of their religion reaches us merely at second hand, and the groundwork of it has doubtless been modified by the Babylonian scribes who have transmitted it to us.[4] They worshipped twelve great gods, of whom the chief—Kashshu, the lord of heaven—gave his name to the principal tribe, and possibly to the whole race:[5] Shûmalia, queen of the snowy heights, was enthroned beside

[1] It was thus in the time of Alexander and his successors (POLYBIUS, V. xliv. 7; DIODORUS SICULUS, xvii. 111; STRABO, XI. xiii. § 6, p. 524, and XVI. i. § 17, 18, pp. 742, 744; ARRIAN, *Anabasis*, VII. xv. 1), and the information given by the classical historians about this period is equally applicable to earlier times, as we may conclude from the numerous passages from Assyrian inscriptions which have been collected by FR. DELITZSCH, *Die Sprache der Kossäer*, pp. 2, 3, 70-52.

[2] Delitzsch conjectures that *Ianzi*, or *Ianzu*, had become a kind of proper name, analogous to the term *Pharaoh* employed by the Egyptians (ID., *ibid.*, pp. 23, 29-38).

[3] A certain number of Cossæan words has been preserved and translated, some in one of the royal Babylonian lists (RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. ii. pl. 65, No. 2, verso; PINCHES, *Notes on a New List of Early Babylonian Kings*, in the *Proceedings* of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., 1880-81, vol. iii. pp. 38, 41), and some on a tablet in the British Museum, discovered and interpreted by Fr. Delitzsch (*Die Sprache der Kossäer*, pp. 23-29). Several Assyriologists think that they show a marked affinity with the idiom of the Susa inscriptions, and with that of the Achæmenian inscriptions of the second type (SAYCE, *The Languages of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Elam and Media*, in the *Transactions* of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. iii. pp. 475, 476; HOMMEL, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 273-278); others deny the proposed connection (DELITZSCH, *Die Sprache der Kossäer*, pp. 39-50), or suggest that the Cossæan language was a Semitic dialect, related to the Chaldæo-Assyrian (OPPERT, *La Langue des Élamites*, in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. i. pp. 45-49; HALÉVY, *Notes Assyriologiques*, § 24. *Les Cosséens et leur Langue*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. iv. pp. 207-222; cf. *Revue Critique*, 1884, vol. i. pp. 482-486). Oppert, who was the first to point out the existence of this dialect, thirty years ago, believed it to be the Elamite (*Expédition de Mésopotamie*, vol. i. p. 275); he still persists in his opinion, and has published several notes in defence of it, the principal of which is *La Langue Cissienne ou Cossite non Cosséenne* (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. iii. pp. 421-423; cf. vol. v. pp. 106, 107), besides his memorandum on the *Langue des Élamites*.

[4] It has been studied by FR. DELITZSCH, *Die Sprache der Kossäer*, pp. 51-54, who insists on the influence which daily intercourse with the Chaldæans had on it after the conquest; Halévy (*Revue Critique*, 1884, vol. i. pp. 482-484), in most of the names of the gods given as Cossæan, sees merely the names of Chaldæan divinities slightly disguised in the writing.

[5] The existence of Kashshu is proved by the name of Kashshunadinakhe (FR. DELITZSCH, *Die Sprache der Kossäer*, pp. 23, 31); Ashshur also bore a name identical with that of his worshippers.

him,[1] and the divinities next in order were, as in the cities of the Euphrates, the Moon, the Sun (Sakh or Shuriash), the air or the tempest (Ubriash), and Khudkha.[2] Then followed the stellar deities or secondary incarnations of the sun,—Mirizir, who represented both Istar and Beltis;[3] and Khala, answering to Gula.[4] The Chaldæan Ninip corresponded both to Gidar and Maruttash, Bel to Kharbe and Turgu, Merodach to Shipak, Nergal to Shugab.[5] The Cossæan kings, already enriched by the spoils of their neighbours, and supported by a warlike youth, eager to enlist under their banner at the first call,[6] must have been often tempted to quit their barren domains and to swoop down on the rich country which lay at their feet. We are ignorant of the course of events which, towards the close of the XVIIIth century B.C., led to their gaining possession of it. The Cossæan king who seized on Babylon was named Gandish, and the few inscriptions we possess of his reign are cut with a clumsiness that betrays the barbarism of the conqueror. They cover the pivot stones on which Sargon of Agade or one of the Bursins had hung the doors of the temple of Nippur, but which Gandish dedicated afresh in order to win for himself, in the eyes of posterity, the credit of the work of these sovereigns.[7] Bel found favour in the

[1] She is mentioned in a rescript of Nebuchadrezzar I., at the head of the gods of *Namar*, that is to say, the Cossæan deities, as "the lady of the shining mountains, the inhabitant of the summits, the frequenter of peaks" (Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. v. pl. 57, col. ii. ll. 46, 47; cf. Peiser, *Inschriften Nebukadrezar's I.*, in Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. pt. 1, pp. 170, 171). She is called Shimalia in Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. 59, l. 23, where Delitzsch has restored her name, which was slightly mutilated (*Die Sprache der Kossäer*, p. 28, note 1); one of her statues was taken by Samsirammân III., King of Assyria, in one of that sovereign's campaigns against Chaldæa (Peiser-Winckler, *Die sogenannte synchronistische Geschichte*, in Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. i. pp. 202, 203, col. iv. l. 8).

[2] All these identifications are furnished by the glossary of Delitzsch (*Die Sprache der Kossäer*, p. 25). Ubriash, under the form of Buriash, is met with in a large number of proper names, Burnaburiash, Shamashbitiburiash, Ulamburiash, Kadashmanburiash, where the Assyrian scribe translates it *Bel-matâti*, lord of the world: Buriash is, therefore, an epithet of the god who was called Rammân in Chaldæa (Id., *ibid.*, pp. 22, 25, 27). The name of the moon-god is mutilated, and only the initial syllable *Shi* . . . remains, followed by an indistinct sign: it has not yet been restored. Halévy (*Notes Assyriologiques*, § 21. *Les Cosséens et leur Langue*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. iv. p. 210) reads Khudkhikha instead of Khudkha.

[3] On the double character of Mirizir, cf. what is said by Fr. Delitzsch, *Die Sprache der Kossäer*, pp. 53, 54.

[4] Id., *ibid.*, pp. 21, 23, 25, 53. Halévy (*Notes Assyriologiques*, § 21. *Les Cosséens et leur Langue*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. iv. p. 210) considers Khala, or Khali, as a harsh form of Gula (cf. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 665): if this is the case, the Cossæans must have borrowed the name, and perhaps the goddess herself, from their Chaldæan neighbours.

[5] Fr. Delitzsch, *Die Sprache der Kossäer*, pp. 20, 21, 23, 25, 27, 28, 39, 52, 53; for the reading Marudas, Maruttash, already proposed by G. Smith (*Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 250), cf. Hilprecht, *Die Votiv-Inschrift eines nicht erkannten Kassitenkönigs*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. vii. pp. 307–311. Hilprecht has established the identity of Turgu with Bel of Nippur (Hilprecht, *Die Votiv-Inschrift*, p. 316, note 3); for Shipak-Merodach, cf. Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. v. pl. 46 b, l. 28.

[6] Strabo relates, from some forgotten historian of Alexander, that the Cossæans "had formerly been able to place as many as thirteen thousand archers in line, in the wars which they waged with the help of the Elymæans against the inhabitants of Susa and Babylon" (XI. xiii. § 6, p. 524).

[7] The full name of this king, Gandish or Gandash, which is furnished by the royal lists (Pinches, *The Babylonian Kings of the Second Period*, in the *Proceedings of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. vi., 1883–84, p. 195), is written Gaddash on a monument in the British Museum discovered by Pinches (*Babylonian*

eyes of the Cossæans who saw in him Kharbê or Turgu, the recognised patron of their royal family: for this reason Gandish and his successors regarded Bel with peculiar devotion. These kings did all they could for the decoration and endowment of the ancient temple of Ekur, which had been somewhat neglected by the sovereigns of purely Babylonian extraction, and this devotion to one of the most venerated Chaldæan sanctuaries contributed largely towards their winning the hearts of the conquered people.[1]

The Cossæan rule over the countries of the Euphrates was doubtless similar in its beginnings to that which the Hyksôs exercised at first over the nomes of Egypt. The Cossæan kings did not merely bring with them an army to protect their persons, or to occupy a small number of important posts; they were followed by the whole nation, who spread themselves over the entire country.[2] The bulk of the invaders instinctively betook themselves to districts where, if they could not resume the kind of life to which they were accustomed in their own land, they could at least give full rein to their love of a free and wild existence. As there were no mountains in the country, they turned to the marshes, and, like the Hyksôs in Egypt, made themselves at home about the mouths of the rivers, on the half-submerged low lands, and on the sandy islets of the lagoons which formed an undefined borderland between the alluvial region and the Persian Gulf. The covert afforded by the thickets furnished scope for the chase which these hunters had been accustomed to pursue in the depths of their native forests, while fishing, on the other hand, supplied them with an additional element of food. When their depredations drew down upon them reprisals from their neighbours, the mounds occupied by their fortresses, and surrounded by muddy swamps, offered them almost as secure retreats as their former strongholds on the lofty sides of the Zagros. They made alliances with the native Aramæans—with these Kashdi, properly called Chaldæans, whose name we have imposed upon all the nations who, from a very early date, bore rule on the banks of the Lower Euphrates. Here they formed themselves into a State—Karduniash—whose princes at times rebelled against all external authority, and at other times acknowledged the sovereignty of the

Notes, I. Gaddash, an Early Babylonian King, and *Additional Note on the Name of the Babylonian King Gaddash*, in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. i. pp. 54, 78), whose conclusions have been erroneously denied by Winckler (*Untersuchungen zur Altorientalischen Geschichte*, p. 34; cf. Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 420, and Hilprecht, *Die Votiv-Inschrift eines nicht erkannten Kassitenkönigs*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. viii. pp. 309, 310). A process of abbreviation, of which there are examples in the names of other kings of the same dynasty (Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, vol. i. pp. 85–93), reduced the name to Gandê in the current language (Id., *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, vol. i. pp. 28–40, and pl. 14).

[1] Id., *ibid.*, vol. i. pp. 30–36. Hilprecht calls attention on this point (p. 30, note 3) to the fact that no one has yet discovered at Nippur a single ex-voto consecrated by any king of the two first Babylonian dynasties.

[2] Delitzsch-Mürdter, *Gesch. Bab. und Assyriens*, 2nd edit., pp. 17, 18, 88, 89; Hommel, *Gesch. Bab. und Assyriens*, p. 428, et seq.; Winckler, *Gesch. Bab. und Assyriens*, pp. 77–79, 84, 85.

Babylonian monarchs.[1] The people of Sumir and Akkad, already a composite of many different races, absorbed thus another foreign element, which, while modifying its homogeneity, did not destroy its natural character. Those Cossæan tribes who had not quitted their own country retained their original barbarism, but the hope of plunder constantly drew them from their haunts, and they attacked and devastated the cities of the plain unhindered by the thought that they were now inhabited by their fellow-countrymen. The raid once over, many of them did not return home, but took service under some distant foreign ruler—the Syrian princes attracting many, who subsequently became the backbone of their armies,[2] while others remained at Babylon and enrolled themselves in the body-guard of the kings. To the last they were an undisciplined militia, dangerous, and difficult to please: one day they would hail their chiefs with acclamations, to kill them the next in one of those sudden outbreaks in which they were accustomed to make and unmake their kings.[3] The first

[1] The state of Karduniash, whose name appears for the first time on the monuments of the Cossæan period, has been localised in a somewhat vague manner, in the south of Babylonia, in the country of the Kaldi, by Pognon (*L'Inscription de Bavian*, pp. 122–125), and afterwards formally identified with the *Countries of the Sea*, and with the principality which was called Bit-Yakin in the Assyrian period, by Tiele (*Bab.-Assyrische Geschichte*, pp. 78–80), whose opinion Winckler first rejected (*Sumer und Akkad*, in the *Mittheilungen des Akademisch-Orientalischen Vereins zu Berlin*, vol. i. pp. 13, 14), but afterwards accepted (*Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, p. 86). In the Tel-el-Amarna tablets the name is already applied to the entire country occupied by the Cossæan kings or their descendants, that is to say, to the whole of Babylonia. Sargon II. at that time distinguishes between an Upper and a Lower Karduniash, *Karduniash elîth u shapliti* (*Great Inscription of Khorsabad*, l. 21); and in consequence the earliest Assyriologists considered it as an Assyrian designation of Babylon, or of the district surrounding it (Fr. Lenormant, *Les Premières Civ.*, vol. ii. p. 259, n. 2; *Études Accad.*, vol. i. pt. 3, pp. 68, 69), an opinion which was opposed by Delitzsch, as he believed it to be an indigenous term which at first indicated the district round Babylon, and afterwards the whole of Babylonia (*Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 133–136; cf. Delitzsch-Mürdter, *Gesch. Babyl. und Assyr.*, 2nd edit., p. 89; Hommel, *Gesch. Babyl. und Assyr.*, pp. 433, 434). From one frequent spelling of the name, the meaning appears to have been *Fortress of Duniash* (Fr. Lenormant, *Les Premières Civ.*, vol. ii. p. 259, note 2, where Duniash is considered to be a hero, not a god); to this Delitzsch preferred the translation *Garden of Duniash*, from an erroneous different reading—Gandunias (*Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 135, 136). Duniash, at first derived from a Chaldæan god *Dun*, whose name may exist in *Dungi* (*ibid.*, p. 136), is a Cossæan name, which the Assyrians translated, as they did Buriash, *Belmatati*, lord of the country. Winckler rejects the ancient etymology (*Untersuchungen zur Altorientalischen Gesch.*, pp. 135, 136), and proposes to divide the word as Kardu-niash, and to see in it a Cossæan translation of the expression *mât Kaldi*, country of the Chaldæans: Hommel on his side, as well as Delitzsch, had thought of seeking in the Chaldæans proper—*Kaldi* for *Kashdi*, or *Kash-da*, "domain of the Cossæans"—the descendants of the Cossæans of Karduniash, at least as far as race is concerned (Hommel, *Geschichte Bab. und Ass.*, p. 425, note 1; Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 129; and *Die Sprache der Kossäer*, p. 61). In the cuneiform texts the name is written Kar—D. P. Duniyas, "the Wall of the god Duniyas" (cf. the Median Wall or Wall of Semiramis which defended Babylonia on the north).

[2] Halévy has at least proved that the Khabiri mentioned in the Tel el-Amarna tablets were Cossæans (*Note sur quelques Noms propres Assyro-Palestiniens*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1891, vol. xvii. pp. 547, 548, and *Recherches Bibl.*, pp. 723, 724; cf. Scheil, *Notes d'Épigraphie*, in the *Rec. de Travaux*, vol. xvi. p. 32, and Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, vol. i. p. 33, note 1), contrary to the opinion of Sayce, who makes them tribes grouped round Hebron (*Babyl. Tablets from Tel el-Amarna*, in the *Proceedings*, 1887–88, vol. x. p. 496; *The Higher Criticism*, etc., p. 175, and *Patriarchal Palestine*, pp. 146–149), which W. Max Müller seems to accept (*Asien und Europa*, p. 396); Winckler (*Gesch. Israels*, vol. i. pp. 16–21), returning to an old opinion, believes them to have been Hebrews.

[3] This is the opinion of Hommel (*Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, p. 434), supported by the testimony of the *Synchronous Hist.*; in this latter document the Cossæans are found revolting against King Kadashmankharbe, and replacing him on the throne by a certain Nazibugash, who was of obscure origin (i. ll. 8–12; cf. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, pp. 115, 116).

invaders were not long in acquiring, by means of daily intercourse with the old inhabitants, the new civilization: sooner or later they became blended with the natives, losing all their own peculiarities, with the exception of their outlandish names,[1] a few heroic legends,[2] and the worship of two or three gods—Shumalia, Sirgab, and Shukamuna.[3] As in the case of the Hyksôs in Africa, the barbarian conquerors thus became merged in the more civilized people which they had subdued. This work of assimilation seems at first to have occupied the whole attention of both races, for the immediate successors of Gandish were unable to retain under their rule all the provinces of which the empire was formerly composed. They continued to possess the territory situated on the middle course of the Euphrates as far as the mouth of the Balikh, but they lost the region extending to the east of the Khabur, at the foot of the Masios, and in the upper basin of the Tigris: the vicegerents of Assur also withdrew from them, and, declaring that they owed no obedience excepting to the god of their city, assumed the royal dignity. The first four of these kings whose names have come down to us, Sulili, Belkapkapu, Adasi, and Belbâni,[4] appear to have been but indifferent rulers, but they knew how to hold their own against the attacks of their neighbours,[5] and when, after a century of weakness and inactivity, Babylon reasserted herself, and endeavoured to recover her lost territory, they had so completely established their independence that every attack on it was unsuccessful. The Cossæan king at that time—an active and enterprising prince, whose name was held in honour

[1] Tiele has called attention (*Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, p. 69) to the fact that a considerable number of these names are constructed with Cossæan words after the Babylonian manner; cf. Delitzsch, *Die Sprache der Kossäer*, p. 54; Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 424, note 1.

[2] Fr. Delitzsch (*Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 51–55, 124, 128, and *Die Sprache der Kossäer*, p. 61) and Schrader (*Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Test.*, 2nd ed., pp. 87–89) compare their name with that of Kush, who appears in the Bible as the father of Nimrod (*Gen.* x. 8–12); Hommel (*Gesch. Bab. und Assyr.*, pp. 270–278) and Sayce (*Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, pp. 122, 123, 148–151, and *Patriarchal Palestine*, p. 269) think that the history of Nimrod is a reminiscence of the Cossæan rule. Jensen is alone in his attempt (*Gishdubarra-Gilgamish, ein Kossäer*, in *Zeits. f. Assyr.*, vol. vi. pp. 340–342) to attribute to the Cossæans the first idea of the epic of Gilgames (cf. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 574–591).

[3] What the goddess Shimalia became has been shown above, p. 113, note 1, of the present volume. The god Shukamuna, or Shuqamuna, is mentioned in the text published by Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. 39, col. 2, l. 23, side by side with Shumalia.

[4] These four names do not so much represent four consecutive reigns as two separate traditions which were current respecting the beginnings of Assyrian royalty. The most ancient of them gives the chief place to two personages named Belkapkapu and Sulili; this tradition has been transmitted to us by Ramman-nirâri III., because it connected the origin of his race with these kings (Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pl. 35, No. 3, ll. 23–27; cf. Abel, *Inschriften Ramman-nirâri's*, in Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. i. pp. 188–191). The second tradition placed a certain Belbâni, the son of Adasi, in the room of Belkapkapu and Sulili: Esarhaddon made use of it in order to ascribe to his own family an antiquity at least equal to that of the family to which Ramman-nirâri III. belonged (G. Smith, *Assyrian History*, in the *Zeitschrift für Ægyptische Sprache*, 1869, pp. 93, 94). Each king appropriated from the ancient popular traditions those names which seemed to him best calculated to enhance the prestige of his dynasty, but we cannot tell how far the personages selected enjoyed an authentic historical existence: it is best to admit them at least provisionally into the royal series, without trusting too much to what is related of them.

[5] Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 425, 426; Delitzsch-Mürdter, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 17, 18, 88, 89; Winckler, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 152–154.

up to the days of the Ninevite supremacy—was Agumkakrimê, the son of Tassigurumash.[1] This "brilliant scion of Shukamuna" entitled himself lord of the Kashshu and of Akkad, of Babylon the widespread, of Padan, of Alman, and of the swarthy Guti.[2] Ashnunak had been devastated; he repeopled it, and the four "houses of the world" rendered him obedience; on the other hand, Elam revolted from its allegiance, Assur resisted him, and if he still exercised some semblance of authority over Northern Syria, it was owing to a traditional respect which the towns of that country voluntarily rendered to him, but which did not involve either subjection or control. The people of Khâni still retained possession of the statues of Merodach and of his consort Zarpanit, which had been stolen, we know not how, some time previously from Chaldæa.[3] Agumkakrimê recovered them and replaced them in their proper temple. This was an important event, and earned him the good will of the priests. The king reorganised public worship; he caused new fittings for the temples to be made to take the place of those which had disappeared, and the inscription which records this work enumerates with satisfaction the large quantities of crystal, jasper, and lapis-lazuli which he lavished on the sanctuary, the utensils of silver and gold which he dedicated, together with the "seas" of wrought bronze decorated with monsters and religious emblems.[4] This restoration of the statues,

[1] The tablet discovered by Pinches (*The Babylonian Kings of the Second Period*, in the *Proceedings of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, 1883–84, vol. vi. p. 195, and pl. I. col. i.) is broken after the fifth king of the dynasty (cf. Fr. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Miscellen*, in the *Berichte* of the Saxony Academy of Science, 1893, ii. pp. 184–186, and Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, vol. i. p. 60). The inscription of Agumkakrimê, containing a genealogy of this prince which goes back as far as the fifth generation, has led to the restoration of the earlier part of the list as follows:

Gandish, Gaddash, Gandê	1714–1707 B.C.	Abirattash	1655–? B.C.
Agumshi, his son	1707–1683	Tassigurumash	?
[K]ashtiliash	1685–1663	Agumkakrimê	?
Ushshi, his son	1662–1655		

This restoration is accepted by Tiele (*Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, p. 104) and by Hommel (*Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 420, 421); Winckler has not yet endorsed it (*Untersuchungen zur Altorientalischen Geschichte*, pp. 25, 31, and *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 78, 80).

[2] *Inscription of Agumkakrimê*, ll. 3, 4, 31–39; cf. Jensen, *Inschrift Agumkakrimê's, d. i. Agum's des Jüngeren*, in Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. pt. 1. pp. 134–137. The translation *black-headed*, i.e. dark-haired and complexioned, *Guti*, is uncertain; Jensen (*l. l.*, p. 137) interprets the epithet *sakhi sakkati* to mean "the Guti, stupid (foolish? culpable?) people." The Guti held both banks of the lower Zab, in the mountains on the east of Assyria. Delitzsch has placed Padan and Alman in the mountains to the east of the Diyâleh (*Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 205); Jensen places them in the chain of the Khamrîn (*Inschrift Agumkakrimê's*, p. 137, note), and Winckler compares Alman or Halman with the Holwân of the present day (*Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 81, 82).

[3] The Khâni have been placed by Delitzsch (*Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 102, 104, 105, 270, 271, and *Die Sprache der Kossäer*, p. 69) in the neighbourhood of Mount Khâna, mentioned in the accounts of the Assyrian campaigns, that is to say, in the Amanus, between the Euphrates and the bay of Alexandretta; he is inclined to regard the name as a form of that of the Khâti, but on this point Tiele disagrees with him (*Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, p. 138, note 1), and is followed by Hommel (*Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 418, note 1), by Jensen (*Inschrift Agumkakrimê's*, in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. pt. 1, p. 135, note), and by Halévy (*Deux Inscriptions hétéennes de Zindjirli*, in the *Revue Sémitique*, vol. i. p. 229). Winckler places the Khâni in Western Media (*Gesch. Bab. und Assyr.*, p. 80) owing to an observation made by G. Smith (*Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 229).

[4] We do not possess the original of the inscription which tells us of these facts, but merely an early copy (G. Smith, *Account of Recent Excavations and Discoveries made on the Site of Nineveh*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iii. pp. 152, 155).

so flattering to the national pride and piety, would have been exacted and insisted upon by a Khammurabi at the point of the sword, but Agumkakrimê doubtless felt that he was not strong enough to run the risk of war; he therefore sent an embassy to the Khâni, and such was the prestige which the name of Babylon still possessed, from the deserts of the Caspian to the shores of the Mediterranean, that he was able to obtain a concession from that people which he would probably have been powerless to extort by force of arms.[1]

The Egyptians had, therefore, no need to anticipate Chaldæan interference when, forsaking their ancient traditions, they penetrated for the first time into the heart of Syria. Not only was Babylon no longer supreme there, but the coalition of those cities on which she had depended for help in subduing the West was partially dissolved, and the foreign princes who had succeeded to her patrimony were so far conscious of their weakness, that they voluntarily kept aloof from the countries in which, previous to their advent, Babylon had held undivided sway. The Egyptian conquest of Syria had already begun in the days of Agumkakrimê, and it is possible that dread of the Pharaoh was one of the chief causes which influenced the Cossæans to return a favourable answer to the Khâni.[2] Thûtmosis I., on entering Syria, encountered therefore only the native levies, and it must be admitted that, in spite of their renowned courage, they were not likely to prove formidable adversaries in Egyptian estimation. Not one of the local Syrian dynasties was sufficiently powerful to collect all the forces of the country around its chief, so as to oppose a compact body of troops to the attack of the African armies. The whole country consisted of a collection of petty states, a complex group of peoples and territories which even the Egyptians themselves never completely succeeded in disentangling. They classed the inhabitants, however, under three or four very comprehensive names—Kharû, Zahi,[3] Lotanû, and Kefâtiû—all of which frequently recur in the inscriptions, but without having always that exactness of meaning we look for in geographical terms. As was often the case in similar circumstances, these names were used at first to denote the districts close to the Egyptian frontier with which the inhabitants of the Delta had constant intercourse. The Kefâtiû seem to have been at the outset the people of the sea-coast, more especially of the region occupied later by the Phœnicians, but all the tribes with whom the Phœnicians came in contact on

[1] Strictly speaking, one might suppose that a war took place (TIELE, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, p. 130); but most Assyriologists declare unhesitatingly that there was merely an embassy and a diplomatic negotiation (HOMMEL, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 82–84).

[2] This is Hommel's explanation (*Ibid.*, pp. 424, 425), which I admit, but only indirectly, the Khâni being, as I believe, situated near Malia.

[3] W. Max Müller (*Asien und Europa*, pp. 176–183), after E. de Rougé (*Notes de quelques fragments de l'Inscription de Karnak*, p. 24), gives the name of Zaha or Zahi to the whole of Phœnicia, and, by a misapplication, to Cœle-Syria; for the original meaning of the name and for the probable history of the subsequent changes which it underwent, cf. MASPERO, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, § 2, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xvii. pp. 140–142.

the Asiatic and European border were before long included under the same name.[1] Zahi originally comprised that portion of the desert and of the maritime plain on the north-east of Egypt which was coasted by the fleets, or traversed by the armies of Egypt, as they passed to and fro between Syria and the banks of the Nile. This region had been ravaged by Âhmosis during his raid upon Sharuhana, the year after the fall of Avaris.[2] To the south-east of Zahi lay Kharû; it included the greater part of Mount Seir, whose wadys, thinly dotted over with oases, were inhabited by tribes of more or less stationary habits. The approaches to it were protected by a few towns, or rather fortified villages, built in the neighbourhood of springs, and surrounded by cultivated fields and poverty-stricken gardens; but the bulk of the people lived in tents or in caves on the mountain-sides. The Egyptians constantly confounded those Khauri, whom the Hebrews in after-times found scattered among the children of Edom, with the other tribes of Bedouin marauders, and designated them vaguely as Shaûsû.[3] Lotanû lay beyond, to the north of Kharû and to the north-east of Zahi, among the hills which separate the "Shephelah" from the Jordan.[4] As it was more remote from the isthmus, and formed the Egyptian horizon in that direction, all the new countries with which the Egyptians became acquainted beyond its northern limits were by degrees included under the one name of Lotanu, and this term was extended to comprise successively the entire valley of the Jordan, then that of the Orontes, and finally even that of the Euphrates. Lotanû

[1] The Kefâtiû, whose name was first read Kefa, and later Kefti, were originally identified with the inhabitants of Cyprus or Crete (Brugsch, *G. Ins.*, vol. ii. pp. 87, 88; cf. Pietschmann, *Geschichte der Phönizier*, pp. 253–257, and Steindorff, *Ægypten und die Mykenische Cultur*, in the *Jahrbuch des K. Arch. Instituts*, 1892, vol. vii. p. 15, who hesitates whether to place them in Cyprus or Northern Syria), and subsequently with those of Cilicia (W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 337–355), although the decree of Canopus locates them in Phœnicia (*l. 9 hier. = l. 17 gr.*). Cf. Maspero, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, § x., in the *Recueil*, vol. xvii. p. 138, *et seq.*

[2] Cf. what is said above with regard to this campaign on p. 88 of the present volume.

[3] Kharû has been identified with the whole of Syria by Birch (*Observations on the Statistical Tablet of Karnak*, pp. 40, 50), by Brugsch (*Geographische Inschriften*, vol. i. pp. 59, 60), and by Chabas (*Voyage d'un Égyptien*, pp. 97, 112–115); W. Max Müller restricts the name to the land of Canaan (*Asien und Europa*, pp. 148–156). The identification of the name with that of the Horim or Horites of the Bible (*Gen.* xiv. 6, xxxvi. 20–30; *Deut.* ii. 12, 22) has been proposed by Haigh (*Xaru, Rebu and Shasu*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1875, pp. 29–31) and by L. Stern (*Die XXII. Manethonische Dynastie*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1883, p. 25, note 1), acknowledged to be possible by Ed. Meyer (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 217, note 3), but opposed by W. Max Müller (*Asien und Europa*, pp. 155, 156); cf. Maspero, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xvii. pp. 140–142.

[4] The name of Lotanû or Rotanû has been assigned by Brugsch (*Geographische Inschriften*, vol. ii. pp. 31, 390) to the Assyrians, but subsequently, by connecting it, more ingeniously than plausibly, with the Assyrian *Ritan*, he extended it to all the peoples of the north (*Die altägyptische Völkertafel*, in the *Abhandlungen* of the International Congress at Berlin, African section, pp. 27–29): we now know that in the texts it denotes the whole of Syria, and, more generally, all the peoples dwelling in the basins of the Orontes and the Euphrates (W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*, p. 143, *et seq.*). The attempt to connect the name Rotanû or Lotanû with that of the Edomite tribe of Lotan (*Gen.* xxxvi. 20, 22) was first made by F. de Saulcy (*Lettre à M. Chabas sur quelques points de la Géographie antique de la Syrie selon la Science Égyptienne*, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne et Assyrienne*, vol. i. pp. 98–100); it was afterwards taken up by Haigh (*Xaru, Rebu and Shasu*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1875, p. 30) and adopted by Renan (*Hist. du Peuple d'Israël*, vol. i. pp. 12, 115; cf. p. 69, note 7, of the present volume). For further remarks on Lotanû, cf. Maspero, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xvii. pp. 141, 142.

became thenceforth a vague and fluctuating term, which the Egyptians applied indiscriminately to widely differing Asiatic nations, and to which they added another indefinite epithet when they desired to use it in a more limited sense: that part of Syria nearest to Egypt being in this case qualified as Upper Lotanû, while the towns and kingdoms further north were described as being in Lower Lotanû. In the same way the terms Zahi and Kharû were extended to cover other and more northerly regions. Zahi was applied to the coast as far as the mouth of the Nahr el-Kebir and to the country of the Lebanon which lay between the Mediterranean and the middle course of the Orontes. Kharû ran parallel to Zahi, but comprised the mountain district, and came to include most of the countries which were at first ranged under Upper Lotanû; it was never applied to the region beyond the neighbourhood of Mount Tabor, nor to the trans-Jordanic provinces. The three names in their wider sense preserved the same relation to each other as before, Zahi lying to the west and north-west of Kharû, and Lower Lotanû to the north of Kharû and north-east of Zahi, but the extension of meaning did not abolish the old conception of their position, and hence arose confusion in the minds of those who employed them; the scribes, for instance, who registered in some far-off Theban temple the victories of the Pharaoh would sometimes write Zahi where they should have inscribed Kharû, and it is a difficult matter for us always to detect their mistakes. It would be unjust to blame them too severely for their inaccuracies, for what means had they of determining the relative positions of that confusing collection of states with which the Egyptians came in contact as soon as they had set foot on Syrian soil?

A choice of several routes into Asia, possessing unequal advantages, was open to the traveller, but the most direct of them passed through the town of Zalû.[1] The old entrenchments running from the Red Sea to the marshes of the Pelusiac branch[2] still protected the isthmus, and beyond these, forming an additional defence, was a canal on the banks of which a fortress was constructed. This was occupied by the troops who guarded the frontier, and no traveller was allowed to pass without having declared his name and rank, signified the business which took him into Syria or Egypt, and shown the letters with which he was entrusted.[3] It was from Zalû that the Pharaohs set out with

[1] Zarû or Zalû is the Sellê of the Roman itineraries. The approaches to the route from this end have been somewhat minutely described by BRUGSCH, *La Sortie des Hébreux d'Égypte et les Monuments égyptiens*, Alexandria, 1874, pp. 24–29; cf. *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 222. For one reading of the name, *Tharu*, and its consequent identification with the *wall of Egypt*, cf. W. MAX MÜLLER, *A Contribution to the Exodus Geography*, in the *Proceedings* of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., 1887–88, vol. x. pp. 467–477.

[2] For the wall and forts of the isthmus, cf. MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 351, 352, 469.

[3] The notes of an official living at Zalû in the time of Minephtah are preserved on the back of pls. v., vi. of the *Anastasi Papyrus III.*; his business was to keep a register of the movements of the couriers and goers between Egypt and Syria during a few days of the month Pakhons, in the year III. This text was first translated by CHABAS, *Recherches pour servir à l'Hist. de la XIXe dynastie*, pp. 95–98;

their troops, when summoned to Kharû by a hostile confederacy;[1] it was to Zalû they returned triumphant after the campaign, and there, at the gates of the town, they were welcomed by the magnates of the kingdom.[2] The road ran for some distance over a region which was covered by the inundation of the Nile during six months of the year; it then turned eastward, and for some distance skirted the sea-shore, passing between the Mediterranean and the swamp which writers of the Greek period called the Lake of Sirbonis.[3] This stage of the journey was beset with difficulties, for the Sirbonian Lake did not always present the same aspect, and its margins were constantly shifting. When the canals which connected it with the open sea happened to become obstructed, the sheet of water subsided from evaporation, leaving in many places merely an expanse of shifting mud, often concealed under the sand which the wind brought up from the desert. Travellers ran



THE FORTRESS AND BRIDGE OF ZALÛ.[4]

imminent risk of sinking in this quagmire, and the Greek historians tell of large armies being almost entirely swallowed up in it. About halfway along the length of the lake rose the solitary hill of Mount Casios; beyond this the sea-coast widened till it became a vast slightly undulating plain, covered with

subsequently by BRUGSCH, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 579-581; and finally by ERMAN, *Tagebuch eines Grenzbeamten*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1879, pp. 29-32, and *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben*, pp. 708, 709.

[1] As, for example, Thûtmosis III. (MASPERO, *Récit de la campagne contre Mageddo*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ii. p. 49), Seti I. (GUIEYSSE, *Inscription historique de Séti I.*, in the *Recueil*, vol. xi. p. 53), and Ramses II. (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Le Poème de Pentaour*, in the *Revue Égyptologique*, vol. iii. p. 150).

[2] See the picture from the temple of Karnak, which represents the triumphant entry of Seti I. into Zalû (BURTON, *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, pl. xxxvii.; CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. ccxcii.; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, pls. i., ii.; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 128 *a*, *b*).

[3] For the Lake of Sirbonis, cf. DIODORUS SICULUS, I. xxx. and XVI. 46; STRABO, I. iii., § 13, p. 58, who, however, in other places confounds the Dead Sea with the Lake of Sirbonis. The Sirbonian Lake is sometimes half full of water, sometimes almost entirely dry (GRATIEN LE PÈRE, *Extrait d'un mémoire sur les Lacs et Déserts de la Basse Égypte*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xvi. pp. 206-211; GRIFFITH, *The Antiquities of Tell el-Yahûdîyeh*, pp. 33, 36); at the present time it bears the name of Sebkhat Bardawîl, from King Baldwin I. of Jerusalem, who on his return from his Egyptian campaign died on its shores, in 1118, before he could reach El-Arîsh.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Insinger; cf. CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. ccxcii.; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. i.; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 128.

scanty herbage, and dotted over with wells containing an abundant supply of water, which, however, was brackish and disagreeable to drink.[1] Beyond these lay a grove of palms, a brick prison, and a cluster of miserable houses, bounded by a broad wady, usually dry. The bed of the torrent often served as the boundary between Africa and Asia, and the town was for many years merely a convict prison, where ordinary criminals, condemned to mutilation and exile, were confined; indeed, the Greeks assure us that it owed its name of Rhinocolûra to the number of noseless convicts who were to be seen there.[2] At this point the coast turns in a north-easterly direction, and is flanked with high sand-hills, behind which the caravans pursue their way, obtaining merely occasional glimpses of the sea. Here and there, under the shelter of a tower or a half-ruined fortress, the traveller would have found wells of indifferent water, till on reaching the confines of Syria he arrived at the fortified village of Raphia, standing like a sentinel to guard the approach to Egypt.[3] Beyond Raphia vegetation becomes more abundant, groups of sycamores and mimosas and clusters of date-palms appear on the horizon, villages surrounded with fields and orchards are seen on all sides, while the bed of a river, blocked with gravel and fallen rocks, winds its way between the last fringes of the desert and the fruitful Shephelah;[4] on the further bank of the river lay the suburbs of Gaza, and, but a few hundred yards beyond, Gaza itself came into view among the trees standing on its wall-crowned hill.[5] The Egyptians, on their march from the Nile valley, were wont to stop at this spot to recover from their fatigues; if

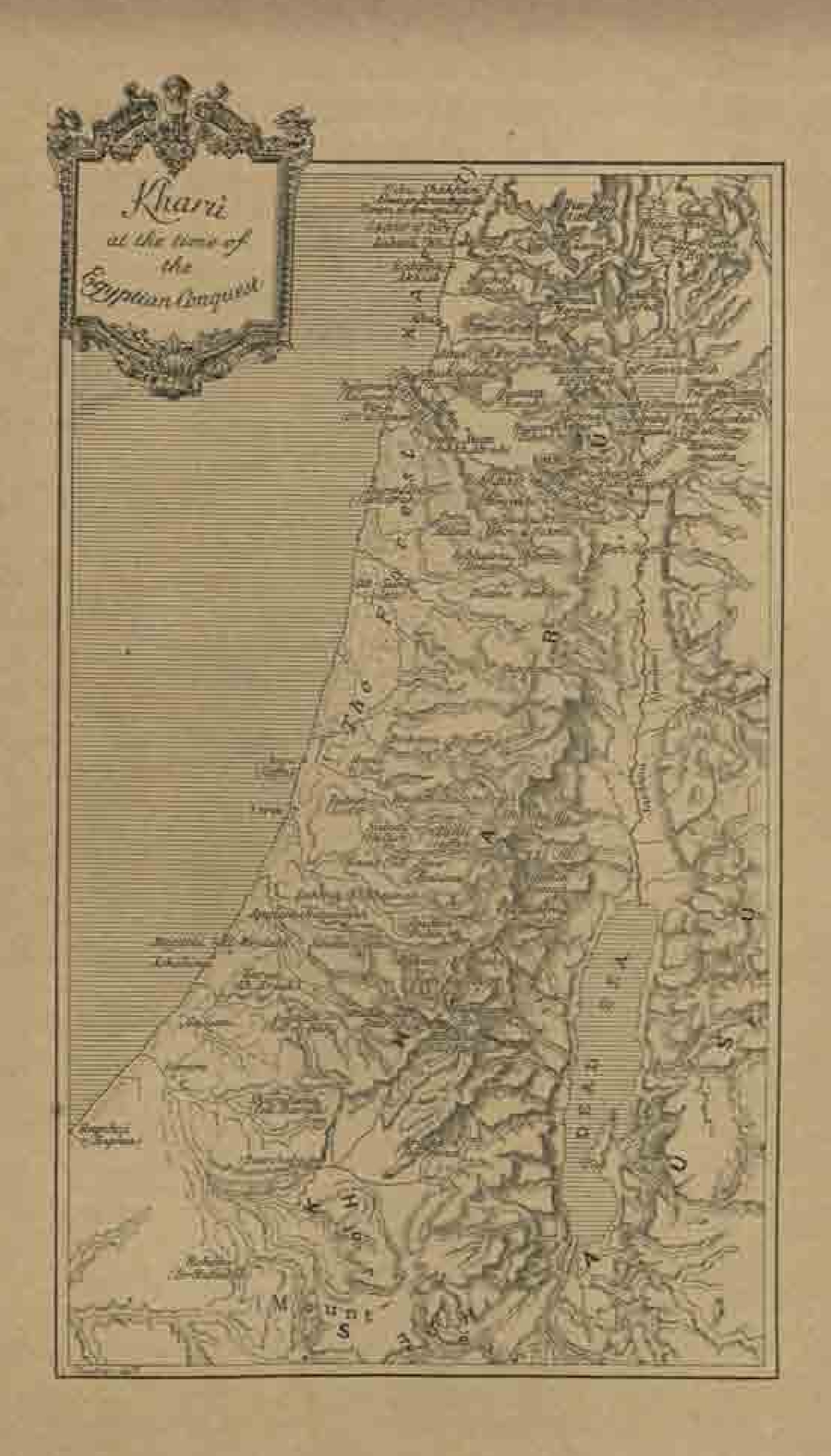
[1] Griffith, *The Antiquities of Tell el-Yahûdîyeh*, pp. 36, 37, where this part of the road is described.

[2] Guérin, *La Judée*, vol. ii. pp. 237–240: the ruins of the ancient town, which were of considerable extent, are half buried under the sand, out of which an Egyptian naos of the Ptolemaic period has been dug, and placed near the well which supplies the fort, where it serves as a drinking trough for the horses (Id., *ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 241, 242; cf. Griffith, *The Antiquities of Tell el-Yahûdîyeh*, pp. 70–74, and Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 169). Brugsch believed he could identify its site with that of the Syrian town Hurnikherû, which he erroneously reads Harinkola (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 302); the ancient form of the name is unknown, the Greek form varies between Rhinocorûra (Stephen of Byzantium, *s. v.*; Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, XIII. xv. 4, and XIV. xiv. 2) and Rhinocolûra. The history of the mutilated convicts is to be found in Diodorus Siculus, I. lx., as well as in Strabo, XVI. ii., § 31, p. 759; it rests on a historical fact. Under the XVIIIth dynasty Zalû was used as a place of confinement for dishonoured officials (Bouriant, *A Thèbes*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. vi. p. 43, ll. 17, 22). For this purpose it was probably replaced by Rhinocolûra, when the Egyptian frontier was removed from the neighbourhood of Sellé to that of El-Arish.

[3] For all this part of the road, cf. Guérin, *La Judée*, vol. ii. pp. 233–237. Raphia, whose name is preserved in that of the well Bir-Rafah, is mentioned once during the XIXth dynasty under the name of Rapihi (*Anastasi Papyrus*, No. 1, pl. xxvii. ll. 7, 8; cf. Chabas, *Voyage d'un Égyptien*, pp. 291–293); it is also found under that of Rapikhi in the Assyrian inscriptions of the time of Sargon II., King of Assyria (Oppert-Ménant, *La Grande Inscription du Palais de Khorsabad*, l. 25, p. 71).

[4] The term Shephêlah signifies the plain (cf. p. 12 of the present volume); it is applied by the Biblical writers to the plain bordering the coast, from the heights of Gaza to those of Joppa, which were inhabited at a later period by the Philistines (*Josh.* xi. 16; *Jer.* xxxii. 44 and xxxiii. 13).

[5] Guérin, *La Judée*, vol. ii. pp. 223–233, describes at length the road from Gaza to Raphia. The only town of importance between them in the Greek period was Ienysos (Herodotus, III. v. and V. iii.), the ruins of which are to be found near Khan Yunes, but the Egyptian name for this locality is unknown: Anaugasa, the name of which Brugsch thought he could identify with it (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 290), should be placed much farther away, in Northern or in Cœle-Syria.



Kharu
at the time of
the
Egyptian Conquest
Mount

was their first halting-place beyond the frontier, and the news which would reach them here prepared them in some measure for what awaited them further on. The army itself, the "troop of Râ," was drawn from four great races, the most distinguished of which came, of course, from the banks of the Nile: the Âmû, born of Sokhit, the lioness-headed goddess, were classed in the second rank; the Nahsi, or negroes of Ethiopia, were placed in the third; while the Timihû, or Libyans, with the white tribes of the north, brought up the rear.[1] The Syrians belonged to the second of these families, that next in order to the Egyptians, and the name of Âmû, which for centuries had been given them, met so satisfactorily all political, literary, or commercial requirements, that the administrators of the Pharaohs never troubled themselves to discover the various elements concealed beneath the term.[2] We are, however, able at the present time to distinguish among them several groups of peoples and languages, all belonging to the same family, but possessing distinctive characteristics. The kinsfolk of the Hebrews, the children of Ishmael and Edom, the Moabites and Ammonites, who were all qualified as Shâsû, had spread over the region to the south and east of the Dead Sea, partly in the desert, and partly on the confines of the cultivated land.[3] The Canaanites were not only in possession of the coast from Gaza to a point beyond the Nahr el-Kebir, but they also occupied almost the whole valley of the Jordan, besides that of the Litâny, and perhaps that of the Upper Orontes.[4] There were Aramæan settlements at Damascus, in the plains of the Lower Orontes, and in Naharaim.[5] The country beyond the Aramæan territory, including the slopes of the Amanos and the deep valleys of the Taurus, was inhabited by peoples of various origin; the most powerful of these, the Khâti, were at this time slowly forsaking the mountain region, and spreading by degrees over the country between the Afrîn and the Euphrates.[6]

[1] This is the way they are frequently represented in the tombs of the Theban kings of the XVIIIth and XXth dynasties (Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pls. ccxxxviii.–ccxli.; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pls. clv.–clix.; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 135, 136).

[2] For the comprehensive use at this period of the name Âmû, cf. W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 121–125.

[3] See what is said of the Shausu on p. 54 of the present volume. W. Max Müller (*Asien und Europa*, pp. 131–142) appears to me to restrict too closely the area of country inhabited by the people to whom the Egyptians gave this name.

[4] I use the term Canaanite with the meaning most frequently attached to it, according to the Hebrew use (*Gen.* x. 15–19). For the presence of this word in the Egyptian texts, cf. the examples collected by W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 205–208. It is found several times under the forms Kinakhna, Kinakhkhi, and probably Kinakhkhâ, in the cuneiform texts of Tel el-Amarna (Winckler, *Verzeich. der aus dem Funde von El-Amarna herrührenden Thontafeln*, in *Zeitschrift*, 1889, p. 45, n. 1).

[5] As far as I know, the term *Aramæan* is not to be found in any Egyptian text of the time of the Pharaohs: the only known example of it (*Anastasi Papyrus III.*, pl. v., verso, l. 5) is a writer's error corrected by Chabas (*Recherches pour l'Histoire de l'Égypte sous la XIXe dynastie*, pp. 97, 107). W. Max Müller (*Asien und Europa*, p. 234) very justly observes that the mistake is itself a proof of the existence of the nation and of the acquaintance of the Egyptians with it.

[6] Thûtmosis III. shows that, at any rate, they were established in these regions about the XVIth century B.C. The Egyptian pronunciation of their name is *Khâti*, with the feminine *Khitasî*, *Khîtî*, as

The Canaanites were the most numerous of all these groups, and had they been able to amalgamate under a single king, or even to organize a lasting confederacy, it would have been impossible for the Egyptian armies to have broken through the barrier thus raised between them and the rest of Asia; but, unfortunately, so far from showing the slightest tendency towards unity or concentration, the Canaanites were more hopelessly divided than any of the surrounding nations. Their mountains contained nearly as many states as there were valleys, while in the plains each town represented a separate government, and was built on a spot carefully selected for purposes of defence. The land, indeed, was chequered with these petty states, and so closely were they crowded together, that a horseman, travelling at leisure, could easily pass through two or three of them in a day's journey.[2] Not only were the royal cities fenced with walls, but many of the surrounding villages were



AN ASIATIC MIGDOL.[3]

fortified, while the watch-towers, or *migdols*,[4] built at the bends of the roads, at the fords over the rivers, and at the openings of the ravines, all testified to the insecurity of the times and the aptitude for self-defence shown by the inhabitants. The aspect of these migdols, or forts, must have appeared strange to the first Egyptians who beheld them. These strongholds bore no resemblance to the large square or oblong enclosures to which they were accustomed, and which in their eyes represented the highest skill of the engineer.[1] In Syria, however, the positions suitable for the construction of fortresses hardly ever lent themselves to a symmetrical plan. The usual sites were on the projecting

I have long ago pointed out (cf. W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 324, note 3); but the Tel el-Amarna texts employ the vocalisation *Khâti*, *Khâte*, which must be more correct than that of the Egyptians. The form *Khâti* seems to me to be explicable by an error of popular etymology. Egyptian ethnical appellations in *-âti* formed their plural by *-âtiû*, *-âtû*, *-âti*, *-âte*, so that if *Khâti*, *Khâti*, were taken for a plural, it would naturally have suggested to the scribes the form *Khâti* for the singular.

[2] Thûtmosis III., speaking to his soldiers, tells them that all the chiefs in the country are shut up in Megiddo, so that "to take it is to take a thousand cities" (Maspero, *Récit de la campagne contre Mageddo*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ii. p. 148): this is evidently a hyperbole in the mouth of the conqueror, but the exaggeration itself shows how numerous were the chiefs and consequently the small states in Central and Southern Syria.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Beato. It is one of the migdols built by Seti I. on the high-road to Syria; cf. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. ii. p. 96; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. xlvi. 1; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 126 b.

[4] This Canaanite word was borrowed by the Egyptians from the Syrians at the beginning of their Asiatic wars; they employed it in forming the names of the military posts which they established on the eastern frontier of the Delta; it appears for the first time among Syrian places in the list of cities conquered by Thûtmosis III. (Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 18, No. 71, and *Texte*, p. 31).

[1] Cf. what is said of Egyptian fortifications in Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 120–122.

spur of some mountain, or on a solitary and more or less irregularly shaped eminence in the midst of a plain, and the means of defence had to be adapted in each case to suit the particular configuration of the ground. It was usually a mere wall of stone or dried brick, with towers at intervals; the wall measuring from nine to twelve feet thick at the base, and from thirty to thirty-six feet high, thus rendering an assault by means of portable ladders nearly impracticable.[1] The gateway had the appearance of a fortress in itself. It was composed of three large blocks of masonry, forming a re-entering face, considerably higher than the adjacent curtains, and pierced near the top with square openings furnished with mantlets, so as to give both a front and flank view of the assailants. The wooden doors in the recessed face were covered with metal and raw hides, thus affording a protection against axe or fire.[3] The building was strong enough not only to defy the bands of adventurers who roamed the country, but was able to resist for an indefinite time the operations of a regular siege. Sometimes, however, the inhabitants when constructing their defences did not confine themselves to this rudimentary plan, but threw up earthworks round the selected site. On the most exposed side they raised an advance wall, not



THE WALLED CITY OF DAPÛR, IN GALILEE.[2]

[1] This is, at least, the result of investigations made by modern engineers who have studied these questions of military archæology; with regard to this, cf. the elementary information furnished by A. de Rochas d'Aiglun, *Principes de la Fortification antique*, p. 12.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph taken at Karnak by Beato. Another representation of the same town was found at Luxor, on one of the walls which have been excavated since 1884.

[3] Most of the Canaanite towns taken by Ramses II. in the campaign of his VIIIth year were fortified in this manner (Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. i. pp. 880, 881; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 156). It must have been the usual method of fortification, as it seems to have served as a type for conventional representation, and was sometimes used to denote cities which had fortifications of another kind. For instance, Dapûr-Tabor is represented in this way in the list referred to above, while a picture on another monument, which is reproduced in the illustration on this page, represents what seems to have been the particular form of its encompassing walls (Cailliaud, *Voyage à Méroé*, vol. ii. pl. lxxiii. 1; Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. cccxxxi.; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 166).



THE MIGDOL OF RAMSES III. AT THEBES, IN THE TEMPLE OF MEDINET-HABU.[1]

exceeding twelve or fifteen feet in height, at the left extremity of which the entrance was so placed that the assailants, in endeavouring to force their way through, were obliged to expose an unprotected flank to the defenders. By this arrangement it was necessary to break through two lines of fortification before the place could be entered. Supposing the enemy to have overcome these first obstacles, they would find themselves at their next point of attack confronted with a citadel which contained, in addition to the sanctuary of the principal god, the palace of the sovereign himself. This also had a double enclosing wall and massively built gates, which could be forced only at the expense of fresh losses, unless the cowardice or treason of the garrison made the assault an easy one.[2] Of these bulwarks of Canaanite civilization, which had been thrown up by hundreds on the route of the invading hosts, not a trace is to be seen to-day. They may have been razed to the ground during one of those destructive revolutions to which the country was often exposed, or their remains may lie hidden underneath the heaps of ruins which thirty centuries of change have raised over them.[3] The records of

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph taken by Deveria in 1865.

[2] The type of town described in the text is based on a representation on the walls of Karnak, where the siege of Dapur-Tabor by Ramses II. is depicted (Cailliaud, *Voyage à Meroe*, vol. ii. pl. lxxiii. 1; Champollion, *Monuments de l'Egypte et de la Nubie*, pl. ccxxxi.; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 165). Another type is given in the case of Ascalon (Champollion, *Monuments de l'Egypte, etc.*, vol. ii. pp. 194, 195; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 145 *c*). Cf. the vignette on p. 128, where Dapur is represented.

[3] The only remains of a Canaanite fortification which can be assigned to the Egyptian period are those which Professor Fl. Petrie brought to light in the ruins of Tell el-Hesy, and in which he rightly recognised the remains of Lachish (Fl. Petrie, *Tell el-Hesy (Lachish)*, pp. 18, 21, 22, pl. iii.).

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victories graven on the walls of the Theban temples furnish, it is true, a general conception of their appearance, but the notions of them which we should obtain from this source would be of a very confused character had not one of the last of the conquering Pharaohs, Ramses III., taken it into his head to have one built at Thebes itself, to contain within it, in addition to his funerary chapel, accommodation for the attendants assigned to the conduct of his worship.[1] In the Greek and Roman period a portion of this fortress was demolished, but the external wall of defence still exists on the eastern side, together with the gate, which is commanded on the right by a projection of the enclosing-wall, and flanked by two guard-houses, rectangular in shape, and having roofs which jut out about a yard beyond the wall of support. Having passed through these obstacles, we find ourselves face to face with a *migdol* of cut stone, nearly square in form, with two projecting wings, the court between their loop-holed walls being made to contract gradually from the point of approach by a series of abutments. A careful examination of the place, indeed, reveals more than one arrangement which the limited knowledge of the Egyptians would hardly permit us to expect. We discover, for instance, that the main body of the building is made to rest upon a sloping sub-structure which rises to a height of some sixteen feet. This served two purposes: it increased, in the first place, the strength of the defence against sapping; and in the second, it caused the weapons launched by the enemy to rebound with violence from its inclined surface, thus serving to keep the assailants at a distance.[2] The whole structure has an imposing look, and it must be admitted that the royal architects charged with carrying out their sovereign's idea brought to their task an attention to detail for which the people from whom the plan was borrowed had no capacity, and at the same time preserved the arrangements of their model so faithfully that we can readily realise what it must have been. Transport this migdol of Ramses III. into Asia, plant it upon one of those hills which the Canaanites were accustomed to select as a site for their fortifications, spread out at its base some score of low and miserable hovels, and we have before us an improvised pattern of a village which recalls in a striking manner Zerin or Beitin, or any other small modern town which gathers the dwellings of its fellahin round some central stone building—whether it be a hostelry for benighted travellers, or an ancient castle of the Crusading age.

There were on the littoral, to the north of Gaza, two large walled towns, Ascalon and Joppa, in whose roadsteads merchant vessels were accustomed to

[1] The idea that the royal palace of Medinet-Abu is a reproduction of a migdol was first suggested by Mariette, *Itinéraire des Invités aux fêtes d'inauguration du Canal de Suez*, pp. 129, 180; cf. *Itinéraire de la Haute-Égypte*, p. 219. Dümichen, at about the same time, could not see in it anything but the remains of the gate of an Egyptian fortress (*Resultate der photo. Exped.*, vol. i. p. 21).

[2] This arrangement was brought into notice for the first time by Maspero, *Arch. Égyptienne*, p. 33.



THE MODERN VILLAGE OF BEITIN, SEEN FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.[1]

take hasty refuge in tempestuous weather.[2] There were to be found on the plains also, and on the lower slopes of the mountains, a number of similar fortresses and villages, such as Iursa, Migdol, Lachish, Ajalon, Shocho, Adora, Aphukin, Keilah, Gezer, and Ono; and, in the neighbourhood of the roads which led to the fords of the Jordan, Gibeah, Beth-Anoth, and finally Urusalim, our Jerusalem.[3] A tolerably dense population of active and industrious husbandmen

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph. This is the ancient Bethel. A view of Zerin, the Jezreel of Scripture, appears as a heading to this chapter (see p. 111).

[2] Ascalon was not actually on the sea. Its port, "Maiumas Ascalonis," was probably merely a narrow bay or creek, now, for a long period, filled up by the sand. Neither the site nor the remains of the port have been discovered (Guérin, *Judée*, vol. ii. pp. 149–152). The name of the town is always spelled in Egyptian with an "a"—Askaluna (E. de Rougé, *Mémoire sur l'Alphabet Égyptien*, p. 71), which gives us the pronunciation of the time. The name of Joppa is written Yapu, Yapuu, and the gardens which then surrounded the town are mentioned in the *Anastasi Papyrus I.*, pl. xxv. ll. 2–3; cf. Chabas, *Voyage d'un Égyptien*, pp. 230, 231.

[3] Urusalim is mentioned only in the Tel el-Amarna tablets (Abel-Winckler, *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna*, pp. 104*a*–108; cf. Zimmern, *Die Keilschriftbriefe aus Jerusalem*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. vi. pp. 245–263), alongside of Kilti or Keilah (Sayce, *Babylonian Tablets from Tel el-Amarna*, in the *Proceedings Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. x. 1887–88, p. 496), Ajalon, and Lachish (Abel-Winckler, *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna*, pl. 113, No. 123, l. 6, No. 124, l. 5). The remaining towns are noticed in the great lists of Thûtmosis III. (Mariette, *Karnak*, pls. 17, 18, 19)—Iursa under No. 60 (identified with Kharbet Yerzeh, Kharbet Erzah by G. Rey, *Étude topographique de la Tribu de Juda*, p. 124, and generally accepted: cf., nevertheless, Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 152, note 1), Sauka under No. 67 (identified with Shocho of Judah by Mariette, *Les Listes Géographiques des Pylônes de Karnak*, p. 30), Migdol under No. 71 (Migdal-Gad of the tribe of Judah, now El-Mejdel, according to Mariette, *ibid.*, p. 34), Adora under No. 91 (the scriptural Adoraim, now Dura near Hebron, Mariette, *ibid.*, p. 38) Aphukin, under No. 66 (now Fukîn near Shuweikeh, according to Maspero, *Sur les Noms Géographiques de la liste de Thoutmos III. qu'on peut rapporter à la Judée*, p. 4), Gazir under No. 104 (Maspero, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire, etc.*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1881, p. 120), Ono under No. 65 (E. de Saulcy, *Lettre à M. Chabas*, in the *Mélanges d'Arch. Égypt. et Assyr.*, vol. i. pp. 98, 99), Gaba, Gibeon of Benjamin [see *Josh.* xviii. 24.—Tr.] under No. 114 (Mariette, *Les Listes Géographiques*, p. 42), Bit-Aniti under No. 111, with another form



VINEYARDS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF HEBRON.[1]

maintained themselves upon the soil. The plough which they employed was like that used by the Egyptians and Babylonians, being nothing but a large hoe to which a couple of oxen were harnessed.[2] The scarcity of rain, except in certain seasons, and the tendency of the rivers to run low, contributed to make the cultivators of the soil experts in irrigation and agriculture. Almost the only remains of these people which have come down to us consist of indestructible wells and cisterns, or wine and oil presses hollowed out of the rock.[3] Fields of wheat and barley extended along the flats of the valleys, broken in upon here and there by orchards, in which the white and pink almond, the apple, the fig, the pomegranate, and the olive flourished side by side. If the slopes of the valley rose too precipitously for cultivation, stone dykes were employed to collect the falling earth, and thus to transform the sides of the hills into a series of terraces rising one above the other. Here the vines, planted in lines or in trellises, blended their clusters with the fruits of the orchard-trees.[4] It was, indeed, a land of milk and honey, and its topographical

Bît-Anati, which may indicate the presence in this region of a temple of Anat with its priestly attendants (identified with Anathoth by MASPERO, *Sur les Noms Géographiques, etc.*, pp. 18, 19).

[1] Drawn by Boudier, *from a photograph and original sketches*.

[2] This is the form of plough still employed by the Syrians in some places. It resembles the ancient Egyptian plough illustrated in *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 67.

[3] Monuments of this kind are encountered at every step in Judæa, but it is very difficult to date them. The aqueduct of Siloam, which goes back perhaps to the time of Hezekiah, and the canals which conducted water into Jerusalem, possibly in part to be attributed to the reign of Solomon, are the only instances to which anything like a certain date may be assigned. But these are long posterior to the XVIIIth dynasty. Good judges, however, attribute some of these monuments to a very distant period: the masonry of the wells of Beersheba is very ancient (H. PALMER, *The Desert of the Exodus*, vol. ii. pp. 387–390), if not as it is at present, at least as it was when it was repaired in the time of the Cæsars (GUÉRIN, *Judée*, vol. ii. pp. 283, 284); the olive and wine presses hewn in the rock do not all date back to the Roman empire, but many belong to a still earlier period, and modern descriptions (cf. GUÉRIN, *Judée*, vol. iii. pp. 261–273) correspond with what we know of such presses from the Bible (e.g. *Micah* vi. 15; *Isa.* v. 2, xvi. 10; *Jer.* xxv. 30, xlviii. 33).

[4] GUÉRIN, *Description de la Palestine, Judée*, vol. iii. pp. 290, 291, 296, etc.



SHECHEM IN THE MIDDLE OF AN AMPHITHEATRE OF HILLS.[1]

nomenclature in the Egyptian geographical lists reflects as in a mirror the agricultural pursuits of its ancient inhabitants: one village, for instance, is called Aubila, "the meadow;" while others bear such names as Ganutu, "the gardens;" Magraphut, "the mounds;" and Karman, "the vineyard."[2] The further we proceed towards the north, we find, with a diminishing aridity, the hillsides covered with richer crops, and the valleys decked out with a more luxuriant and warmly coloured vegetation. Shechem lies in an actual amphitheatre of verdure, which is irrigated by countless unfailing streams; rushing brooks babble on every side, and the vapour given off by them morning and evening covers the entire landscape with a luminous haze, where the outline of each object becomes blurred, and quivers in a manner to which we are accustomed in our Western lands.[3] Towns grew and multiplied upon this rich and loamy soil, but as these lay outside the usual track of the invading hosts—which preferred to follow the more rugged but shorter route leading straight to Carmel across the plain—the records of the conquerors only casually mention a few of them, such as Bitshailu, Birkana, and Dutina.[4] Beyond Ono reddish-coloured

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a plate in Chesney's *Survey of Rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, vol. i. p. 490.

[2] Maspero, *Sur les Noms Géographiques de la liste de Thoutmos III. qu'on peut rapporter à la Judée*, pp. 15, 22.

[3] Van de Velde, vol. i. pp. 386, 388; Gabriel Charmes, *Voyage en Palestine*, pp. 249, 250. Shechem is not mentioned in the Egyptian geographical lists, but Max Müller thinks he has discovered it in the name of the mountain of Sakama which figures in the *Anastasi Papyrus*, No. I, pl. xxii. l. 9 (*Asien und Europa*, p. 394).

[4] Bitshailu, identified by Chabas (*Voyage d'un Égyptien*, pp. 205–208) with Bethshan, and with Shiloh by Mariette (*Les Listes Géographiques*, p. 42) and Maspero (*Sur les Noms Géographiques qu'on peut rapporter à la Judée*, pp. 17, 18), is more probably Beitael, written Bit-sha-ilu, either with *sh*,

sandy clay took the place of the dark and compact loam: oaks began to appear, sparsely at first, but afterwards forming vast forests, which the peasants of our own days have thinned and reduced to a considerable extent. The stunted trunks of these trees are knotted and twisted, and the tallest of them do not exceed some thirty feet in height, while many of them may be regarded as nothing more imposing than large bushes.[1] Muddy rivers, infested with crocodiles, flowed slowly through the shady woods, spreading out their waters here and there in pestilential swamps. On reaching the seaboard, their exit was impeded by the sands which they brought down with them, and the banks which were thus formed caused the waters to accumulate in lagoons extending behind the dunes. For miles the road led through thickets, interrupted here and there by marshy places and clumps of thorny shrubs. Bands of Shausu were accustomed to make this route dangerous, and even the bravest heroes shrank from venturing alone along this route.[2] Towards Aluna the way began to ascend Mount Carmel by a narrow and giddy track cut in the rocky side of the precipice.[3] Beyond the Mount, it led by a rapid descent into a plain covered with corn and verdure, and extending in a width of some thirty miles, by a series of undulations, to the foot of Tabor, where it came to an end. Two side ranges running almost parallel—little Hermon and Gilboa—disposed in a line from east to west, and united by an almost imperceptibly rising ground, serve rather to connect the plain of Megiddo with the valley of the Jordan than to separate them. A single river, the Kishon, cuts the route diagonally—or, to speak more correctly, a single river-bed, which is almost waterless for nine months of the year, and becomes swollen only during the winter rains with the numerous torrents bursting from the hillsides. As the flood approaches the sea it becomes of more manageable proportions, and finally distributes its waters among the desolate lagoons formed behind the sand-banks of the open and wind-swept

the old relative pronoun of the Phœnician (ERMAN, *Varia*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1877, p. 39), or with the Assyrian *sha* (SAYCE, *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. v. p. 52); on the latter supposition one must suppose, as Sayce does, that the compiler of the Egyptian lists had before him sources of information in the cuneiform character. Bokhna appears to be the modern Brekîn (MASPERO, *Sur les Noms Géographiques*, etc., pp. 19, 20), and Dutina is certainly Dothaïn, now Tell-Dothân (MASPERO, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1881, p. 122).

[1] The forest was well known to the geographers of the Greco-Roman period (STRABO, XVI. 2, § 28, p. 758), and was still in existence at the time of the Crusades; cf. CONDER, *Mediæval Topography of Palestine*, in the *Pal. Expl. Fund*, *Quarterly Statements*, 1875, pp. 91, 92. Its present condition is described by GUÉRIN, *Description de la Palestine*, *Samarie*, vol. ii. p. 388.

[2] For all this part of the route, which had been previously wrongly placed owing to the ignorance of the existence of a forest in this region, see MASPERO, *Entre Joppé et Mageddo*, in the *Études Archéol., Linguist. et Historiques, dédiées à M. le Dr C. Leemans*, pp. 3–6.

[3] This defile is described at length in the *Anastasi Papyrus*, No. 1, pl. xxiii. l. 1, et seq., and the terms used by the writer are in themselves sufficient evidence of the terror with which the place inspired the Egyptians. The annals of Thûtmosis III. are equally explicit as to the difficulties which an army had to encounter here (MASPERO, *Le Récit de la campagne contre Mageddo sous Thoutmos III.*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ii. pp. 51–56, 140, 147). I have placed this defile near the point which is now called Umm-el-Fahm (*Sur les Noms Géographiques*, etc., pp. 6, 7), and this site seems to me to agree better with the account of the expedition of Thûtmosis III. than that of Arrabeh proposed by Conder (*Palestine Expl. Fund*, *Quarterly Statements*, 1880, p. 223).



THE EVERGREEN OAKS BETWEEN JENÎN AND CARMEL.[1]

bay, towered over by the sacred summit of Carmel.[2] No corner of the world has been the scene of more sanguinary engagements, or has witnessed century after century so many armies crossing its borders and coming into conflict with one another. Every military leader who, after leaving Africa, was able to seize Gaza and Ascalon, became at once master of Southern Syria. He might, it is true, experience some local resistance, and come into conflict with bands or isolated outposts of the enemy, but as a rule he had no need to anticipate a battle before he reached the banks of the Kishon. Here, behind a screen of woods and mountain, the enemy would concentrate his forces and prepare resolutely to meet the attack. If the invader succeeded in overcoming resistance at this point, the country lay open to him as far as the Orontes; nay, often even to the Euphrates. The position was too important for its defence to have been neglected. A range of forts, Ibleâm, Taanach,[3] and Megiddo,[4] drawn like a barrier across the line of advance, protected its southern face, and beyond these a series of strongholds and villages followed one

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a pencil sketch by Lortet.

[2] In the lists of Thûtmosis III. we find under No. 48 the town of Rosh-Qodshu, the "Sacred Cape," which was evidently situated at the end of the mountain range (Maspero, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1881, pp. 54, 55), or probably on the site of Haifah; the name itself suggests the veneration with which Carmel was invested from the earliest times.

[3] Ibleam, the Egyptian Iabiâmu, is No. 43 in the lists of Thûtmosis III. (Mariette, *Les Listes Géographiques*, p. 26). Osburn had recognised at the outset Taânaku or Taanach in the list of Shashanq (*Egypt, her Testimony to the Truth*, p. 150).

[4] Megiddo, the "Legio" of the Roman period, has been identified since Robinson's time (*Biblical*

another at intervals in the bends of the valleys or on the heights, such as Shunem, Kasuna, Anaharath, the two Aphuis, Cana,[1] and other places which we find mentioned on the triumphal lists, but of which, up to the present, the sites have not been fixed.

From this point the conqueror had a choice of three routes. One ran



ACRE AND THE FRINGE OF REEFS SHELTERING THE ANCIENT PORT.[2]

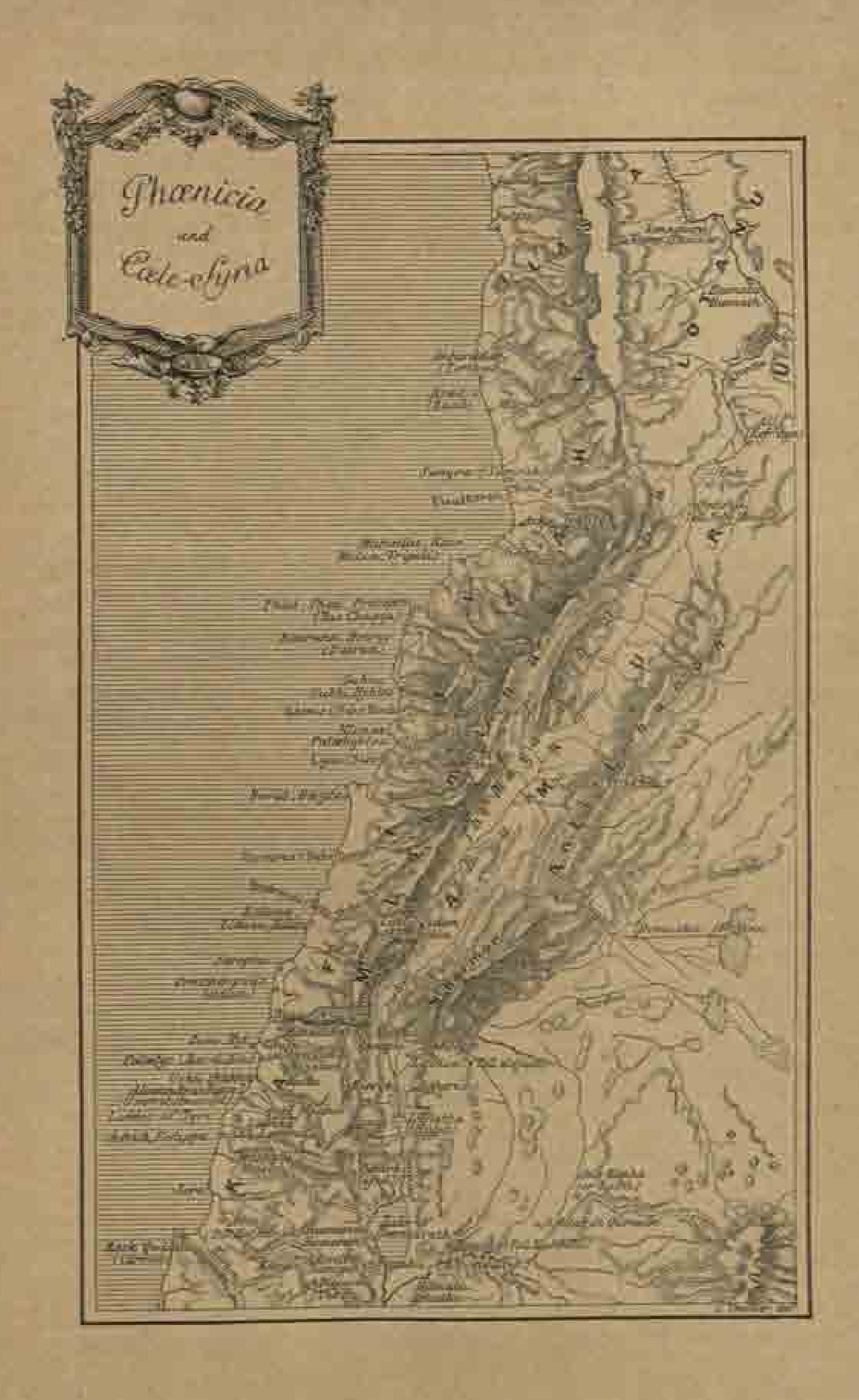
in an oblique direction to the west, and struck the Mediterranean near Acre, leaving on the left the promontory of Carmel, with the sacred town, Rosh-Qodshu, planted on its slope.[3] Acre was the first port where a fleet could find safe anchorage after leaving the mouths of the Nile, and whoever was able to make himself master of it had in his hands the key of Syria; for it stood in the same commanding position with regard to the coast as that held by Megiddo in respect of the interior. Its houses were built closely together on a spit of rock which projected boldly into the sea, while fringes of reefs formed for it a kind of natural breakwater, behind which ships could find

Researches, vol. ii. p. 230) with Khurbet-Lejjûn, and more especially with the little mound known by the name of Tell-el-Mutesellim. Conder proposed to place its site more to the east, in the valley of the Jordan, at Khurbet-el-Mujedda (*Megiddo*, in the *Palest. Expl. Fund, Quarterly Statements*, 1887, pp. 13-20).

[1] The name of Shunem (Shunama) was recognised by E. de Rougé, together with that of Anahharath (Anuhharotu) and Kana-Cana (*Étude sur divers Monuments du règne de Thoutmosis III*, pp. 49, 51, 52). The identity of the two Apuru-Aphuis with Faleh and Afuleh of Galilee was discovered by Conder, *Palestine before Joshua*, *Quarterly Statements of Palest. Expl. Fund*, 1876, p. 141.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Lortet.

[3] Maspero, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire*, etc., in the *Zeitschrift*, 1879, p. 58; cf. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*, p. 165.


Phœnicia
and
Cœle-Syria

a safe harbourage from the attacks of pirates or the perils of bad weather.[1] From this point the hills come so near the shore that one is sometimes obliged to wade along the beach to avoid a projecting spur, and sometimes to climb a zigzag path in order to cross a headland. In more than one place the rock has been hollowed into a series of rough steps, giving it the appearance of a vast ladder.[2] Below this precipitous path the waves dash with fury, and when the wind sets towards the land every thud causes the rocky wall to tremble, and detaches fragments from its surface. The majority of the towns, such as Akzapu (Ecdippa), Mashal, Lubina, Ushu-Shakhan, lay back from the sea on the mountain ridges, out of the reach of pirates; several, however, were built on the shore, under the shelter of some promontory, and the inhabitants of these derived a miserable subsistence from fishing and the chase.[4] Beyond the Tyrian Ladder Phœnician territory began. The country was served throughout its entire length, from town to town, by the coast road, which turning at length to the right, and passing through the defile formed by the Nahr-el Kelb,[5] entered the region of the middle Orontes.

THE TOWN OF QODSHU.[3]

The second of the roads leading from Megiddo described an almost symmetrical curve eastwards, crossing the Jordan at Bethshan, then the Jabbok, and finally reaching Damascus after having skirted at some distance the last of the basaltic ramparts of the Hauran. Here extended a vast but badly watered

[1] Acre (Aku) was already noticed by Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften*, vol. ii. pp. 40, 41.

[2] Hence the name Tyrian Ladder, κλῖμαξ Τυρίων (Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 10, 2), which is applied to one of these passes, either Ras-en-Nakurah or Ras-el-Abiad.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Beato. The vignette is taken from the bas-reliefs of the Ramesseum: cf. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., pl. cccxxx.; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cx.; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 166. The portions missing have been supplied in outline. Elsewhere the town is given a more elongated form (Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., pls. xiii., xxi., xiii., xxvii., cccxxiv.; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pls. lxxxvii., xci., civ.).

[4] The site of Akzapu was recognised by Brugsch, *Geogr. Insch.*, vol. ii. p. 44, and that of Mashal (the Biblical Mishaal) by E. de Rougé, *Étude sur divers Monuments du règne de Thoutmès III.*, p. 51. Lubina may be Khurbet-Lubban, Khurbet-Lubbaneh, at some distance from Ras-en-Nakurah, almost in sight of the sea (Mariette, *Sur les Noms Géographiques, etc., qu'on peut rapporter à la Galilée*, p. 8). Ushu-Shakhan, which appears to be the Usun of the Assyrians, was probably the Alexandroschene of classical times, situated possibly at Umm-el-Awamid (Maspero, *De Quelques Localités voisines de Sidon*, in the *Recueil des Travaux*, vol. xvii. pp. 102, 103).

[5] This is the road indicated in the *Anastasi Papyrus*, No. 1, pls. xx. l. 7, xxi. l. 1, of which I shall have occasion to say something hereafter in describing the Phœnician littoral; see p. 169, et seq., of the present work.



THE TYRIAN LADDER AT RAS EL-ABIAD.
Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph.

pasture-land, which attracted the Bedouin from every side, and scattered over it were a number of walled towns, such as Hamath, Magato, Ashtaroth, and Ono-Repha.[1] Probably Damascus was already at this period the dominant authority over the region watered by these two rivers, as well as over the villages nestling in the gorges of Hermon,—Abila, Helbôn of the vineyards, and Yabrûd,—but it had not yet acquired its renown for riches and power. Protected by the Anti-Lebanon range from its turbulent neighbours, it led a sort of vegetative existence apart from invading hosts, forgotten and hushed to sleep, as it were, in the shade of its gardens.

The third road from Megiddo took the shortest way possible. After crossing the Kishon almost at right angles to its course, it ascended by a series of steep inclines to arid plains, fringed or intersected by green and flourishing valleys, which afforded sites for numerous towns,—Pahira, Merom near Lake Huleh, Qart-Nizanu, Beerotu, and Lauisa, situated in the marshy district at the headwaters of the Jordan.[2] From this point forward the land begins to fall, and taking a hollow shape, is known as Cœle-Syria, with its luxuriant vegetation spread between the two ranges of the Lebanon. It was inhabited then, as at the time of the Babylonian conquest, by the Amorites, who probably included Damascus also in their domain.[3] Their capital, the sacred Qodshu, was situated on the left bank of the Orontes, about five miles from the lake which for a long time bore its name, Bahr el-Kades.[4] It crowned one of those barren oblong eminences which

[1] Proof that the Egyptians knew this route, followed even to this day in certain circumstances, is furnished by the lists of Thûtmosis III., in which the principal stations which it comprises are enumerated among the towns given up after the victory of Megiddo (Nos. 13-17, 28-30). Dimasqu was identified with Damascus by E. de Rougé, *Étude sur divers Monuments du règne de Thoutmès III.*, p. 47, and Astartu with Ashtaroth-Qarnaim (*ibid.*, p. 49). Hamatu (No. 16) is probably Hamath of the Gadarenes; Magato (No. 30), the Maged of the Maccabees, is possibly the present Muhatta; and Ono-Repha (No. 29), Raphôn, Raphana, Arpha of Decapolis, is the modern Er-Rafeh (Maspero, *Sur les Noms Géographiques, etc., qu'on peut rapporter à la Galilée*, pp. 4, 5).

[2] Pahira is probably Fabed; Qart-Nizanu, the "flowery city," the Kartha of Zebulon (*Josh.* xxi. 34); and Beerôt, the Berotha of Josephus (*Hist. of the Jews*, v. 1, 18), near Merom (Maspero, *Sur les Noms, etc., qu'on peut rapporter à la Galilée*, pp. 5-8). Marouma and Lauisa, Laisa, have been identified with Merom and Laish by Brugsch (*G. Ins.*, vol. ii. pp. 72, 74) and by E. de Rougé (*Étude sur divers Mon. du règne de Thoutmès III.*, p. 90).

[3] The identification of the country of Amaura with that of the Amorites was admitted from the first by Osburn, *Egypt, her Testimony to Truth*, pp. 65, 66; Hincks, *An Attempt to ascertain the Number, etc., of Hieroglyphic Alphabet*, p. 45; Brugsch, *Geog. Ins.*, vol. ii. pp. 21, 48, 61, etc. The only doubt was as to the locality occupied by these Amorites; the mention of Qodshu on the Orontes, in the country of the Amurru, showed that Cœle-Syria was the region in question. In the Tell el-Amarna tablets the name Amurru is applied also to the country east of the Phœnician coast (Bezold-Budge, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the Brit. Mus.*, pl. xlvii., note 2), and we have seen that there is reason to believe that it was used by the Babylonians to denote all Syria (*cf.* p. 19, note 3, of this volume). If the name given by the cuneiform inscriptions to Damascus and its neighbourhood, "Gar-Imirishu," "Imirishu," "Imirish," really means "the Fortress of the Amorites" (Sayce, in the *Academy*, 1881, p. 161; Hommel, *Die Semitischen Völker*, p. 178; Fr. Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. ii. pp. 288, 289), we should have in this fact a proof that this people were in actual possession of the Damascene Syria. This must have been taken from them by the Hittites towards the XX[th] century before our era, according to Hommel; about the end of the XVIII[th] dynasty, according to Lenormant. If, on the other hand, the Assyrians read the name "Sha-imiri-shu," with the signification, "the mare of its asses" (Halévy, *Das Keilschriftliche Name des Reiches von Damaskus*, in the *Zeits. für Assyr.*, vol. ii. pp. 321, 322), it is simply a play upon words, and has no bearing upon the primitive meaning of the name.

[4] The name Qodshu-Kadesh was for a long time read Ketesh, Bedesh, Atesh, and, owing to a



THE LAKE OF BAHR EL-KADES IN ITS PRESENT CONDITION.[1]

are so frequently met with in Syria. A muddy stream, the Tannur, flowed at some distance away, around its base, and, emptying itself into the Orontes at a point a little to the north, formed a natural defence for the town on the west. Its encompassing walls, slightly elliptic in form, were strengthened by towers, and surrounded by two concentric ditches which kept the sapper at a distance. A dyke running across the Orontes above the town caused the waters to rise and to overflow in a northern direction, so as to form a shallow lake, which acted as an additional protection from the enemy. Qodshu was thus a kind of artificial island, connected with the surrounding country by two

confusion with Qoll, Ati, or Atet. The town was identified by Champollion with Bactria (*Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, 2nd edit., pp. 267, 268, compared with 287), then transferred to Mesopotamia by Rosellini, in the land of Ouzou, which, according to Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, v. 24), was close to the Taurus (*Monumenti Storici*, vol. iii. pt. 1, pp. 441–443), and far from the Khabur or from the province of Aleppo (Brugsch, *Observations on the Statistical Tablet of Karnak*, pp. 19–23): Osburn (*Egypt, her Testimony to the Truth*, pp. 65, 66, 85, 86) tried to connect it with Hadashah (*Josh.* xv. 37), an Amorite town in the southern part of the tribe of Judah; while Hincks placed it in Edessa (*Report Syro-Egypt. Soc.*, 1847, p. 6; cf. Brugsch, *Reiseberichte aus Ägypten*, p. 126). The reading Kadesh, Kedesh, Qodshu, the result of the observations of Lepsius, has finally prevailed. Brugsch connected this name with that of Bahr el-Kades, a designation attached in the Middle Ages to the lake through which the Orontes flows, and placed the town on the shores or on a small island on the lake (*Geo. Ins.*, vol. ii. pp. 21, 23). Thomson (*The Land and the Book*, p. 110) pointed out Tell Neby-Mindeh, the ancient Laodicea of the Lebanon, as satisfying the requirements of the site. Conder developed this idea, and showed that all the conditions prescribed by the Egyptian texts in regard to Qodshu find here, and here alone, their application (*Kadesh*, in *Pal. Expl. Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1881, pp. 163–175). The description given in the text is based on Conder's observations.

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph. Cf. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, pl. vii. p. 61.

flying bridges, which could be opened or shut at pleasure. Once the bridges were raised and the gates closed, the boldest enemy had no resource left but to arm himself with patience and settle down to a lengthened siege. The invader, fresh from a victory at Megiddo, and following up his good fortune in a forward movement, had to reckon upon further and serious resistance at this point, and to prepare himself for a second conflict. The Amorite chiefs and their allies had the advantage of a level and firm ground for the evolutions of their chariots during the attack, while, if they were beaten, the citadel afforded them a secure rallying-place, whence, having gathered their shattered troops, they could regain their respective countries, or enter, with the help of a few devoted men, upon a species of guerilla warfare in which they excelled.

The road from Damascus led to a point south of Qodshu, while that from Phœnicia came right up to the town itself or to its immediate neighbourhood. The dyke of Bahr el-Kades served to keep the plain in a dry condition, and thus secured for numerous towns, among which Hamath stood out pre-eminently, a prosperous existence.[1] Beyond Hamath,[2] and to the left, between the Orontes and the sea, lay the commercial kingdom of Alasia, protected from the invader by bleak mountains.[3] On the right, between the Orontes and the Balikh, extended the land of rivers, Naharaim. Towns had grown up here thickly,—on the sides of the torrents from the Amanos, along the banks of rivers, near springs or wells—wherever, in fact, the presence of water made culture possible. The fragments of the Egyptian chronicles which have come down to us number these towns by the hundred,[4] and yet of how many more must the records have perished with the crumbling Theban walls upon which the Pharaohs had their names incised! Khalabu was the Aleppo of our own day,[5] and grouped around it lay Turmanna, Tunipa, Zarabu, Nii, Durbaniti, Nirabu, Sarmata,[6] and a score of others which depended upon it, or

[1] For the dykes of Bahr el-Kades, see BURTON-DRAKE, *Unexplored Syria*, vol. ii. p. 206, et seq.

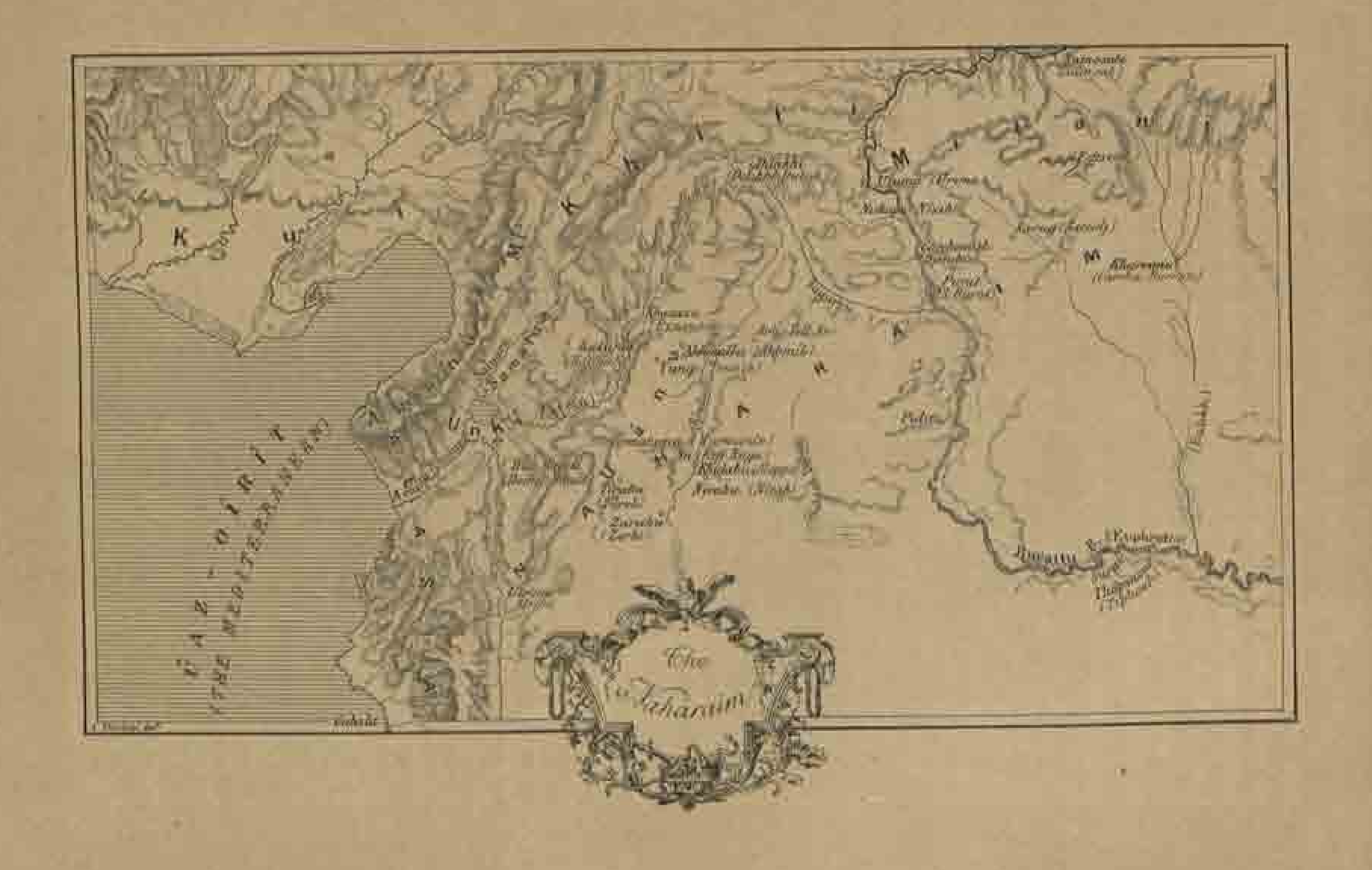
[2] Hamath is mentioned in the great list of Thûtmosis III. (MARIETTE, *Karnak*, pl. 21), without the initial breathing, as is sometimes the case in Assyrian (No. 122; cf. R. G. TOMKINS, *On the Topography of N. Syria*, in *Trans. Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. ix. p. 231, and *Notes on the Geog. of N. Syria*, in the *Bab. and Orient. Record*, vol. iii. p. 6).

[3] The site of Alasia, Alashia, was determined from the Tel el-Amarna tablets by MASPERO, *Le Pays d'Alasia*, in the *Recueil*, vol. ix. pp. 209, 210; cf. TOMKINS, *On the Name Nepirrurie*, etc., in the *Proceedings*, 1888–89, vol. xi. p. 79. Niebuhr had placed it to the west of Cilicia, opposite the island of Eleusa mentioned by Strabo (XIV. v., § 6, p. 671), *Studien zur Gesch. des alten Orients*, i. pp. 97–102. Conder connected it with the scriptural Elishah (*Pal. Expl. Fund, Quart. Stat.*, 1892, p. 45), and W. Max Müller confounds it with Asi or Cyprus (*Das Land Alasia*, in the *Zeits. für Assyr.*, vol. x. pp. 257–264).

[4] Two hundred and thirty names belonging to Naharaim are still legible on the lists of Thûtmosis III. (MARIETTE, *Karnak*, pls. 20, 21), and a hundred others have been effaced from the monument.

[5] Khalabu was identified by Chabas (*Voyage d'un Égyptien*, pp. 100–102) with Khalybôn, the modern Aleppo, and his opinion has been adopted by most Egyptologists; cf. MAX MÜLLER, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 256, 257. Brugsch (*Geog. Ins.*, vol. ii. pp. 45, 46) had Khalbûn, near Damascus, in his eye; Halévy would read Khamlu, and finds this name in the Tel el-Amarna tablets (*Notes Géogr.*, in the *Revue Sémitique d'Épigraphie*, etc., vol. i. p. 281).

[6] Tunipa has been found in Tennib, Tinnab, by Nöldeke (*Tunip und Chalbu*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1876, pp. 10, 11); Zarabu in Zarbi, and Sarmata in Sarmada, by Tomkins (*On the Topog. of N. Syria*,


THE MEDITERRANEAN

upon one of its rivals.[1] The boundaries of this portion of the Lower Lotanu have come down to us in a singularly indefinite form, and they must also, moreover, have been subject to continual modifications from the results of tribal conflicts. We are at a loss to know whether the various principalities were accustomed to submit to the leadership of a single individual, or whether we are to relegate to the region of popular fancy that Lord of Naharaim of whom the Egyptian scribes made such a hero in their fantastic narratives.[2] Carchemish represented in this region the position occupied by Megiddo in relation to Kharû, and by Qodshu among the Amorites; that is to say, it was the citadel and sanctuary of the surrounding country. Whoever could make himself master of it would have the whole country at his feet.



It lay upon the Euphrates, the winding of the river protecting it on its southern and south-eastern sides, while around its northern front ran a deep stream, its defence being further completed by a double ditch across the intervening region. Like Qodshu, it was thus situated in the midst of an artificial island beyond the reach of the battering-ram or the sapper. The encompassing wall, which tended to describe an ellipse, hardly measured two miles in circumference; but the suburbs extending, in the midst of villas and gardens, along the river-banks furnished in time of peace an abode for the surplus population. The wall still rises some five and twenty to thirty feet above the plain. Two mounds divided by a ravine command its north-western side, their summits being occupied by the ruins of two fine buildings—a temple and a palace.[3] Carchemish was the

in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. ix. pp. 232, 244); Durbanili is Deir el-Banât, the Castrum Puellarum of the chroniclers of the Crusades; Niraba is Nirab, and Tsiabu is Tseeb, now el-Athrib (Maspero, *Notes sur différents points de Grammaire, etc.*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1885, pp. 5, 6). Nirab is mentioned under the form Νήραβα by Nicholas of Damascus (*Frag.* 25, in Müller-Didot, *Frag. Hist. Græcorum*, vol. iii. p. 372). Nii, long confounded with Nineveh after Champollion (*Gram. égyptienne*, p. 150), was identified by Lenormant (*Les Origines*, vol. iii. p. 316, et seq.) with Ninus Vetus, Mambidj, and by Max Müller (*Asien und Europa*, p. 267) with Balis on the Euphrates: I am inclined to make it Kefr-Naya, between Aleppo and Tormanin.

[1] These names have been studied partially by Lenormant, *Les Orig. de l'Hist.*, vol. iii. pp. 322–331, and exhaustively by Tomkins, *Anc. Geog. of N. Syria*, in *Proc. Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, 1882–83, pp. 58–62; *On the Topog. of N. Syria*, in the *Transactions*, vol. ix. pp. 227–254; *Records of the Past*, new ser., v. pp. 25–42; *Notes on Geog. of N. Syria*, in the *Bab. and Oriental Record*, vol. ii. pp. 2–6, 41–46. Max Müller has devoted a few—unfortunately too few—pages to them in his *Asien und Europa*, pp. 286–292.

[2] In the "Story of the Predestined Prince" the heroine is daughter of the Prince of Naharaim, who seems to exercise authority over all the chiefs of the country (Maspero, *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 2nd edit., pp. 221–234); as the manuscript does not date back further than the XXth dynasty, we are justified in supposing that the Egyptian writer had a knowledge of the Hittite dominion, during which the King of the Khâti was actually the ruler of all Naharaim.

[3] Karkamishu, Gargamish, was from the beginning associated with the Carchemish of the Bible



THE TELL OF JERABIS IN ITS PRESENT CONDITION.[1]

last stage in a conqueror's march coming from the south. For an invader approaching from the east or north it formed his first station. He had before him, in fact, a choice of the three chief fords for crossing the Euphrates. That of Thapsacus, at the bend of the river where it turns eastward to the Arabian plain, lay too far to the south, and it could be reached only after a march through a parched and desolate region where the army would run the risk of perishing from thirst. For an invader proceeding from Asia Minor, or intending to make his way through the defiles of the Taurus, Samosata offered a convenient fording-place; but this route would compel the general, who had Naharaim or the kingdoms of Chaldæa in view, to make a long detour; and although the Assyrians used it at a later period, at the time of their expeditions to the valley of the Halys, the Egyptians do not seem ever to have travelled by this road. Carchemish, the place of the third ford, was about equally distant from Thapsacus and Samosata, and lay in a rich and

(HINCKS, An Attempt to ascertain the Number, etc., of the Hieroglyphic Alphabet, p. 46; BIRCH, Obs. on the Statistical Tablet of Karnak, p. 18); but as the latter was wrongly identified with Circesium, it was naturally located at the confluence of the Khabur with the Euphrates. Hincks (Hieroglyphes et Cunéiformes, in CHABAS, Mélanges Égypt.-Assyriens, 2nd series, p. 280) fixed the site at Rum-Kaleh. G. Rawlinson (Carchemish, in Smith's Dict.) referred it correctly to Hierapolis-Mabog, which position Maspero (De Carchemis Oppidi situ et historiâ antiquissimâ, 1872) endeavoured to confirm. Finzi (Ricerche per lo Studio dell' Antichità Assira, pp. 257, 290), and after him G. Smith, thought to find the site at Jerablus, the ancient Europos (FR. DELITZSCH, Wo lag das Paradies? p. 265), and excavations carried on there by the English have brought to light in this place Hittite monuments which go back in part to the Assyrian epoch. This identification is now generally accepted (cf. J. MENANT, Kar-Kemish, sa position d'après les découvertes modernes, 1891), although there is still no direct proof attainable, and competent judges (WILSON, Recent Bibl. Researches, in the Pal. Expl. Fund, Quart. Stat., 1884, p. 49) continue to prefer the site of Membij. I fall in with the current view, but with all reserve. The description of Carchemish given in the text refers to the Jerablus site; it is taken from PERROT-CHIPIEZ, Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité, vol. iv. pp. 231, 322, 497–508.

[1] Reproduced by Faucher-Gudin from a cut in the Graphic of December 11, 1880. Cf. PERROT-CHIPIEZ, Hist. de l'Art, vol. iv. p. 519.

fertile province, which was so well watered that a drought or a famine would not be likely to enter into the expectations of its inhabitants. Hither pilgrims, merchants, soldiers, and all the wandering denizens of the world were accustomed to direct their steps, and the habit once established was perpetuated for centuries.[1] On the left bank of the river, and almost opposite Carchemish, lay the region of Mitânni,[2] which was already occupied by a people of a different race, who used a language cognate, it would seem, with the imperfectly classified dialects spoken by the tribes of the Upper Tigris and Upper Euphrates.[3] Harran bordered on Mitânni, and beyond Harran one may recognise, in the vaguely defined Singar, Assur, Arrapkha, and Babel, states that arose out of the dismemberment of the ancient Chaldæan Empire.[5] The Carchemish route was, of course, well known to caravans, but



A NORTHERN SYRIAN.[4]

[1] For the fords of the Euphrates, see Maspero, *De Carchemis Oppidi situ*, etc., pp. 1-3; for that of Samosata, cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, xii. 11; for that of Thapsacus, Strabo, xvi. 1, § 21, p. 747; for those of Zeugma and Europus, Pliny, *N. Hist.*, xxxiv. 12.

[2] Mitânni is mentioned on several Egyptian monuments (E. de Rougé, *Étude sur divers Monuments du règne de Thoutmos III.*, p. 28; Dümichen, *Hist. Inschr.*, vol. i. pls. 11, 12, 16, 17); but its importance was not recognised until after the discovery of the Tel el-Amarna tablets and of its situation (W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 281-286). The fact that a letter from the Prince of Mitânni is stated in a Hieratic docket to have come from Naharaim (Erman, *Nachtrag zu Winckler's Verzeichniss*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1889, vol. xxvii. p. 63) has been used as a proof that the countries were identical (Erman, *Der Thontafelfund von Tell-Amarna*, in the *Berliner Sitzungsberichte*, 1888, vol. ii. p. 584; also the observations of Schrader, p. 587; cf. Brinton, *The Land Mitani on the Egyptian Monuments*, in the *Proceedings* of the American Oriental Society, vol. xiv. pp. clxxv.-clxxvii.); I have shown that the docket proves only that Mitânni formed a part of Naharaim (*Journ. des Débats*, October 12, 1888). It extended over the province of Edessa and Harran, stretching out towards the sources of the Tigris (cf. Jensen, *Vorstudien zur Entzifferung des Mitanni*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. vi. p. 62). Niebuhr places it on the southern slope of the Masius in Mygdonia (*Studien und Bemerkungen zur Geschichte des Alten Orients*, i. pp. 88-90); Th. Reinach connects it with the Matieni (*Un Peuple oublié, les Matiènes*, in the *Revue des Études Grecques*, 1894, pp. 313-318), and asks whether this was not the region occupied by this people before their emigration towards the Caspian.

[3] Several of the Tel el-Amarna tablets are couched in this language, and three experts are now engaged in an attempt to decipher them (Jensen, *Vorstudien zur Entzifferung des Mitanni*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. v. pp. 166-208, and vol. vi. pp. 34-72; Brünnow, *Die Mitâni-Sprache*, *ibid.*, vol. v. pp. 209-259; and Sayce, *The Language of Mitanni*, *ibid.*, vol. v. pp. 260-310).

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph: cf. Petrie, *Racial Types*, No. 69.

[5] These names were recognised from the first in the inscriptions of Thûtmosis III. and in those of other Pharaohs of the XVIII[th] and XIX[th] dynasties; cf. W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 277-288.

armed bodies had rarely occasion to make use of it. It was a far cry from Memphis to Carchemish, and for the Egyptians this town continued to be a limit which they never passed, except incidentally, when they had to chastise some turbulent tribe, or to give some ill-guarded town to the flames.[1]

It would be a difficult task to define with any approach to accuracy the



THE HEADS OF THREE AMORITE CAPTIVES.[2]

distribution of the Canaanites, Amorites, and Aramæans, and to indicate the precise points where they came into contact with their rivals of non-Semitic stock. Frontiers between races and languages can never be very easily determined, and this is especially true of the peoples of Syria. They are so broken up and mixed in this region, that even in neighbourhoods where one predominant tribe is concentrated, it is easy to find at every step representatives of all the others. Four or five townships, singled out at random from the middle of a province, would often be found to belong to as many different races, and their respective inhabitants, while living within a distance of a mile or two, would be as great strangers to each other as if they were separated by the breadth of a continent.[3] It would appear that the breaking up of these populations had not been carried so far in ancient as in modern times, but the confusion must already have been great if we are to judge from the number of different sites where we encounter evidences of people of the same language and

[1] A certain number of towns mentioned in the lists of Thûtmosis III. were situated beyond the Euphrates, and they belonged some to Mitanni and some to the regions further away. Various efforts have been made to identify them, e.g. Fr. Lenormant, *Les Origines*, vol. iii. pp. 322–331; H. G. Tomkins, *On the Topography of Northern Syria*, etc., in the *Transactions Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. ix. pp. 227–254; and W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 290, 291.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph; cf. Petrie, *Racial Types*, No. 147.

[3] Cf. Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 122, 123, for the complete separation which still exists, for instance, between the Metualis and the other peoples of Syria.

blood. The bulk of the Khati had not yet departed from the Taurus region, but some stray bands of them, carried away by the movement which led to the invasion of the Hyksôs, had settled around Hebron, where the rugged nature of the country served to protect them from their neighbours.[1] The Amorites had their head-quarters around Qodshu[2] in Coele-Syria, but one section of them had taken up a position on the shores of the Lake of Tiberias in Galilee, others had established themselves within a short distance of Jaffa[3] on the Mediterranean, while others had settled in the neighbourhood of the southern Hittites in such numbers that their name in the Hebrew Scriptures was at times employed to designate the western mountainous region about the Dead Sea and the valley of the Jordan.[5] Their presence was also indicated on the table-lands bordering the desert of Damascus, in the districts frequented by Bedouin of the tribe of Terah, Ammon and Moab, on the rivers Yarmuk and Jabbok, and at Edrei and Heshbon.[6] The fuller, indeed, our knowledge is



A NORTHERN SYRIAN.—AMORITE.[4]

[1] In very early times they are described as dwelling near Hebron or in the mountains of Judah (*Gen.* xxiii., xxv. 9, 10, xxvi. 34, 35, xlix. 29–32; *Numb.* xiii. 29; cf. *Josh.* xi. 3). Since we have learned from the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments that the Khati dwelt in Northern Syria, the majority of commentators have been indisposed to admit the existence of southern Hittites, this name, it is alleged, having been introduced into the Biblical text through a misconception of the original documents, where the term Hittite was the equivalent of Canaanite (Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, vol. i. pp. 213, 214; Budde, *Die Biblische Urgeschichte*, p. 347, n. 1; Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israels*, vol. i. p. 143).

[2] Cf. the present volume, pp. 18, 19, 142, 143. Ed. Meyer, *Kritik der Berichte über die Eroberung Palaestina's*, in the *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1881, vol. i. p. 117, *et seq.*, and vol. iii. p. 306, *et seq.*, has established the fact that the term Amorite, as well as the parallel word Canaanite, was the designation of the inhabitants of Palestine before the arrival of the Hebrews; the former belonged to the prevailing tradition in the kingdom of Israel, the latter to that which was current in Judah (cf. Wellhausen, *Geschichte Israels*, vol. i. pp. 341–344). This view confirms the conclusion which may be drawn from the Egyptian monuments as to the power of expansion and the diffusion of this people; cf. for the Egyptian side of the question, W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 229–233.

[3] These were the Amorites which the tribe of Dan at a later period could not dislodge from the lands which had been allotted to them (*Josh.* xi. 4; *Judges* i. 34).

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin from a photograph in Petrie's *Racial Types*, No. 81 a.

[5] The northern Amorites are mentioned in *Gen.* xiv. 7, 13; in *Numb.* xiii. 29; in *Deut.* i. 7, 19, 27, 44; *Josh.* x. 5, 6, 12, xi. 3; their southern limit coincided with the Ascent of Scorpions [in the *Revised Version* the "ascent of Akrabbim."—Tr.] to the south-west of the Dead Sea (*Judges* i. 36).

[6] This was afterwards the domain of Sihon, King of the Amorites (*Numb.* xxi. 21–32, 34; *Deut.* ii. 24, iii. 2, xxix. 7; *Judges* xi. 19–23), and that of Og (*Numb.* xxi. 33–35; *Deut.* iii. 8–11, xxix. 7).

of the condition of Syria at the time of the Egyptian conquest, the more we are forced to recognise the mixture of races therein, and their almost infinite subdivisions. The mutual jealousies, however, of these elements of various origin were not so inveterate as to put an obstacle in the way, I will not say of political alliances, but of daily intercourse and frequent contracts. Owing to intermarriages between the tribes, and the continual crossing of the results of such unions, peculiar characteristics were at length eliminated, and a uniform type of face was the result. From north to south one special form of countenance, that which we usually call Semitic, prevailed among them.[1] The Syrian and Egyptian monuments furnish us everywhere, under different ethnical names, with representations of a broad-shouldered people of high stature, slender-figured in youth, but with a fatal tendency to obesity in old age. Their heads are large, somewhat narrow, and artificially flattened or deformed, like those of several modern tribes in the Lebanon.[3] Their high cheek-bones stand out from their hollow cheeks, and their blue or black eyes are buried under their enormous eyebrows. The lower part of the face is square and somewhat heavy, but it is often concealed by a thick and curly beard. The forehead is rather low and retreating, while the nose has a distinctly aquiline curve. The type is not on the whole so fine as the Egyptian, but it is not so heavy as that of the Chaldæans in the time of Gudea. The Theban artists have represented it in their battle-scenes, and while individualising every soldier or Asiatic prisoner with a happy knack so as to avoid monotony, they have with much intelligence impressed upon all of them the marks of a common parentage. One feels that the artists must have recognised them as belonging to one common family. They associated with their efforts after true and exact representation a certain caustic humour, which impelled them often to substitute for a portrait a more or less jocose caricature of their



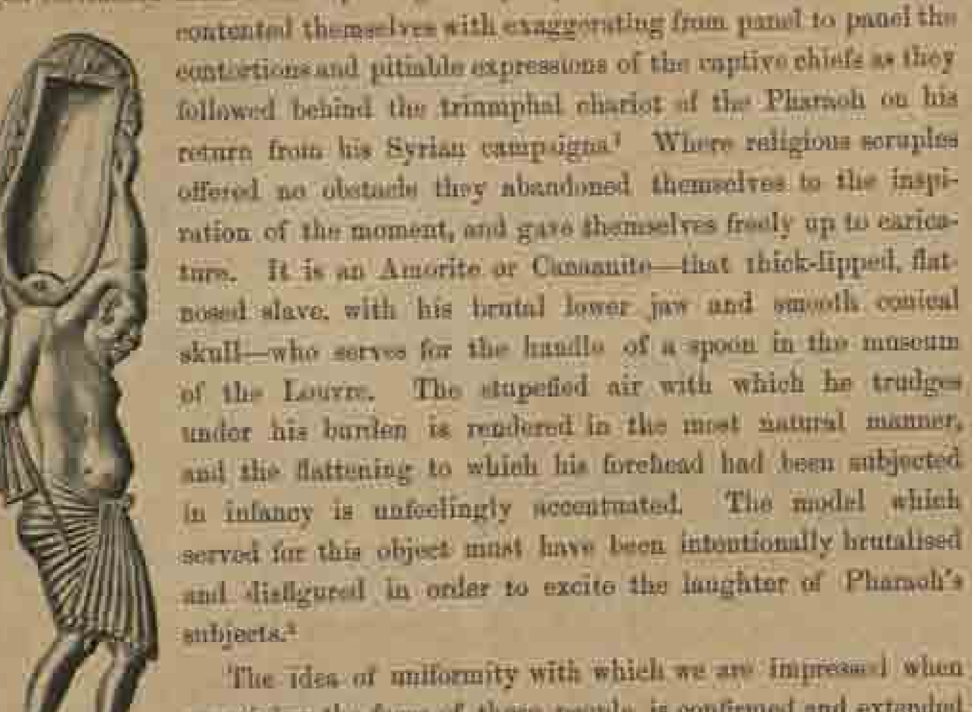
A CARICATURE OF THE SYRIAN TYPE.[2]

[1] Cf. on this subject the remarks of W. MAX MÜLLER, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 288, 294, and, in a contrary sense, SAYCE, *The Races of the Old Testament*, pp. 100–120, who distinguishes several types on the Egyptian monuments: the Amorites must have had the same physiognomy, and must have belonged to the same race as the Libyans of the monuments (cf. SAYCE, *Patriarchal Palestine*, pp. 47, 48).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by PETRIE, *Racial Types*, No. [illegible]

[3] HAMY, *Étude sur les peintures ethniques d'un Tombeau Thébain de la XVIII^e dynastie*, pp. 12, 13.

adversaries. On the walls of the Pylons, and in places where the majesty of a god restrained them from departing too openly from their official gravity, they contented themselves with exaggerating from panel to panel the contortions and pitiable expressions of the captive chiefs as they followed behind the triumphal chariot of the Pharaoh on his return from his Syrian campaigns.[1] Where religious scruples offered no obstacle they abandoned themselves to the inspiration of the moment, and gave themselves freely up to caricature. It is an Amorite or Canaanite—that thick-lipped, flat-nosed slave, with his brutal lower jaw and smooth conical skull—who serves for the handle of a spoon in the museum of the Louvre. The stupefied air with which he trudges under his burden is rendered in the most natural manner, and the flattening to which his forehead had been subjected in infancy is unfeelingly accentuated. The model which served for this object must have been intentionally brutalised and disfigured in order to excite the laughter of Pharaoh's subjects.[2]



AN ASIATIC.[3]

The idea of uniformity with which we are impressed when examining the faces of these people is confirmed and extended when we come to study their costumes. Men and women—we may say all Syrians according to their condition of life—had a choice between only two or three modes of dress, which, whatever the locality, or whatever the period, seemed never to change.[4] On closer examination slight shades of difference in cut and arrangement may, however, be detected, and it may be affirmed that fashion ran even in ancient

[1] An illustration of this will be found in the line of prisoners, brought by Seti I. from his great Asiatic campaign, which is depicted on the outer face of the north wall of the hypostyle at Karnak (Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., pl. ccxcii.; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. l.). With regard to the humorous representation of foreign races on the Egyptian monuments of the second empire, see Erman, *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben*, p. 691.

[2] Dr. Regnault, *Les Déformations crâniennes*, etc. (in *La Nature*, vol. xxii. pp. 157, 158), thinks that the head was artificially deformed in infancy: the bandage necessary to effect it must have been applied very low on the forehead in front, and to the whole occiput behind. If this is the case, the instance is not an isolated one, for a deformation of a similar character is found in the case of the numerous Semites represented on the tomb of Rakhmiri; a similar practice still obtains in certain parts of modern Syria (Hamy, *Étude sur les Peintures ethniques . . . de la XVIIIe dynastie*, pp. 12, 13); see p. 149 of this volume.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the original wooden object (consigned to the Louvre since Champollion's travels); cf. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, pl. clxxiii. 4; and Maspero in O. Rayet, *Les Monuments de l'Art antique*, vol. i.

[4] The costume and the industrial instruments of the Syrians as they are represented on the Egyptian monuments was studied in a general way by Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. i. pp. 243-262; by Osburn, *Egypt, her Testimony to the Truth*, pp. 114-145; and by W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 294-301, 302-308, which contain all the existing literature on the subject.

Syria through as many capricious evolutions as with ourselves; but these variations, which were evident to the eyes of the people of the time, are not sufficiently striking to enable us to classify the people, or to fix their date. The peasants and the lower class of citizens required no other clothing than a loin-cloth similar to that of the Egyptians,[1] or a shirt of a yellow or white colour, extending below the knees, and furnished with short sleeves.[2] The opening for the neck was cruciform, and the hem was usually ornamented with coloured needle-work or embroidery.



SYRIANS DRESSED IN THE LOIN-CLOTH AND DOUBLE SHAWL.[3]

The burghers and nobles wore over this a long strip of cloth, which, after passing closely round the hips and chest, was brought up and spread over the shoulders as a sort of cloak.[4] This was not made of the light material used in Egypt, which offered no protection from cold or rain, but was composed of a thick, rough wool, like that employed in Chaldæa, and was commonly adorned with stripes or bands of colour, in addition to spots and other conspicuous designs. Rich and fashionable folk substituted for this cloth two large shawls—one red and the other blue—in which they dexterously arrayed themselves so as to alternate the colours:[5] a belt of soft leather gathered the

[1] The loin-cloth is represented on the preceding page as the garment of the Asiatic chess. See also Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., cxcvii.; Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pls. xlviii. 2, lii., liii., lxvii., clv., clviii.; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 92, 116 a, b, 127, 128, 136 a, b; Bouriant, *Le Tombeau de Harmhabi*, pl. iv.; and Virey, *Tombeau de Ramenkheperseneb*, pl. i. pp. 201, 206, in the *Mémoires de la Mission française*, vol. v. It differs from the Egyptian in having pendent cords; the Syrian fellahîn still wear it when at work.

[2] This was the *kethôneth* of the Hebrews and Phœnicians which became the χιτών of the Greeks and the Latin *tunica*. [Chiton, tunica, our tunic.—Tr.] It is illustrated in Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., pls. lxx., cccvi., clviii. 1, clx. 1, clxxvii. 2, clxxxvi. 1, clxxix. 1; in Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. lxviii.; in Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 36, 105, 116 a, b, 125 a, 127, 128, 143 c, 164; in Virey, *Tombeau de Rekhmarâ*, pl. vii., *Tombeau de Ramenkheperseneb*, p. 204, and *Le Tombeau d'Amenemheb*, p. 244.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Insinger; cf. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. 116. The figures are taken from the tomb of Khamhâît, who lived towards the end of the XVIIIth dynasty.

[4] Champollion, *Mon. de l'Égypte*, etc., pl. lxvii.; Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pls. xliii.–l., lii., lxviii.–lxx., lxxx., clviii.; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 105, 116 a, b, 145 c, 156, 166; Virey, *Le Tombeau de Rekhmarâ*, pl. vii., and *Tombeau de Ramenkheperseneb*, pl. i.; Bouriant, *Le Tombeau de Harmhabi*, pl. iv. The Hebrew *simlah* corresponded probably with this part of the Syrian costume as it is represented on the Egyptian monuments.

[5] Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., cclxvii. 3; Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pls. xlvi.–xlvii., lii., lxviii., clviii.; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 97 d, 116 a, b, 145 b.

folds around the figure.[1] Red morocco buskins,[2] a soft cap, a handkerchief, a *keffiyeh* confined by a fillet, and sometimes a wig after the Egyptian fashion, completed the dress.[3] Beards were almost universal among the men, but the moustache was of rare occurrence.[4] In many of the figures represented on the monuments we find that the head was carefully shaved, while in others the hair was allowed to grow, arranged in curls, frizzed and shining with oil or sweet-smelling pomade, sometimes thrown back behind the ears and falling on the neck in bunches or curly masses, sometimes drawn out in stiff spikes so as to serve as a projecting cover over the face.[5] The women usually tired their hair in three great masses, of which the thickest was allowed to fall freely down the back; while the other two formed a kind of framework for the face, the ends descending on each side as far as the breast. Some of the women arranged their hair after the Egyptian manner, in a series of numerous small tresses, brought together at the ends so as to form a kind of plat, and terminating in a flower made of metal or enamelled terra-cotta. A network of



A SYRIAN WITH HAIR IN PENT-HOUSE FASHION.[6]

AN ASIATIC OF THE UPPER CLASS.[7]

[1] Champollion, *Mon. de l'Égypte*, etc., pl. clviii.; Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pl. xlvi.; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 127 b, 136.

[2] Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pl. xlvi. People of all classes are generally represented barefooted.

[3] The rolled-up handkerchief, the cap, the arrangement of the hair and the fillet, are illustrated in Champollion, *Mon. de l'Égypte*, xli., xxxvi. 2, 3, xxxvii., clxxvi. 1, cclvii., etc.; Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pls. clvi., xlviii. 2, xlix. 2, 1, lxvii., lxxx., clv., clvii., clviii., etc. 1, 2; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 87 a, 109, 116 a, b, 126 a, 127, 129, 136 a, b, d, 145 c, 156, 160; Virey, *Tombeau de Râmenkhepersenb*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission française*, vol. v. p. 208.

[4] As to the beard, see Champollion, *Mon. de l'Égypte*, xxvi., clv. 1, clxxvi., clxxxix., ccvii.; Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pls. clvii., clviii.; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 116 a, b, 136 a, b, d; Max Müller, *Asien und Europa nach altägypt. Denkm.*, pp. 295, 296, where the history of the fashion of wearing it is summarily given.

[5] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from Champollion, *Mon. de l'Égypte*, pl. clxxvi. 2; Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. xxii., No. 3. Cf. for *coiffures* with masses of curls, the vignette on table of contents of Chapter III. of the present volume.

[6] A singular instance of dressing the hair in this fashion is given in Champollion, *Mon. de l'Égypte*, pls. clx. 1, clxxxvi. 2, and clxxxix. (cf. Rosellini, *Mon. Civili*, pl. xxii., No. 3). The figure exhibiting it on the tomb of Rakhmiri has been since mutilated, as is evident from the sketches of Prisse d'Avennes (Hay), *Étude sur les Peintures ethniques d'un Tombeau Thébain*, p. 11, and Virey, *Le Tombeau de Rekhmarâ*, in the *Mém. de la Mission française*, vol. v. pl. vii.). The curious shape would lead one to believe that the artist had in his eye a primitive straw hat (W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 296). Wilkinson saw clearly that it was really a special form of *coiffure* (*Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. i. p. 246, No. 76 b, and p. 334). Other examples, where the form is less exaggerated (Virey, *Le Tombeau de Rekhmarâ*, pl. vii.), leave no doubt on the subject.

[7] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a figure on the tomb of Ramses III. (Champollion, *Mon. de l'Égypte*, pl. cclvii. 2; Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pl. clviii.) A Syrian draped in a double shawl, is given as a vignette to this chapter, p. 111.



A SYRIAN WITH A KERCHIEF AS A HEAD-DRESS.[3]

glass ornaments, arranged on a semicircle of beads, or on a background of embroidered stuff, was frequently used as a covering for the top of the head.[2] The shirt had no sleeves, and the fringed garment which covered it left half of the arm exposed.[3] Children of tender years had their heads shaved, and rejoiced in no more clothing than the little ones among the Egyptians.[4] With the exception of bracelets, anklets, rings on the fingers, and occasionally necklaces and earrings, the Syrians, both men and women, wore little jewellery. The Chaldæan women furnished them with models of fashion to which they accommodated themselves in the choice of stuffs, colours, cut of their mantles or petticoats, arrangement of the hair, and the use of cosmetics for the eyes and cheeks. In spite of distance the modes of Babylon reigned supreme. The Syrians would have continued to expose their right shoulder to the weather as long as it pleased the people of the Lower Euphrates to do the same; but as soon as the fashion changed in the latter region, and it became customary to cover the shoulder, and to wrap the upper part of the person in two or three thicknesses of heavy wool, they at once accommodated themselves to the new mode, although it served to restrain the free motion of the body. Among the upper classes, at least, domestic arrangements were modelled upon the fashions observed in the palaces of the nobles of Carchemish or Assur: the same articles of toilet, the same ranks of servants and scribes, the same luxurious habits, and the same use of perfumes were to be found among both.[6]

A YOUNG SYRIAN GIRL.[5]

[1] Examples of Syrian feminine costume are somewhat rare on the Egyptian monuments. In the scenes of the capturing of towns we see a few. Here the women are represented on the walls imploring the mercy of the besieger (CHAMPOLLION, *Mon. de l'Égypte*, pls. xii., xiv., xlv. 1, where the draughtsman has restored the head of a male figure; ROSELLINI, *Mon. Storici*, lxvii., lxviii., lxxx.; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 145 c). Other figures are those of prisoners being led captive into Egypt (VIREY, *Le Tombeau de Rekhmara*, in the *Mém. de la Mission du Caire*, vol. v. pl. vii.).

[2] For this form of covering, see, in addition to the figure on the right of the page, CHAMPOLLION, *Mon. de l'Égypte*, pl. xii.; ROSELLINI, *Mon. Storici*, lxvii., lxxx.; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 145 c.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from CHAMPOLLION, *Mon. de l'Égypte*, pl. xxxvi. 2; ROSELLINI, *Mon. Storici*, pl. clx., No. 3.

[4] See the naked children in CHAMPOLLION, *Mon. de l'Égypte*, etc., pl. xii.; ROSELLINI, *Mon. Storici*, lxviii., lxxx.; VIREY, *Le Tombeau de Rekhmara*, in the *Mém. de la Mission du Caire*, vol. v. pl. viii., and *Tombeau d'Amenemheb*, p. 234.

[5] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the original in the Louvre; cf. CHAMPOLLION, *Mon. de l'Égypte*, pl. cxcv. 1; and PRISSE d'AVENNES, *Hist. de l'Art Égyptien*.

[6] See the ancient Asiatic costume, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 718, et seq., and the statues of Tello furnishing the prototype, *ibid.*, 611, 612. An example of the fashion of leaving the shoulder bare is

From all that we can gather, in short, from the silence as well as from the misunderstandings of the Egyptian chroniclers, Syria stands before us as a fruitful and civilized country, of which one might be thankful to be a native, in spite of continual wars and frequent revolutions.

The religion of the Syrians was subject to the same influences as their customs; we are, as yet, far from being able to draw a complete picture of their theology, but such knowledge as we do possess recalls the same names and the same elements as are found in the religious systems of Chaldæa.[1] The myths, it is true, are still vague and misty, at least to our modern ideas: the general characteristics of the principal divinities alone stand out, and seem fairly well defined. As with the other Semitic races, the deity in a general sense, the primordial type of the godhead, was called *El* or *Ilu*, and his feminine counterpart *Ilât*, but we find comparatively few cities in which these nearly abstract beings enjoyed the veneration of the faithful.[2] The gods of Syria, like those of Egypt and of the countries watered by the Euphrates, were feudal princes distributed over the surface of the earth, their number corresponding with that of the independent states. Each nation, each tribe, each city, worshipped its own lord—*Adoni*[3]—or its master—*Baal*[4]—and each of these was designated by a special title to distinguish him from neighbouring *Baalim*, or masters. The Baal who ruled at Zebub was styled "Master of Zebub," or Baal-Zebub;[5]

found even in the XX[th] dynasty (CHAMPOLLION, *Mon. de l'Égypte*, pl. ccix.; ROSELLINI, *Mon. Reali*, pl. clviii.). The Tel el-Amarna tablets prove that, as far as the scribes were concerned, the customs and training of Syria and Chaldæa were identical. The Syrian princes are there represented as employing the cuneiform character in their correspondence, being accompanied by scribes brought up after the Chaldæan manner. (For the materials used by the scribe, see *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 670 et seq.) We shall see later on that the king of the Khati, who represented in the time of Ramses II. the type of an accomplished Syrian, had attendants similar to those of the Chaldæan kings.

[1] The Syrian deities which have been reproduced by the Egyptians on their monuments have been studied by M. DE VOGÜÉ, *Mélanges d'Arch. Orientale*, pp. 41–87; then by ED. MEYER, *Über einige Semitische Götter*, in the *Zeitschrift der D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, 1877, vol. xxxi. p. 716, et seq., and *Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. i. pp. 206–212, 246–252; cf. PIETSCHMANN, *Geschichte der Phönizier*, pp. 147–152; and W. MAX MÜLLER, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 309–318.

[2] The frequent occurrence of the term *Ilu* or *El* in names of towns in Southern Syria seems to indicate pretty conclusively that the inhabitants of these countries used this term by preference to designate their supreme god (MASPERO, *Sur les Noms Géograph. de la liste de Thoutmos III.*, etc., p. 10; cf. *Bithuilu*, on p. 129, n. 4, of the present work). Similarly we meet with it in Aramaic names (LEVY, *Phönizische Stud.*, ii. 29, 31, 32), and later on among the Nabathæans (M. DE VOGÜÉ, *Inscr. Sémit.*, p. 107); it predominates at Byblos and Berytus (cf. pp. 172, 178, 179 of the present work) in Phœnicia and among the Aramaic peoples of North Syria: in the Samalla country, for instance, during the VIII[th] century B.C. (HALÉVY, *Deux Inscriptions hétéennes de Zindjirli*, in the *Revue Sémitique*, vol. ii. p. 28).

[3] The extension of this term to Syrian countries is proved in the Israelitish epoch by Canaanitish names, such as Adonizedek (*Josh.* x. 1) and Adonibezek (*Judges* i. 5–7), or Jewish names such as Adonijah (2 *Sam.* iii. 4; 2 *Chron.* xvii. 8; *Neh.* x. 16), Adonikam (*Ezra* ii. 13, viii. 13), Adoniram-Adoram (2 *Sam.* xx. 24; 1 *Kings* iv. 6, xii. 18).

[4] Movers tried to prove that there was one particular god named Baal (*Die Phönizier*, vol. i. pp. 169–190), and his ideas, popularised in France by M. DE VOGÜÉ (*Mélanges d'Arch. Orientale*, pp. 56–85), prevailed for some time: since then scholars have gone back to the view of Münter (*Religion der Karthaginier*, p. 5, et seq.) and of the writers at the beginning of this century, who regarded the term Baal as a common epithet applicable to all gods.

[5] Baal-Zebub was worshipped at Ekron during the Philistine supremacy (2 *Kings* i. 2). As to

and the Baal of Hermon, who was an ally of Gad, goddess of fortune, was sometimes called Baal-Hermun, or "Master of Hermon," sometimes Baal-Gad, or "Master of Gad;"[2] the Baal of Shechem, at the time of the Israelite invasion, was "Master of the Covenant"—*Baal-Berith*—doubtless in memory of some agreement which he had concluded with his worshippers in regard to the conditions of their allegiance.[3] The prevalent conception of the essence and attributes of these deities was not the same in all their sanctuaries, but the



LOTANÛ WOMEN AND CHILDREN FROM THE TOMB OF KHAMHÂÎT.[4]

more exalted among them were regarded as personifying the sky in the day-time or at night, the atmosphere, the light,[5] or the sun, Shamash, as creator and prime mover of the universe;[6] and each declared himself to be king—*melek*—over the other gods.[7] Rashuf represented the lightning and the

the origin of the name, cf. HALÉVY, *Recherches Bibliques*, § xxvii., in the *Revue Sémitique*, vol. i. p. 23, who pointed out the name of the town of Zobah on one of the tablets of Tel el-Amarna. [This is not quite certain, as the last character of the name is written *ma* instead of *ba*, and Bezold claims to have found the name of *Ṣû-zubahi* in one of the Kouyunjik tablets.—ED.]

[2] The mountain of Baal-Hermon (*Judges* iii. 3; *cf.* 1 *Chron.* v. 23) is the mountain of Banias, where the Jordan has one of its sources, and the town of Baal-Hermon is Banias itself. The variant Baal-Gad occurs several times in the Biblical books (*Josh.* xi. 17, xii. 7, xiii. 5); as to Gad the goddess of good luck, cf. p. 158 of the present work.

[3] Baal-Berith, like Baal-Zebub, only occurs, so far as we know at present, in the Hebrew Scriptures (*Judges* viii. 33, ix. 4, 46), where, by the way, the first element, Baal, is changed to El, El-Berith (ix. 46).

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from coloured sketches by Prisse d'Avennes, *Au Mus. d'Hist. naturelle*.

[5] This appears under the name *Or* or *Ur* in the Samalla inscriptions of the VIII[th] century B.C. (HALÉVY, *Sur deux Inscriptions hébraïques de Zindjirli*, in the *Revue Sémitique*, vol. ii. pp. 29, 30); it is, so far, a unique instance among the Semites.

[6] The designation of this god is found among the Canaanites in the names of cities such as Beth-shemesh or Irshemesh (*Josh.* xv. 10, xxi. 16; 1 *Sam.* vi. 12; 1 *Chron.* vi. 59, etc.), Shemeshadunna (MASPERO, *Notes sur quelques points de Gramm.*, etc., in the *Zeitschrift*, 1879, p. 126; *cf.* W. MAX MÜLLER, *Europa und Asien*, pp. 303, 316). He is repeatedly mentioned in the texts of *Tel el-Amarna*, among the titles given to the Pharaoh; we meet with it again in the Samalla inscriptions of the VIII[th] century B.C. in Southern Syria (HALÉVY, *Deux Inscrip. hébraïques de Zind.*, in *Revue Sémit.*, vol. ii. p. 29).

[7] We find the term applied in the Bible to the national god of the Ammonites, under the forms *Molech*, *Moloch*, *Milkôm*, *Milchom*, and especially with the article, *Ham-molek*; the real name hidden beneath this epithet was probably *Ammôn* or *Amnaîn*, and, strictly speaking, the god Moloch only exists in the imagination of scholars (for a contrary opinion, however, cf. BAETHGEN, *Beiträge zur Semit.* etc., pp. 24–26). The epithet was used among the Canaanites in the name Melchizedek (*Gen.* xiv. 18), a similar form to Adonizedek (*Josh.* x. 1), Abimelech (*Gen.* xx. 2, *Judges* ix. 1), Ahimelech (1 *Sam.* xxi. 1); it was in current use among the Phoenicians, in reference to the god of Tyre, Molok-Karta or Melkarth, and in many proper names, such as Malekiathon (M. DE VOGÜÉ,

thunderbolt;[1] Shalmân, Hadad, and his double Rimmôn held sway over the air like the Babylonian Rammânu;[2] Dagon, patron god of fishermen and husbandmen, seems to have watched over the fruitfulness of the sea and the land.[3] We are beginning to learn the names of the races whom they specially protected; Rashuf the Amorites, Hadad and Rimmon the Aramæans of Damascus, Dagon the peoples of the coast between Ashkelon and the forest

Mélanges d'Arch. Orientale, pp. 5, 6), Baalmelek, Bahmalek, etc., not to mention the god Milichus worshipped in Spain (Silius Italicus, III. 104), who was really none other than Melkarth. As to the identification of Molek with the Chaldæan Malik, cf. Sayce, *Patriarchal Palestine*, pp. 82, 238, 239.

[1] The character and nature of the god Reshpu or Rashuf were elucidated by M. de Vogüé, *Mélanges d'Arch. Orientale*, pp. 49, 78–92. The Egyptian name of the god had been read as Reupu by the early Egyptologists (Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 1st edit., vol. iii. pp. 234, 235, and pl. lv.; Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments Égyptiens*, pl. xxxvii., and *Notice sur les Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée Britannique*, pp. 17, 18; E. de Rougé, Letter inserted in Layard, *Recherches sur le Culte du Cyprès Pyramidal*, etc., in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, vol. xx., pt. 2, p. 179). Birch was the first to restore it to its real form (*Mémoire sur une Patère Égyptienne du Musée du Louvre*, p. 59). Rashuf has since been made an object of study by Ed. Meyer, *Über einige Semitische Götter*, in the *Zeitschrift der D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, 1877, vol. xxi. p. 716; by Clermont-Ganneau, *Horus et Saint Georges, d'après un bas-relief inédit du Louvre*, pp. 15-25, and *Recueil d'Arch. Orientale*, vol. i. pp. 176–182; by Lefébure, *Égypto-Semitica*, in the *Gazette Archéologique*, 1880, pp. 199–202; by Pietschmann, *Geschichte der Phönizier*, pp. 149–162; by W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 311, 312; and by Sayce, *Patriarchal Palestine*, pp. 250, 251, 256. Reshpu has been vocalised *Reshef* in deference to the Egyptian orthography Rashapu. It was a name common to a whole family of lightning and storm-gods, and M. de Rougé pointed out long ago the passage in the Great Inscription of Ramses III. at Medinet-Habu, in which the soldiers who man the chariots are compared to the Rashapu; the Rabbinic Hebrew still employs this plural form in the sense of "demons" (M. de Vogüé, *Mélanges d'Arch. Orientale*, pp. 76–78; cf. W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 312). The Phœnician inscriptions contain references to several local Rashufs; the way in which this god is coupled with the goddess Qodshu on the Egyptian stelæ leads me to think that, at the epoch now under consideration, he was specially worshipped by the Amorites, just as his equivalent Hadad was by the inhabitants of Damascus, neighbours of the Amorites, and perhaps themselves Amorites (cf. p. 112 of the present work).

[2] Hadad and Rimmon are represented in Assyro-Chaldæan by one and the same ideogram, which may be read either Dadda, Hadad or Rammânu; cf. on this point what is said in Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 658, note 5. The identity of the expressions employed shows how close the connection between the two divinities must have been, even if they were not similar in all respects; from the Hebrew writings we know of the temple of Rimmon at Damascus (2 *Kings* v. 18), and that one of the kings of that city was called Tabrimmon = "Rimmon is good" (1 *Kings* xv. 18), while Hadad gave his name to no less than ten kings of the same city (Nicholas of Damascus, *Fragm.* 31, in Müller-Didot, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 373; cf. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, VII. v. 2). Even as late as the Græco-Roman epoch, kingship over the other gods was still attributed both to Rimmon (Hesychius, s. v. Ῥαμάς, compared with Stephen of Byzantium, s. v. *Λαοδίκεια*, who again quotes Philo of Byblos as his authority: cf. Müller-Didot, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 575) and to Hadad (Philo of Byblos, *Fragm.* 2, § 24, in Müller-Didot, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 569; Macrobius, *Saturn.* I. 23), but this latter was identified with the sun. As to the true status of Rimmon and Hadad, cf. Schrader, *Rimmon-Ramman*, in the *Zeitschrift für prot. Theologie*, 1878, vol. i. p. 334, et seq., 342, and *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Test.*, 2nd edit., pp. 205, 206; Baethgen, *Beiträge zur Semit. Religionsgesch.*, vol. i. pp. 305-317; Sayce, *The Higher Criticism*, pp. 85, 204, and *Patriarchal Palestine*, pp. 81, 257.

[3] The documents which we possess in regard to Dagon date from the Hebrew epoch, and represent him as worshipped by the Philistines (*Judges* xvi. 23–30; 1 *Sam.* v. 2; 1 *Chron.* x. 10). We know, however, from the Tel el-Amarna tablets, of a Dagantakala (Bezold-Budge, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, p. lxxxiii.), a name which proves the presence of the god among the Canaanites long before the Philistine invasion, and we find two Beth-Dagons—one in the plain of Judah (*Josh.* xv. 41), the other in the tribe of Asher (*Josh.* xix. 27); Philo of Byblos makes Dagon a Phœnician deity (*Fragm.* 2, § 14, 25; Müller-Didot, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. pp. 567–569), and declares him to be the genius of fecundity, master of grain and of labour. The representation of his statue which appears on the Græco-Roman coins of Aradus, reminds me of the fish-god of Chaldæa (cf. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 546, 547); as to his attributes, cf. Clermont-Ganneau, *Horus et Saint Georges, d'après un bas-relief inédit du Louvre*, pp. 12, 13, 22, 31-34; Pietschmann, *Geschichte der Phönizier*, pp. 144–146, and Sayce, *Patriarchal Palestine*, pp. 259, 260.

of Carmel. Rashuf is the only one whose appearance is known to us. He possessed the restless temperament usually attributed to the thunder-gods, and was, accordingly, pictured as a soldier armed with javelin and mace, bow and buckler: a gazelle's head with pointed horns surmounts his helmet, and sometimes, it may be, serves him as a cap. Each god had for his complement a goddess, who was proclaimed "mistress" of the city, *Baalat*, or "queen," *Milkat*, of heaven, just as the god himself was recognised as "master" or "king."[1]



ASTARTÉ AS A SPHINX.[2]

As a rule, the goddess was contented with the generic name of Astartê; but to this was often added some epithet, which lent her a distinct personality, and prevented her from being confounded with the Astartês of neighbouring cities, her companions or rivals.[3] Thus she would be styled the "good" Astartê, Ashtoreth Naamah,[4] or the "horned" Astartê, Ashtoreth Qarnaîm, because of the lunar crescent which appears on her forehead, as a sort of head-dress.[5] She was the goddess

[1] As to the general character of the goddesses, cf. Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. i. pp. 211, 246-248, 250, 251. Among goddesses to whom the title "Baalat" was referred, we have the goddess of Byblos, Baalat-Gebal (*Corpus Ins. Semit.*, vol. i. pp. 4, 5), also the goddess of Berytus, Baalat-Beruth, or Beyrut (Philo of Byblos, *Fragm.* 2, § 12, in Müller-Didot, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 567). The epithet "queen of heaven" is applied to the Phœnician Astartê by Hebrew (*Jer.* vii. 18, xliv. 17-25) and classic writers (Herodianus, v. 6, 10: Οὐρανίαν Φοίνικες Ἀστροάρχην ὀνομάζουσι, σελήνην εἶναι θέλοντες). The Egyptians, when they adopted these Canaanitish goddesses, preserved the title, and called each of them *nibît pît*, "lady of heaven" (Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments Égyptiens*, pl. xxxvii. and p. 7; Bergmann, *Die Inschriftliche Denkmäler*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xii. p. 196). In the Phœnician inscriptions their names are frequently preceded by the word *Rabbat*: *rabbat Baalat-Gebal*, "(my) lady Baalat-Gebal" (*Corp. Ins. Semit.*, vol. i. p. 4).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a copy of an original in chased gold; cf. Prisse d'Avennes, *Hist. de l'Art Égyptien*, p. 80.

[3] The Hebrew writers frequently refer to the Canaanite goddesses by the general title "the Ashtaroth" or "Astartes" (*Judges* ii. 13, x. 6; 1 *Sam.* vii. 3, 4, xii. 10), and a town in Northern Syria bore the significant name of Ishtarati = "the Ishtars, the Ashtaroth" (Bezold-Budge, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 42, pl. 88, l. 10), a name which finds a parallel in Anathoth = "the Anats," a title assumed by a town of the tribe of Benjamin; similarly, the Assyro-Chaldæans called their goddesses by the plural of Ishtar (cf. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 674). The inscription on an Egyptian amulet in the Louvre tells us of a personage of the XX[th] dynasty, who, from his name, Kaleshâu, must have been of Syrian origin, and who styled himself "Prophet of the Astartes," Hontniti Ashtarti (Maspero, *Mémoire sur quelques Papyrus du Louvre*, pp. 2-3; cf. W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, etc., p. 313, n. 3).

[4] This is the Astronoë mentioned by Damascius, a name which ought rather to be written [illegible], as suggested by Movers (*Die Phönizier*, vol. i. p. 636, et seq.; cf. Fr. Lenormant, *Lettres Assyriologiques*, vol. ii. p. 283, note 1).

[5] The two-horned Astarte gave her name to a city beyond the Jordan, of which she was, probably, the eponymous goddess (*Gen.* xiv. 5); she would seem to be represented on the curious monument called by the Arabs "the stone of Job," which was discovered by M. Schumacher in the centre of the Hauran (in the *Zeitschrift des Palästina Vereins*, vol. xiv. p. 142, et seq.; cf. vol. xv. p. 205). It was

of good luck, and was called Gad;[1] she was Anat,[2] or Asiti,[3] the chaste and the warlike. The statues sometimes represent her as a sphinx with a woman's head, but more often as a woman standing on a lion passant, either nude, or encircled round the hips by merely a girdle, her hands filled with flowers or with serpents, her features framed in a mass of heavy tresses—a faithful type of the priestesses who devoted themselves to her service, the *Qedeshôt*. She was the goddess of love in its animal, or rather in its purely physical, aspect, and in this capacity was styled Qaddishat the Holy, like the hetairæ of her family; Qodshu, the Amorite capital, was consecrated to her service, and she was there associated with Rashuf, the thunder-god.[4] But she often comes before us as a warlike Amazon, brandishing a club, lance, or shield, mounted on horseback like a soldier, and wandering through the desert in quest of her prey.[5] This dual temperament rendered her a goddess of uncertain attributes and of violent contrasts; at times reserved and chaste, at other times shameless and dissolute, but always cruel,

an analogous goddess whom the Egyptians sometimes identified with their Hâthor, and whom they represented as crowned with a crescent.

[1] Gad, the goddess of fortune, is mainly known to us in connection with the Ammonites; we find mention made of her by the Hebrew writers (*Isa.* lxv. 11), and geographical names, such as Baal-Gad and Migdal-Gad (*Josh.* xi. 17, xv. 37), prove that she must have been worshipped at a very early date in the Canaanite countries.

[2] Anat, or Anath, or Anit, has been found in a Phœnician inscription by M. de Vogüé, *Mélanges d'Arch. Orientale*, pp. 36–38, which enables us to reconstruct the history of the goddess (*ibid.*, p. 41, *et seq.*). Her worship was largely practised among the Canaanites, as is proved by the existence in the Hebrew epoch of several towns, such as Beth-Anath (*Josh.* xix. 38; *Judges* i. 33), Beth-Anoth (*Josh.* xv. 59), Anathoth (*Josh.* xxi. 18; 1 *Kings* ii. 26; *Jer.* i. 1, xxix. 27); at least one of which, Bit-Anti, is mentioned in the Egyptian geographical lists (Mariette, *Les Listes Géographiques des Pylônes de Karnak*, p. 42; Bait-Anti is a correction by W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 193). The appearance of Anat-Anti is known to us, as she is represented in Egyptian dress on several stelæ of the XIXth and XXth dynasties; cf. Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments Égyptiens*, pl. xxxvii. Her name, like that of Astarté, had become a generic term, in the plural form Anathôth, for a whole group of goddesses: cf. as to her attributes, Sayce, *Patriarchal Palestine*, pp. 256, 257.

[3] Asiti is represented at Redesieh, on a stele of the time of Seti I. (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 138; cf. Golénischeff, *Une Excursion à Bérénice*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiii. p. 78, where the correct reading is given for the first time); she enters into the composition of a compound name, *Asitisikhit* (perhaps "the goddess of Asiti is inflamed with anger"), which we find on a monument in the Vienna Museum (E. de Bergmann, *Inschriftliche Denkmäler*, in the *Recueil*, vol. vii. p. 190). W. Max Müller makes her out to have been a divinity of the desert (*Asien und Europa*, pp. 316, 317), and the place in which the picture representing her was found would seem to justify this hypothesis: the Egyptians connected her, as well as the other Astartes, with Sit-Typhon, owing to her cruel and warlike character.

[4] Qaddishat is known to us from the Egyptian monuments referred to above, p. 157, note 5. The name was sometimes written Qodshit, like that of the town: E. de Rougé argued from this that Qaddishat must have been the eponymous divinity of Qodshu (M. de Vogüé, *Mélanges d'Arch. Orientale*, p. 41), and that her real name was Kadshit or Kesh (Robiou, *Leçons de M. de Rougé*, etc., in the *Mélanges d'Arch. Égypt. et Assyr.*, vol. ii. p. 269); he recalls, however, the *rôle* played by the Qedeshoth, and admits that "the Holy here means the prostitute." Chabas (*Voyage d'un Égyptien*, p. 316) and Ed. Meyer (*Ueber einige Semitischen Götter*, in the *Zeitschrift der D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, 1877, vol. xxxi. p. 725, and *Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. i. pp. 241, 242) adopt E. de Rougé's theory in its entirety; Max Müller rejects the geographical connection, and deals only with the wanton temperament of the goddess (*Asien und Europa*, p. 315).

[5] *Cf.* the pictures of Anit and of Asiti; a fragment of a popular tale preserved in the British Museum, and mentioned by Birch (*Varia*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1871, pp. 119, 120), seems to show us Astarté in her character of war-goddess, and the sword of Astarté is mentioned by Chabas (*Le Papyrus Magique Harris*, pp. 35, 125, 127). A bas-relief at Edfu (Naville, *La Mythe d'Horus*, pl. xiii.) represents her standing upright in her chariot, drawn by horses, and trampling her enemies underfoot: she is there identified with Sokhit the warlike, destroyer of men: cf. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 165, 166.

always barren, for the countless multitude of her excesses for ever shut her out from motherhood: she conceives without ceasing, but never brings forth children.[1] The Baalim and Astartês frequented by choice the tops of mountains, such as Lebanon, Carmel, Hermon, or Kasios;[2] they dwelt near springs, or hid themselves in the depths of forests.[3] They revealed themselves to mortals through the heavenly bodies, and in all the phenomena of nature: the sun was a Baal, the moon was Astartê, and the whole host of heaven was composed of more or less powerful genii, as we find in Chaldæa. They required that offerings and prayers should be brought to them at the high places,[4] but they were also pleased—and especially the goddesses—to lodge in



QODSHU AND RASHUF ON A STELE IN THE LOUVRE.[1]

trees; tree-trunks, sometimes leafy, sometimes bare and branchless (*ashêrah*), long continued to be living emblems of the local Astartês among the peoples of

[1] This conception of the Syrian goddesses had already become firmly established at the period with which we are dealing, for an Egyptian magical formula defines Anîti and Astartê as "the great goddesses who conceiving do not bring forth young, for the Horuses have sealed them and Sit hath established them" (Chabas, *Le Papyrus Magique Harris*, pp. 55–58).

[2] For details in regard to the mountains, streams, and forests held sacred by the Syrian populations, see Baudissin, *Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, vol. ii. pp. 145–269. The Baal of Lebanon is mentioned in an archaic Phœnician inscription (*Corpus Ins. Semit.*, vol. i. pp. 22–26), and the name "Holy Cape" (*Rosh-Qodshu*), borne in the time of Thûtmosis III. either by Haifa or by a neighbouring town, proves that Carmel was held sacred as far back as the Egyptian epoch (cf. *supra*, p. 155, note 5). Baal Hermon has already been mentioned on p. 154; the evidence in reference to the worship of El-Kasiu (Ζεὺς Κάσιος) has been collected by M. de Vogüé (*Syrie Centrale, Inscriptions*, pp. 103–105).

[3] The source of the Jordan, near Banias, was the seat of a Baal whom the Greeks identified with Pan. This was probably the Baal-Gad who often lent his name to the neighbouring town of Baal-Hermon (cf. *supra*, p. 155); many of the rivers of Phœnicia were called after the divinities worshipped in the nearest city, e.g. the Adonis, the Bélos, the Asklepios, the Damuras (Baudissin, *Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, vol. ii. pp. 159–167).

[4] These are the "high places" (*bamôth*) so frequently referred to by the Hebrew prophets, and which we find in the country of Moab, according to the Mesha inscription (l. 3), and in the place-name Bamoth-Baal (*Numb.* xxi. 19, xxii. 41; *Josh.* xiii. 17); many of them seem to have served for Canaanitish places of worship before they were resorted to by the children of Israel. Cf. Baudissin, *Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, vol. ii. pp. 252–261.

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the original in the Louvre.

Southern Syria.[1] Side by side with these plant-gods we find everywhere, in the inmost recesses of the temples, at cross-roads, and in the open fields, blocks of stone hewn into pillars, isolated boulders, or natural rocks, sometimes of meteoric origin, which were recognised by certain mysterious marks to be the house of the god, the Betyli or Beth-els in which he enclosed a part of his intelligence and vital force.[2]

The worship of these gods involved the performance of ceremonies more bloody and licentious even than those practised by other races. The Baalim thirsted after blood, nor would they be satisfied with any common blood such as generally contented their brethren in Chaldæa or Egypt: they imperatively demanded human as well as animal sacrifices. Among several of the Syrian nations they had a prescriptive right to the firstborn male of each family;[3] this right was generally commuted, either by a money payment or by subjecting the infant to circumcision.[4] At important junctures, however, this pretence of bloodshed would fail to appease them, and the death of the child alone availed.[5] Indeed, in times of national danger, the king and nobles would furnish, not merely a single victim, but as many as the priests chose to demand.[6] While they were being burnt alive on the knees of the statue, or before the sacred emblem, their cries of pain were drowned by the piping of flutes or the blare of trumpets, the parents standing near the altar, without a sign of pity, and dressed as for a festival: the ruler of the world could refuse nothing to prayers backed by so precious an offering, and by a

[1] As to the *Ashêrâh* (or, sometimes in the masculine, *Ashêrim*), who have been made out to have been regular divinities, analogous to the *Astartes*, or distinct from them (cf. especially Movers, *Die Phönizier*, vol. i. pp. 560–584), see Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israels*, vol. i. pp. 458–461, and Vernes, *Du prétendu Polythéisme des Hébreux*, vol. i. pp. 94–98.

[2] A stone hewn into a pillar, or stele, was called a *massebah* by the Hebrews and Phœnicians (*Corpus Inscr. Semit.*, vol. i. pp. 63, 88, 79–89), less frequently *neçib* (*Gen.* xix. 26, A.V., "pillar of salt;" *Corpus Ins. Semit.*, vol. i. pp. 154, 155, 194). As to the *Betyli* and their history, cf. the very exhaustive article by Fr. Lenormant, *Les Bétyles*, in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. iii. pp. 31–53, and Ph. Berger, *Note sur les pierres sacrées*, extracted from the *Journal Asiatique*, 1877.

[3] This fact is proved, in so far as the Hebrew people is concerned, by the texts of the Pentateuch (*Exod.* xxii. 29, xxxiv. 19, 20) and of the prophets (*Micah* vi. 7; *Ezek.* xx. 26); amongst the Moabites also it was his eldest son whom King Mesha took to offer to his god (2 *Kings* iii. 27). We find the same custom among other Syrian races. Philo of Byblos (*Fragm.* 2, § 24, in Müller-Didot, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 569) tells us, in fact, that El-Kronos, god of Byblos, sacrificed his firstborn son and set the example of this kind of offering. Cf. for the antiquity of this practice, Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. i. pp. 249, 250, who does not hesitate to conclude that it was in full force from the time of the Egyptian supremacy onwards.

[4] Redemption by a payment in money was the case among the Hebrews (*Numb.* xviii. 15, 16), as also the substitution of an animal in the place of a child (*Gen.* xxii. 1–13); as to redemption by circumcision, cf. the story of Moses and Zipporah, where the mother saves her son from Jahveh by circumcising him (*Exod.* iv. 24–26). Circumcision was practised among the Syrians of Palestine in the time of Herodotus (II. civ.; cf. Wiedemann, *Herodots zweites Buch*, pp. 410–413; Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. i. p. 250; and Th. Reinach, *De Quelques faits relatifs à l'histoire de la circoncision*, in *L'Anthropologie*, 1893, pp. 28–31).

[5] As to sacrifices of children among peoples of Syrian origin, cf. the texts collected by Movers, *Die Phönizier*, vol. i. pp. 299–311.

[6] Plutarch, *De Superstitione*, § 13; if we may credit Tertullian (*Apolog.*, 9), the custom of offering up children as sacrifices lasted down to the proconsulate of Tiberius.



A TRANSJORDANIAN DOLMEN.[1]

purpose so determined to move him. Such sacrifices were, however, the exception, and the shedding of their own blood by his priests sufficed, as a rule, for the daily wants of the god. Seizing their knives, they would slash their arms and breasts with the view of compelling, by this offering of their own persons, the good will of the Baalim.[2] The Astartes of all degrees and kinds were hardly less cruel; they imposed frequent flagellations, self-mutilation, and sometimes even emasculation, on their devotees.[3] Around the majority of these goddesses was gathered an infamous troop of profligates (*kedeshîm*), "dogs of love" (*kelabîm*), and courtesans (*kedeshôt*).[4] The temples bore little resemblance to those of the regions of the Lower Euphrates: nowhere do we find traces of those *ziggurât* which serve to produce the peculiar jagged outline characteristic of Chaldæan cities.[5] The Syrian edifices were stone buildings, which included, in addition to the halls and courts reserved for religious rites, dwelling-rooms for the priesthood, and storehouses for provisions: though not to be compared in size with the sanctuaries of Thebes,

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph. It is one of the dolmens found in the neighbourhood of Amman.

[2] Cf., for the Hebraic epoch, the scene where the priests of Baal, in a trial of power with Elijah before Ahab, offered up sacrifices on the highest point of Carmel, and finding that their offerings did not meet with the usual success, "cut themselves . . . with knives and lancets till the blood gushed out upon them" (1 *Kings* xviii. 28).

[3] See, on this point, the passages collected by MOVERS, *Die Phönizier*, vol. i. pp. 681–683. The legend of Combabos at Hierapolis (LUCIAN, *De Deâ Syriâ*, §§ 19-27) is supposed to explain the origin of emasculation in honour of the goddess.

[4] As to the *kedeshîm* and *kedeshôt*, cf. MOVERS, *Die Phönizier*, vol. i. pp. 677–681, where most of the facts concerning them have been collected. The expression "dog" sometimes employed in the Hebrew texts (*Deut.* xxiii. 17, 18), is met with in a Phœnician inscription at Cyprus (*Corp. Ins. Semit.* vol. i. pp. 92–93).

[5] In regard to the Phœnician and Canaanite temples, cf. PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. iii. pp. 241–322; vol. iv. pp. 474–479; and PIETSCHMANN, *Geschichte der Phönizier*, pp. 200–203.

they yet answered the purpose of strongholds in time of need, and were capable of resisting the attacks of a victorious foe.[1] A numerous staff, consisting of priests, male and female singers, porters, butchers, slaves, and artisans, was assigned to each of these temples: here the god was accustomed to give forth his oracles, either by the voice of his prophets, or by the movement of his statues.[2] The greater number of the festivals celebrated in them were closely connected with the pastoral and agricultural life of the country; they inaugurated, or brought to a close, the principal operations of the year—the sowing of seed, the harvest, the vintage, the shearing of the sheep. At Shechem, when the grapes were ripe, the people flocked out of the town into the vineyards, returning to the temple for religious observances and sacred banquets when the fruit had been trodden in the winepress.[3] In times of extraordinary distress, such as a prolonged drought or a famine, the priests were wont to ascend in solemn procession to the high places in order to implore the pity of their divine masters, from whom they strove to extort help, or to obtain the wished-for rain, by their dances, their lamentations, and the shedding of their blood.[4] Almost everywhere, but especially in the regions east of the Jordan, were monuments which popular piety surrounded with a superstitious reverence. Such were the isolated boulders, or, as we should call them, "menhirs," reared on the summit of a knoll, or on the edge of a tableland; dolmens, formed of a flat slab placed on the top of two roughly hewn supports, cromlechs, or, that is to say, stone circles, in the centre of which might be found a beth-el. We know not by whom were set up these monuments there, nor at what time: the fact that they are in no way different from those which are to be met with in Western Europe and the north of Africa has given rise to the theory that they were the work of some one primeval race which wandered ceaselessly over the ancient world. A few of them may have marked the tombs of some forgotten personages, the discovery of human bones beneath them confirming such a conjecture; while others seem to have been holy

[1] The story of Abimelech gives us some idea of what the Canaanite temple of Baal-Berith at Shechem was like (*Judges* ix. 27, 46–49).

[2] As to the regular organisation of Baal-worship, we possess only documents of a comparatively late period, such as the fragments of accounts published in the *Corp. Ins. Semit.*, vol. i. pp. 92–99, or the remnants of sacrificial tariffs discovered at Marseilles and in Africa. In the Hebrew era we have incidental mention of the prophets and priests of Baal, *e.g.* in 1 *Kings* xviii. 19, 22–29, 40. The priesthood of Baal, Astarté, and Qadishu, as organised in Egypt under the Theban dynasties, is familiar to us from the stelæ so frequently quoted (cf. *supra*, pp. 155, 161), and from other small monuments; the titles are, naturally, those assumed by the Egyptian priests, the inscriptions being written in hieroglyphics.

[3] *Judges* ix. 26, 27. It is probable that the vintage festival, celebrated at Shiloh in the time of the Judges (*Judges* xxi. 19–23), dated back to a period of Canaanite history prior to the Hebrew invasion, *i.e.* to the time of the Egyptian supremacy.

[4] Cf., in the Hebraic period, the scene where the priests of Baal go up to the top of Mount Carmel with the prophet Elijah (1 *Kings* xviii. 20–40).



A CROMLECH IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF HESBÂN, IN THE COUNTRY OF MOAB.[1]

places and altars from the beginning.[2] The nations of Syria did not in all cases recognise the original purpose of these monuments, but regarded them as marking the seat of an ancient divinity, or the precise spot on which he had at some time manifested himself. When the children of Israel caught sight of them again on their return from Egypt, they at once recognised in them the work of their patriarchs. The dolmen at Shechem was the altar which Abraham had built to the Eternal after his arrival in the country of Canaan.[3] Isaac had raised that at Beersheba, on the very spot where Jehovah had appeared in order to renew with him the covenant that He had made with Abraham.[4] One might almost reconstruct a map of the wanderings of Jacob from the altars which he built at each of his principal resting-places—at Gilead [Galeed], at Ephrata, at Bethel, and at Shechem.[5] Each of such

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph.

[2] The Syrian dolmens were first mentioned by IRBY-MANGLES, *Travels in Egypt and Nubia, etc., during the Years 1817–18*, pp. 26, 142, probably those at Ala-Safat and at Mandumieh; others were afterwards discovered by F. de Saulcy, in the land of Ammon, at Suweileh (*Voyage en Terre-Sainte*, vol. i. pp. 312–315), and at Shuhabah, not far north of Nazareth (*Ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 275, 276); both one and the other have been carefully examined by Lartet in the work of the DUC DE LUYNES, *Voyage d'exploration autour de la mer Morte*, vol. i. pp. 134–137, and vol. iii. pp. 233–240. Since then, quite a large number of these remains have been reported, especially near the Jaulan and the Hauran, where there are whole fields of them (SCHUMACHER, *Across the Jordan*, p. 62, et seq., and *The Jaulan*, p. 123, et seq.). In the Hebrew books, menhirs are classed with sacred stelæ, under the name of *mazzêbah*, and dolmens with altars (*mizbêakh*); cromlechs are called *gilgal*, or circles of stone (*Josh.* iv. 20).

[3] *Gen.* xii. 6, 7; there is an altar erected by Jacob in the same locality (*Gen.* xxxiii. 20), probably identical with that which another tradition attributes to Abraham.

[4] *Gen.* xxvi. 23–25.

[5] The heap of stones at Galeed, in Aramaic *Jegar-Sahadutha*, "the heap of witness," marked the spot where Laban and Jacob were reconciled (*Gen.* xxxi. 45–54; cf. *supra*, pp. 65, 69); the stele or

still existing objects probably had a history of its own, connecting it inseparably with some far-off event in the local annals. Most of them were objects of worship: they were anointed with oil, and victims were slaughtered in their honour; the faithful even came at times to spend the night and sleep near them, in order to obtain in their dreams glimpses of the future.[1]

Men and beasts were supposed to be animated, during their life-time, by a breath or soul which ran in their veins along with their blood, and served to move their limbs; the man, therefore, who drank blood or ate bleeding flesh assimilated thereby the soul which inhered in it.[2] After death the fate of this soul was similar to that ascribed to the spirits of the departed in Egypt and Chaldæa. The inhabitants of the ancient world were always accustomed to regard the surviving element in man as something restless and unhappy—a weak and pitiable double, doomed to hopeless destruction if deprived of the succour of the living. They imagined it as taking up its abode near the body wrapped in a half-conscious lethargy; or else as dwelling with the other *rephaïm* (departed spirits) in some dismal and gloomy kingdom, hidden in the bowels of the earth, like the region ruled by the Chaldæan Allât, its doors gaping wide to engulf new arrivals, but allowing none to escape who had once passed the threshold.[3] There it wasted away, a prey to sullen melancholy, under the sway of inexorable deities, chief amongst whom, according to the Phœnician idea, was Mout (Death),[4] the grandson of El; there the slave became the equal of his former master, the rich man no longer possessed anything which could raise him above the poor, and dreaded monarchs were greeted on their entrance by the jeers of kings who had gone down into the night before them.[5] The corpse, after it had been anointed with perfumes and enveloped in linen,

the way to Ephrath was the tomb of Rachel (*Gen.* xxxv. 20); the altar and stele at Bethel marked the spot where God appeared unto Jacob (*Gen.* xxviii. 10–22, xxxv. 1–15); for the altar at Shechem, see *Gen.* xxxiii. 20.

[1] For the anointing with oil, cf. *Gen.* xxviii. 18, xxxi. 13, xxxv. 14; and for sacrifices, *Gen.* xxxi. 54. The masseba at Bethel was the identical one whereon Jacob rested his head on the night in which Jahveh appeared to him in a dream (*Gen.* xxviii. 18). In Phœnicia there was a legend which told how Usôos set up two stelæ to the elements of wind and fire, and how he offered the blood of the animals he had killed in the chase as a libation (PHILO OF BYBLOS, *Fragm.* 2, § 8, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 566); cf. *infra*, p. 184, for what is said on this subject.

[2] This is the *nephesh* of the Bible. As to the Hebrew view of the blood and the soul, cf. *Deut.* xii. 23; 1 *Sam.* xiv. 32–34. The Phœnician doctrines in regard to the soul and its condition have been very clearly summarised by PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. iii. pp. 137–144, and by PIETSCHMANN, *Geschichte der Phönizier*, pp. 191–196.

[3] The expression *rephaïm* (*Corp. Ins. Semit.*, vol. i. pp. 13, 14, 19, 20, l. 8) means "the feeble" (cf. *Isa.* xiv. 10); it was the epithet applied by the Hebrews to a part of the primitive races of Palestine (cf. *supra*, p. 48). A description of this kingdom of the departed, as conceived by the Hebrews as late as the VIth century, occurs in *Isa.* xiv. 9–20, and in *Ezek.* xxxii. 17–32; cf. the description of the Chaldæan hell in MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 693, *et seq.*

[4] PHILO OF BYBLOS, *Fragm.* 2, § 24, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 569; among the Hebrews his name was Mâveth, who feeds the departed like sheep, and himself feeds on them in hell (*Ps.* xlix. 14). Some writers have sought to identify this or some analogous god with the lion represented on a *stele* of Piræus (*Corp. Ins. Semit.*, vol. i. pp. 138–141, pl. xxiii.) which threatens to devour the body of a dead man (PIETSCHMANN, *Geschichte der Phönizier*, pp. 193, 194).

[5] *Job* iii. 11–19; *Isa.* xiv. 9–20; *Ezek.* xxxii. 17–32.



A CORNER OF THE PHŒNICIAN NECROPOLIS AT ADLUN.[1]

and impregnated with substances which retarded its decomposition, was placed in some natural grotto or in a cave hollowed out of the solid rock: sometimes it was simply laid on the bare earth, sometimes in a sarcophagus or coffin, and on it, or around it, were piled amulets, jewels, objects of daily use, vessels filled with perfume, or household utensils, together with meat and drink.[2] The entrance was then closed, and on the spot a cippus was erected —in popular estimation sometimes held to represent the soul—or a monument was set up on a scale proportionate to the importance of the family to which the dead man had belonged.[3] On certain days beasts ceremonially pure were sacrificed at the tomb, and libations poured out, which, carried into the next world by virtue of the prayers of those who offered them, and by the aid of the gods to whom the prayers were addressed, assuaged the hunger and thirst of the dead man.[4] The chapels and stelæ which marked the exterior of

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph in LORTET, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui*, p. 132.

[2] Fragments of textile fabrics have been found in the tombs at Amrit (RENAN, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 78, 421, 422); the furniture and remains of offerings are described in PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. iii. pp. 197–207. The Jews sometimes embalmed the bodies of the dead, at any rate in the case of their kings (2 Chron. xvi. 14). As to burial in caverns, see Gen. xxiii. 3–20, xxv. 9, 10, l. 13; the caves were merely artificial, or partly artificial grottoes (RENAN, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 822).

[3] The pillar or stele was used among both Hebrews (Gen. xxxv. 14, 20) and Phœnicians (RENAN, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 73, 80) to mark the graves of distinguished persons. Among the Semites speaking Aramaic it was called *nephesh* (*Corp. Ins. Semit.*, p. ii. vol. i. pp. 117, 118, etc.), especially when it took the form of a pyramid (*Corp. Ins. Semit.*, p. ii. vol. i. p. 195, and RUBENS DUVAL, *Note sur le monument funéraire appelé nephesh*, in the *Revue Sémitique*, vol. ii. pp. 259–263); the word means "breath," "soul," and clearly shows the ideas associated with the object.

[4] An altar was sometimes placed in front of the sarcophagus to receive these offerings (F. DE

these "eternal"[1] houses have disappeared in the course of the various wars by which Syria suffered so heavily; in almost all cases, therefore, we are ignorant as to the sites of the various cities of the dead in which the nobles and common people of the Canaanite and Amorite towns were laid to rest.[2] In Phœnicia alone do we meet with burial-places which, after the vicissitudes and upheavals of thirty centuries, still retain something of their original arrangement.[3] Sometimes the site chosen was on level ground: perpendicular shafts or stairways cut in the soil led down to low-roofed chambers, the number of which varied according to circumstances; they were often arranged in two stories, placed one above the other, fresh vaults being probably added as the old ones were filled up. They were usually rectangular in shape, with horizontal or slightly arched ceilings; niches cut in the walls received the dead body and the objects intended for its use in the next world, and were then closed with a slab of stone.[4] Elsewhere some isolated hill or narrow gorge, with sides of fine homogeneous limestone, was selected.[5] In this case the doors were placed in rows on a sort of façade similar to that of the Egyptian rock-tomb, generally without any attempt at external ornament. The vaults were on the ground-level, but were not used as chapels for the celebration of festivals in honour of the dead; they were walled up after every funeral, and all access to them forbidden, until such time as they were again required for the purposes of burial. Except on these occasions of sad necessity, those whom "the mouth of the pit had devoured" dreaded the visits of the living, and resorted to every means afforded by their religion to protect themselves *from* them. Their inscriptions declare repeatedly that neither gold nor silver, nor any object which could excite the greed of robbers, was to be found within their graves; they threaten any one who should dare to deprive them of such articles of little value as belonged to them, or to turn them out of their chambers in order to make room for others, with all sorts of vengeance, divine and human.[6] These imprecations have not, however,

SAULCY, *Voyage autour de la mer Morte et dans les Terres Bibliques*, vol. i. p. 60, pl. v.; RENAN, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 796, 797, pl. l.)

[1] This expression, which is identical with that used by the Egyptians of the same period, is found in one of the Phœnician inscriptions at Malta (*Corp. Ins. Semit.*, vol. i. pp. 158–159).

[2] The excavations carried out by M. Gautier in 1893–94, on the little island of Bahr-el-Kades, at one time believed to have been the site of the town of Qodshu, have revealed the existence of a number of tombs in the enclosure which forms the central part of the tumulus; some of these may possibly date from the Amorite epoch, but they are very poor in remains, and contain no object which permits us to fix the date with accuracy.

[3] A summary of the researches undertaken by Renan, and described in detail in the *Mission de Phénicie*, will be found in PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. iii. pp. 144–173.

[4] *E.g.* the Arados tombs described by RENAN, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 73–79.

[5] Such was the necropolis at Adlun, the last rearrangement of which took place during the Græco-Roman period (RENAN, *Mission*, etc., pp. 657, 660, *et seq.*), but which externally bears so strong a resemblance to an Egyptian necropolis of the XVIIIth or XIXth dynasty, that we may, without violating the probabilities, trace its origin back to the time of the Pharaonic conquest.

[6] Cf. the curses with which Eshmunazar threatens any one who should venture to desecrate his

availed to save them from the desecration the danger of which they foresaw, and there are few of their tombs which were not occupied by a succession of tenants between the date of their first making and the close of the Roman supremacy. When the modern explorer chances to discover a vault which has escaped the spade of the treasure-seeker, it is hardly ever the case that the bodies whose remains are unearthed prove to be those of the original proprietors.

The gods and legends of Chaldæa had penetrated to the countries of Amauru and Canaan, together with the language of the conquerors and their system of writing: the stories of Adapa's struggles against the south-west wind, or of the incidents which forced Irishkigal, queen of the dead, to wed Nergal, were accustomed to be read at the courts of Syrian princes.[2] Chaldæan theology, therefore, must have exercised influence on individual Syrians and on their belief; but although we are forced to allow the existence of such influence, we cannot define precisely the effects produced by it. Only on the coast and in the Phœnician cities do the local religions seem to have become formulated at a fairly early date, and crystallised under pressure of this influence into cosmogonic theories. The Baalim and Astartes reigned there as on the banks of the Jordan or Orontes, and in each town Baal was "the most high," master of heaven and eternity, creator of everything which exists, though the character of his creating acts was variously defined according to time and place. Some regarded him as the personification of Justice, Sydyk, who established the universe with the help of eight indefatigable Cabiri.[3] Others held the whole world to be the work of a divine family, whose successive generations gave birth to the various elements. The storm-wind, Colpias, wedded to Chaos, had begotten two mortals, Ulom (Time) and Kadmôn (the First-Born), and these in their turn engendered Qûn and Qûnath, who dwelt in Phœnicia: then came a drought, and they lifted up their heads to the Sun, imploring him, as Lord of the Heavens (*Baalsamin*), to put an end to their woes.[4] At

tomb (*Corp. Ins. Semit.*, vol. i. pp. 9-20), and the last lines of the stela at Byblos (*Corp. Ins. Semit.*, vol. i. pp. 1-8).

[2] These fragments were discovered at Tel el-Amarna, among the diplomatic correspondence between the Syrian princes and Amenôthes III. and IV. (Bezold-Budge, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, pp. lxxxv., lxxxvi.). The legend of Adapa will be found in Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 659-661; as to the significance attached to it in Syria, cf. Sayce, *Patriarchal Palestine*, pp. 262, 263.

[3] This is the account of the cosmogony preserved for us by Photius from a fragment of Damascius (*Sanchoniathonis Berytii quæ feruntur fragmenta*, ed. Orelli, p. 32): its general tenor recalls the teaching of the Hermopolitan School (cf. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 145, et seq.), a fact which may be due to Egyptian influence.

[4] Philo of Byblos, *Fragm.* 2, § 5, in Müller-Didot, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. pp. 565, 566. Colpias is most probably a transliteration of the composite name Kol-piakh, "the Voice of the Breath" (Roth, *Geschichte unserer Abendländischen Philosophie*, vol. i. p. 251; Schröder, *Die Phönizische Sprache*, p. 80): as with the Hebrews, Chaos is Bohû. Renan (*Mémoire sur l'origine et sur le caractère véritable de l'Histoire Phénicienne qui porte le nom de Sanchoniathon*, pp. 257-259) has shown that the words Αἰών and Πρωτόγονος in the Greek text correspond to the expressions *Olâm*, in Phœnician *Ulom* (Schröder, *Die Phönizische Sprache*, pp. 125-127), and Kadmôn. Baalsamin is an Aramaic form of Baal-samim or Bal-samem (Schröder, *Die Phönizische Sprache*, p. 121, note 2, p. 175).

Tyre it was thought that Chaos existed at the beginning, but chaos of a dark and troubled nature, over which a Breath (*rûakh*) floated without affecting it; "and this Chaos had no ending, and it was thus for centuries and centuries.—Then the Breath became enamoured of its own principles, and brought about a change in itself, and this change was called Desire;—now Desire was the principle which created all things, and the Breath knew not its own creation.—The Breath and Chaos, therefore, became united, and Môt the Clay was born, and from this clay sprang all the seed of creation, and Môt was the father of all things; now Môt was like an egg in shape.—And the Sun, the Moon, the stars, the great planets, shone forth.[1] There were living beings devoid of intelligence, and from these living beings came intelligent beings, who were called *Zophasamîn*, or 'watchers of the heavens.'[2] Now the thunder-claps in the war of separating elements awoke these intelligent beings as it were from a sleep, and then the males and the females began to stir themselves and to seek one another on the land and in the sea."[3] A scholar of the Roman epoch, Philo of Byblos, using as a basis some old documents hidden away in the sanctuaries, which had apparently been classified by Sanchoniathon, a priest long before his time, has handed these theories of the cosmogony down to us; after he has explained how the world was brought out of Chaos, he gives a brief summary of the dawn of civilization in Phœnicia and the legendary period in its history.[4] No doubt he interprets the writings from which he compiled his work in accordance with the spirit of his time; he has none the less preserved their substance more or less faithfully. Beneath the veneer of abstraction with which the Greek tongue and mind have overlaid the fragment just quoted, we discern that groundwork of barbaric ideas which is to be met with in most Oriental theologies, whether Egyptian or Babylonian. At first

[1] Môt, the clay formed by the corruption of earth and water, [illegible], is probably a Phœnician form of a word which means *water* in the Semitic languages (Roth, *Geschichte unserer abendländischen Philosophie*, vol. i. p. 251; Schröder, *Die Phönizische Sprache*, p. 135). Cf. the Egyptian theory, according to which the clay, heated by the sun, was supposed to have given birth to animated beings (Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 156–157); this same clay modelled by Khnûmû into the form of an egg was supposed to have produced the heavens and the earth (Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 128). As to an emendation of the text which proposes to alter *Môt*, *clay*, into Tômût or Tamat, see, cf. Halévy, *Mélanges de Critique et d'Histoire*, pp. 387, 388.

[2] Like the name Baalsamîn, Zophêsamîn has been handed down to us by Philo of Byblos in its Aramaic form (Schröder, *Die Phönizische Sprache*, pp. 131, 175, note 2, 200).

[3] Philo of Byblos, *Fragm.* 2, § 1, in Müller-Didot, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 565. I have quoted this passage from the proposed restoration of the original text suggested by Renan (*Mémoire sur l'origine et sur le caractère véritable de l'Histoire Phénicienne*, etc., pp. 270, 276).

[4] Philo of Byblos' work no longer exists, but the fragments of it will be found collected by Müller-Didot, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. pp. 560–573, and by Bunsen, *Philonis Byblii Fragmenta*, etc., in *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, vol. v. pp. 789–854. They have been studied, amongst others, by Renan, *Mémoire sur l'Origine*, etc., in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. xxiii. pt. 2, pp. 241–334; cf. Baudissin, *Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, vol. i. pp. 1–46; Fr. Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. i. pp. 532–552. All these works ought properly to be revised in the light of the new elements contributed by Assyriologists.

we have a black mysterious Chaos, stagnating in eternal waters, the primordial Nû or Apsû; then the slime which precipitates in this chaos and clots into the form of an egg, like the mud of the Nile under the hand of Khnûmû; then the hatching forth of living organisms and indolent generations of barely conscious creatures, such as the Lakhmû, the Anshar, and the Illinû of Chaldæan speculation: finally the abrupt appearance of intelligent beings.[1] The Phœnicians, however, accustomed as they were to the Mediterranean, with its blind outbursts of fury, had formed an idea of Chaos which differed widely from that of most of the inland races, to whom it presented itself as something silent and motionless: they imagined it as swept by a mighty wind, which, gradually increasing to a roaring tempest, at length succeeded in stirring the chaos to its very depths, and in fertilising its elements amidst the fury of the storm. No sooner had the earth been thus brought roughly into shape, than the whole family of the north winds swooped down upon it and reduced it to civilized order.[3] It was but natural that the traditions of a seafaring race should trace its descent from the winds.



BAAL OF ARVAD.[2]

In Phœnicia the sea is everything: of land there is but just enough to furnish a site for a score of towns, with their surrounding belt of gardens.[4] Mount Lebanon, with its impenetrable forests,[5] isolated it almost entirely from Cœle-Syria, and acted as the eastward boundary of the long narrow quadrangle hemmed in between the mountains and the rocky shore of the sea. At frequent intervals, spurs ran out at right angles from the principal chain, forming steep headlands on the sea-front: these cut up the country, small to begin with, into five or six still smaller provinces, each one of which possessed from time immemorial its own independent cities, its own religion, and its own national history. To the north were the Zahi, a race half sailors, half husbandmen, rich, brave, and turbulent, ever ready to give battle to their neighbours, or rebel against an alien master, be he who he might.[6] Arvad,[7] which was used by them as a sort of stronghold or sanctuary, was

[1] Cf. MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 127, et seq., for the concepts of Nû, and p. 537, et seq., for those of Apsû and of the gods which gave him life; as to Khnûmû and the gods who model the clay of the Nile, see p. 156 of the same work.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the original in the Cabinet des Médailles; cf. a similar medal, published in BABELON, *Les Perses Achéménides*, pl. xxii., No. 2, the verso of which, also drawn by Faucher-Gudin, serves as a head-piece to the contents of the present chapter, p. 167.

[3] PHILO OF BYBLOS, *Fragm.* 2, § 4, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 565.

[4] RENAN, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 836: "La Phénicie ne fut pas un pays, ce fut une série de ports avec une banlieue assez étroite."

[5] A brief description of these forests, as they existed in the time of Ramses II., is given by the author of the *Anastasi Papyrus*, No. I. pl. xix. l. 2, et seq.; cf. CHABAS, *Le Voyage d'un Égyptien*, pp. 116–133.

[6] As to the force of the term *Zahi* among the Egyptians, *vide supra*, pp. 121–124.

[7] The name Arvad was identified in the Egyptian inscriptions by Birch (*On the Hieroglyphical*

huddled together on an island some two miles from the coast: it was only about a thousand yards in circumference, and the houses, as though to make up for the limited space available for their foundations, rose to a height of five stories.[1] An Astarté reigned there, as also a sea-Baal, half man, half fish, but not a trace of a temple or royal palace is now to be found.[2] The whole island was surrounded by a stone wall, built on the outermost ledges of the rocks, which were levelled to form its foundation. The courses of the masonry were irregular, laid without cement or mortar of any kind. This bold piece of engineering served the double purpose of sea-wall and rampart, and was thus fitted to withstand alike the onset of hostile fleets and the surges of the Mediterranean.[3] There was no potable water on the island, and for drinking purposes the inhabitants were obliged to rely on the fall of rain, which they stored in cisterns—still in use among their descendants.[4] In the event of prolonged drought they were obliged to send to the mainland opposite; in time of war they had recourse to a submarine spring, which bubbles up in mid-channel. Their divers let down a leaden bell, to the top of which was fitted a leathern pipe, and applied it to the orifice of the spring; the fresh water coming up through the sand was collected in this bell, and rising in the pipe, reached the surface uncontaminated by salt water.[5]



Inscription of the Obelisk of the Atmeidân at Constantinople, p. 9, note 30), who, with Hincks, at first saw in the name a reference to the peoples of Ararat (*Observations on the Statistical Tablet of Karnak*, pp. 14, 15). Birch's identification, adopted by Brugsch (*Geogr. Ins.*, vol. ii. p. 50), is now accepted by all Egyptologists. The name is written Arvada or Arada in the Tel el-Amarna tablets (Bezold-Budge, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, p. 1xx., n. 1; cf. Bezold, *Oriental Diplomacy*, p. xlii., § 4, as to the reading of one of the signs which enter into the composition of the name).

[1] The ancient Arvad of the Græco-Roman period has been described by Strabo, XVI. ii., § 13, p. 754; for details in regard to the modern Arvad, see Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 19–42.

[2] The Arvad Astarté had been identified by the Egyptians with their goddess Bastit (Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 36, 37; cf. Brugsch, *Die fremde Aphrodite in Memphis*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1863, p. 7). The sea-Baal, who has been connected by some with Dagon of Ashdod, is represented on the earliest Aradian coins: cf. one of them on the preceding page. He has a fish-like tail, the body and bearded head of a man, with an Assyrian head-dress; on the breast we sometimes find a circular opening which seems to show the entrails (Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides, les Satrapes et les Dynasties tributaires de leur Empire, Cypre et Phénicie*, pp. clxv.–clvi., and pl. xxii., Nos. 1–6).

[3] The antiquity of the wall of Arvad, recognised by travellers of the last century, is now universally admitted by all archæologists (Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 39, 41; Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. iii. p. 106).

[4] Strabo, XVI. ii., § 13, p. 754; cf. what is said as to these cisterns in Renan, *Mission*, etc., pp. 40–41.

[5] Strabo, XVI. ii., § 13, p. 754. Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 41, 42, tells us that "M. Gaillardot, when crossing from the island to the mainland, noticed a spring of sweet water bubbling up from the bottom of the sea. . . . Thomson and Walpole noticed the same spring or similar springs a little to the south of Tortosa."

The harbour opened to the east, facing the mainland: it was divided into two basins by a stone jetty, and was doubtless insufficient for the sea-traffic, but this was the less felt inasmuch as there was a safe anchorage outside it—the best, perhaps, to be found in these waters.[1] Opposite to Arvad, on an almost continuous line of coast some ten or twelve miles in length, towns and villages occurred at short intervals, such as Marath,



PART OF THE RUINS OF THE OLD PHOENICIAN WALL OF ARVAD.[2]

Antaradus, Enhydra, and Karnê, into which the surplus population of the island overflowed. Karnê possessed a harbour, and would have been a dangerous neighbour to the Arvadians had they themselves not occupied and carefully fortified it.[3] The cities of the dead lay close together in the background, on the slope of the nearest chain of hills;[4] still further back lay a plain celebrated for its fertility and the luxuriance of its verdure: Lebanon, with its wooded peaks, was shut in on the north and south, but on the east the mountain sloped downwards almost to the sea-level, furnishing a pass through which ran the road which joined the great military highway not far from Qodshu.[5] The influence of Arvad penetrated by means of this pass into the valley of the

[1] Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 40; W. Allan, *On the Island of Ruad, North Syria*, in *Journ. Geogr. Society*, vol. xxiii. pp. 154, 155, who was the first to determine the direction of the harbour.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the engraving published in Renan's *Mission de Phénicie*, pl. 2.

[3] Marath, now Amrît, possesses some ancient ruins which have been described at some length by Renan (*Mission de Phénicie*, p. 48, et seq.). Antaradus, which prior to the Græco-Roman era was a place of no importance (Pliny, V. xx. 18), occupies the site of Tortosa (Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 20, 21, 47, et seq.). Enhydra (Strabo, L. XVI. ii. § 12, p. 753) is not known, and Karnê has been replaced by Karnun to the north of Tortosa (Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 21, 22). None of the "neighbours of Aradus" ([illegible], Arrian, *Anab.*, II. xiii. 17) are mentioned by name in the Assyrian texts; but W. Max Müller has with great ingenuity demonstrated that the Egyptian form *Aradû* or *Aratut* corresponds with a Semitic plural *Arvadôt*, and consequently refers not only to Arvad itself, but also to the fortified cities and towns which formed its continental suburbs (*Asien und Europa*, pp. 186, 187).

[4] Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 71–88.

[5] In regard to this pass, see what is said on pp. 138–141, *supra*.

Orontes, and is believed to have gradually extended as far as Hamath itself—in other words, over the whole of Zahi.[1] For the most part, however, its rule was confined to the coast between Gabala and the Nahr el-Kebir; Simyra at one time acknowledged its suzerainty, at another became a self-supporting and independent state, strong enough to compel the respect of its neighbours.[2] Beyond the Orontes, the coast curves abruptly inward towards the west, and a group of wind-swept hills ending in a promontory called Phaniel,[3] the reputed scene of a divine manifestation, marked the extreme limit of Aradian influence to the north, if, indeed, it ever reached so far. Half a dozen obscure cities flourished here, Arka,[4] Siani,[5] Mahallat, Kaiz, Maiza, and Botrys,[6] some of them on the seaboard, others inland on the bend of some minor stream. Botrys,[7] the last of the six, barred the roads which cross the Phaniel headland, and commanded the entrance to the holy ground where Byblos and Berytus celebrated each year the amorous mysteries of Adonis.

Gublu, or—as the Greeks named it—Byblos,[8] prided itself on being the most ancient city in the world.[9] The god El had founded it at the dawning

[1] Stephen of Byzantium, s.v. Ἐπιφάνεια, where the town is said to be ἐν μεθορίοις τῶν Ἀραδίων.

[2] Simyra is the modern Sumrah, near the Nahr el-Kebir; it was already known from the passage in *Gen.* x. 18, when E. de Rougé discovered a reference to it in the *Annals of Thûtmosis III.* (*Notice de quelques fragments de l'Inscription de Karnak*, pp. 15, note 3, 24).

[3] The name has only come down to us under its Greek form, θεοῦ πρόσωπον, *the Face of God* (Scylax, § 104, in Müller-Didot, *Geographi Græci Minores*, vol. i. p. 78; Strabo, XVI. ii., § 15, p. 754), but its original form, Phaniel or Penuel, is easily arrived at from the analogous name used in Canaan to indicate localities where there had been a theophany (*Gen.* xxxii. 22–31). Renan questions whether Phaniel ought not to be taken in the same sense as the Pné-Baal of the Carthaginian inscriptions, and applied to a goddess to whom the promontory had been dedicated; he also suggests that the modern name *Cap Madonna* may be a kind of echo of the title *Rabbath* borne by this goddess from the earliest times (*Mission de Phénicie*, p. 145).

[4] Arka is perhaps referred to in the tablets of Tel el-Amarna under the form *Irkata* or *Irkat* (Bezold-Budge, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, p. lxxxi.); it also appears in the Bible (*Gen.* x. 17) and in the Assyrian texts (Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 282). It is the Cæsarea of classical geographers, which has now resumed its old Phœnician name of Tell-Arka (Renan, *Mission de la Phénicie*, pp. 115, 116).

[5] Siano or Sianu is mentioned in the Assyrian texts (Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 282) and in the Bible (*Gen.* x. 17). Strabo knew it under the name of Sinna (XVI. ii., § 18, p. 755), and a village near Arka was called Sin or Syn as late as the XVth century (B. von Breytenbach, *Reise des Heiligen Landes*, vol. i. p. 115).

[6] According to the Assyrian inscriptions, these were the names of the three towns which formed the Tripolis of Græco-Roman times (Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 282, 283).

[7] Botrys is the hellenised form of the name Batrunu or Batruna, which appears on the tablets of Tel el-Amarna (Bezold-Budge, *Tablets of Tell el-Amarna*, p. lxxiii.); the modern name, Butrun or Batrun, preserves the final letter which the Greeks had dropped.

[8] *Gubla* or *Gubli* is the pronunciation indicated for this name in the Tel el-Amarna tablets (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, p. 148); the Egyptians transcribed it *Kupuna* or *Kupna* by substituting *n* for *l*, as Chabas was the first to point out (*Voyage d'un Égyptien*, pp. 157–161). The Greek name Byblos was obtained from Gubla by substituting a *b* for the *g*, as in βλέφαρον from γλέφαρον, eyelid (Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 153).

[9] Philo of Byblos, *Fragm.* 2, § 17, in Müller-Didot, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 568; cf. Stephen of Byzantium, s.v. Βύβλος, πόλις Φοινίκης ἀρχαιοτάτη πασῶν. The distinction between the two sites successively occupied by the town, one of which was supposed to be preserved in the name Palæbyblos (Movers, *Das Phönizische Alterthum*, vol. i. pp. 108, 109), is now no longer admitted (Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 152–155; Pietschmann, *Geschichte der Phönizier*, p. 48).

of time, on the flank of a hill which is visible from some distance out at sea.[1] A small bay, now filled up, made it an important shipping centre.[2] The temple stood on the top of the hill, a few fragments of its walls still serving to mark the site; it was, perhaps, identical with that of which we find the plan engraved on certain imperial coins.[3] Two flights of steps led up to it from the lower quarters of the town, one of which gave access to a chapel in the Greek style, surmounted by a triangular pediment, and dating, at the earliest, from the time of the Seleucides; the other terminated in a long colonnade, belonging to the same period, added as a new façade to an earlier building, apparently in order to bring it abreast of more modern requirements. The sanctuary which stands hidden behind this incongruous veneer is, as represented on the coins, in a very archaic style, and is by no means wanting in originality or dignity. It consists of a vast rectangular court surrounded by cloisters. At the point where lines drawn from the centres of the two doors seem to cross one another stands a conical stone mounted on a cube of masonry, which is the beth-el animated by the spirit of the god: an open-work balustrade surrounds and protects it from the touch of the profane. The building was perhaps not earlier than the Assyrian or Persian era, but in its general plan it evidently reproduced the arrangements of some former edifice.[5] At an early time El was spoken of as the first king of Gablu in the same manner as each one of his Egyptian fellow-gods had been in their several nomes, and the story of his exploits formed the inevitable prelude to the beginning of human history.[6] Grandson of Elîûn who had brought


THE TEMPLE OF BYBLOS.[4]

[1] Strabo, XVI. ii. § 18, p. 755: [illegible]. The present condition of the town is described at some length by Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 153–174.

[2] Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 155–161; the *Annals of Thûtmosis III.* mention Giblite ships (*kupûîtu*) which sailed to Egypt (Brugsch, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 318).

[3] Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 173–180, carried out excavations in the hill of Kassûbah, which brought to light some remains of a Græco-Roman temple; he puts forward, subject to correction, the hypothesis which I have adopted above.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the original in the Cabinet des Médailles; cf. Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides*, pl. xxxii., Nos. 11, 12.

[5] The author of the *De Deâ Syrâ* classed the temple of Byblos among the Phœnician temples of the old order, which were almost as ancient as the temples of Egypt ([illegible]) (§ 2–9), and it is probable that from the Egyptian epoch onwards the plan of this temple must have been that shown on the coins; the cloister arcades might, however, to be represented by pillars or by columns supporting architraves, and the fact of their presence leads me to the conclusion that the temple did not exist in the form known to us at a date earlier than the last Assyrian period. Cf. Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. iii. pp. 267–269.

[6] This concept of his history forms the basis of one of the Phœnician cosmogonies recorded by Sanchoniathon (Philo of Byblos, *Fragm.* 1. § 19–27, in Müller-Didot, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. pp. 567–569).

Chaos into order, son of Heaven and Earth, he dispossessed, vanquished, and mutilated his father, and conquered the most distant regions one after another—the countries beyond the Euphrates, Libya, Asia Minor and Greece: one year, when the plague was ravaging his empire, he burnt his own son on the altar as an expiatory victim, and from that time forward the priests took advantage of his example to demand the sacrifice of children in moments of public danger or calamity.[1] He was represented as a man with two faces, whose eyes opened and shut in an eternal alternation of vigilance and repose: six wings grew from his shoulders, and spread fan-like around him.[2] He was the incarnation of time, which destroys all things in its rapid flight; and of the summer sun, cruel and fateful, which eats up the green grass and parches the fields. An Astartê reigned with him over Byblos—Baalat-Gublu, his own sister; like him, the child of Earth and Heaven.[4] In one of her aspects she was identified with the moon, the personification of coldness and chastity, and in her statues or on her sacred pillars[5] she was represented with the crescent or cow-horns of the Egyptian Hâthor;[6] but in her other aspect she appeared as the amorous and wanton goddess in whom the Greeks recognised the popular concept of Aphroditê. Tradition tells us how, one spring morning, she caught sight of and desired the youthful god known by the title of *Adoni*, or "My Lord."[7] We scarce know what to



THE GOD EL OF BYBLOS.[3]

[1] Philo of Byblos, *Fragm.* 2, § 24, 2–5, in Müller-Didot, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. pp. 569, 570, 571.

[2] Philo of Byblos, *Fragm.* 2, § 26, in Müller-Didot, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 569, where it is stated that the third pair of wings is *on the head of the god*, δύο ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς; the figures reproduced on the coins show the wings rising to the right and left of the head, but they are attached to the god's shoulders.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the original in the Cabinet des Médailles; cf. Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides*, pl. xxvii., Nos. 4–7. The coin is shown twice its natural size.

[4] Philo of Byblos, *Fragm.* 2, § 19, 20, in Müller-Didot, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 569. She is mentioned under her title *Bilit sha Gubla* in the Tel el-Amarna despatches (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, pl. 12, ll. 2, 3, 14, ll. 8, 15, l. 4).

[5] The sacred pillar is shown on a stele of the XXth dynasty in the Turin Museum (Maspero, *Rapport sur une Mission en Italie*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ii. p. 120).

[6] Philo of Byblos, *Fragm.* 2, § 24, in Müller-Didot, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 569, where we are told how Astartê put on her head the head of a bull as a badge of royalty, ἐπέθηκε τῇ ἰδίᾳ κεφαλῇ βασιλείας παράσημον κεφαλὴν ταύρου. The Egyptian monuments, which assign to Hâthor the title of *mistress of Byblos*, show us what the goddess was supposed to be like from the XXth dynasty onwards (Maspero, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ii. p. 120, and in *Rapport sur une Mission en Italie*, *ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 139). Baaltis is also shown in the character of Hâthor on a stele of Jehavmelek, King of Byblos, in the Persian era (*Corp. Ins. Semit.*, vol. i. pl. i., and p. 1; cf. Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 179).

[7] The Cypriote form of the name Adonis was Gauas (Tzetzes, *In Lycophronem*, v. 83), which Movers (art. *Phönizien*, in Ersch-Gruber's *Encyclopädie*, p. 390) considers to be a Semitic word meaning the *exalted, high one*. Movers (*Die Phönizier*, p. 542, et seq.), Fr. Lenormant (*Lettres Assyriologiques*, pp. 122–190), Baudissin (*Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, vol. i. p. 203,

make of the origin of Adonis, and of the legends which treat him as a hero—the representation of him as the incestuous offspring of a certain King Kinyras and his own daughter Myrrha is a comparatively recent element grafted on the original myth; at any rate, the happiness of the two lovers had lasted but a few short weeks when a sudden end was put to it by the tusks of a monstrous wild boar. Baalat-Gublu wept over her lover's body and buried it; then her grief triumphed over death, and Adonis, ransomed by her tears, rose from the tomb, his love no whit less passionate than it had been before the catastrophe.[1] This is nothing else than the Chaldæan legend of Ishtar and Dûmûzi presented in a form more fully symbolical of the yearly marriage of Earth and Heaven. Like the Lady of Byblos at her master's approach, Earth is thrilled by the first breath of spring, and abandons herself without shame to the caresses of Heaven: she welcomes him to her arms, is fructified by him, and pours forth the abundance of her flowers and fruits. Then comes summer and kills the spring: Earth is burnt up and withers, she strips herself of her ornaments, and her fruitfulness departs till the gloom and icy numbness of winter have passed away. Each year the cycle of the seasons brings back with it the same joy, the same despair, into the life of the world; each year Baalat falls in love with her Adonis and loses him, only to bring him back to life and lose him again in the coming year.

The whole neighbourhood of Byblos, and that part of Mount Lebanon in which it lies, were steeped in memories of this legend from the very earliest times.[2] We know the precise spot where the goddess first caught sight of her lover, where she unveiled herself before him, and where at the last she buried his mutilated body, and chanted her lament for the dead. A river which flows southward not far off was called the Adonis,[3] and the valley watered by it was supposed to have been the scene of this tragic idyll. The Adonis rises near Aphaka,[4] at the base of a narrow amphitheatre, issuing from the entrance of an irregular grotto, the natural shape of which had, at some remote period, been altered by the hand of man; in three cascades it bounds

et seq.) have discussed the question as to whether the proper name of Adonis was not Iad or Iaud. That of Tammuz, which he takes after his death, probably came to him through Chaldæan influence, when he was assimilated to Dumuzi (cf. MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 693, et seq.).

[1] In MOVERS, *Die Phönizier*, pp. 191–253, 542–545, 383, et seq., will be found a collection of texts of the ancient writers who enable us to reconstitute the final forms of the Adonis legend.

[2] As to this aspect of Byblos and of the localities in its neighbourhood, cf. what RENAN says in *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 216–223; they possessed the legend from the very earliest times, and the scribe of the *Anastasi Papyrus*, No. I, pl. xx. l. 7, 8, speaking of them in the time of Ramses II., refers to Byblos as a mysterious city, whose tutelary goddess he prefers to name at another time, being no doubt actuated by the same motive of religious discretion which deterred Herodotus from uttering the name of Osiris (CHABAS, *Le Voyage d'un Égyptien*, pp. 56–61; cf. W. MAX MÜLLER, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 188–191).

[3] RENAN, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 282–294. This is the Nahr-Ibrahîm (cf. *supra*, p. 8).

[4] Aphaka means "spring" in Syriac (RENAN, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 299). The site of the temple and town of Aphaka, where a temple of Aphrodite and Adonis still stood in the time of the Emperor Julian, had long been identified (SOZOMEN, *Hist. Eccles.*, i. ii. 5; ZOSIMUS, i. i, [illegible];



VALLEY OF THE ADONIS, SEEN FROM THE RUINS OF APHAKA.[1]

into a sort of circular basin, where it gathers to itself the waters of the neighbouring springs, then it dashes onwards under the single arch of a Roman bridge, and descends in a series of waterfalls to the level of the valley below. The temple rises opposite the source of the stream on an artificial mound, a meteorite fallen from heaven having attracted the attention of the faithful to the spot. The mountain falls abruptly away, its summit presenting a red and bare appearance, owing to the alternate action of summer sun and winter frost. As the slopes approach the valley they become clothed with a garb of wild vegetation, which bursts forth from every fissure, and finds a foothold on every projecting rock: the base of the mountain is hidden in a tangled mass of glowing green, which the moist yet sunny Spring calls forth in abundance whenever the slopes are not too steep to retain a shallow layer of nourishing mould. It would be hard to find, even among the most picturesque spots of Europe, a landscape in which wildness and beauty are more happily combined, or where the mildness of the air and sparkling coolness of the streams offer a more perfect setting for the ceremonies attending the worship of Astarté.[2] In

Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, iii. 55) either with Fakra (Mannert, *Syrien*, p. 321), or with El-Yamûni (Sepp, *Jerusalem und das Heilige Land*, vol. ii. p. 335). Seetzen was the first to place it at El-Afka, and his proposed identification has been amply confirmed by the researches of Renan (*Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 290, 300, 305–309).

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph; cf. Lortet, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui*, p. 649.

[2] A full description of the site and ruins is given by Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 295–301. The temple had been rebuilt during the Roman period, as were nearly all the temples of this region.



THE AMPHITHEATRE OF AFKAKA AND THE SOURCE OF THE NAHR-IBRAHIM.
Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph.

X

the basin of the river and of the torrents by which it is fed, there appears a succession of charming and romantic scenes—gaping chasms with precipitous ochre-coloured walls, narrow fields laid out in terraces on the slopes or stretching in emerald strips along the ruddy river-banks; orchards thick with almond and walnut trees; sacred grottoes, into which the priestesses, seated at the corner of the roads, endeavour to draw the pilgrims as they proceed on their way to make their prayers to the goddess;[1] sanctuaries and mausolea of Adonis at Yanukh, on the table-land of Mashnaka, and on the heights of Ghineh.[2] According to the common belief, the actual tomb of Adonis was to be found at Byblos itself,[3] where the people were accustomed to assemble twice a year to keep his festivals, which lasted for several days together.[4] At the summer solstice, the season when the wild boar had ripped open the divine hunter, and the summer had already done damage to the spring, the priests were accustomed to prepare a painted wooden image of a corpse made ready for burial,[5] which they laid in what were called the gardens of Adonis—terra-cotta pots filled with earth in which wheat and barley, lettuce and fennel, were sown. These were set out at the door of each house, or in the courts of the temple, where the sprouting plants had to endure the scorching effect of the sun, and soon withered away.[6] For several days troops of women and young girls, with their heads dishevelled or shorn, their garments in rags, their faces torn with their nails, their breasts and arms scarified with knives, went about over hill and dale in search of their idol, giving utterance to cries of despair, and to endless appeals: "Ah, Lord! Ah, Lord! what is become of thy beauty."[7] Once having found the image, they

upon the site of a more ancient structure; this was probably the edifice which the author of *De Deâ Syrâ* considered to be the temple of Venus, built by Kinyras within a day's journey of Byblos in the Lebanon.

[1] Renan points out at Byblos the existence of one of those caverns which gave shelter to the kadeshoth (*Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 204, 653). Many of the caves met with in the valley of the Nahr-Ibrahim have doubtless served for the same purpose, although their walls contain no marks of the cult.

[2] Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 284-295, 301, 302.

[3] *De Deâ Syriâ*, § 6, 7: Melito placed it, however, near Aphaka (cf. Renan, *Meliton Ep. Sardium Apolog. ad M. Aurel Imp. Fragm.*, in the *Spicilegium Solesmense*, vol. ii. p. 43), and, indeed, there must have been as many different traditions on the subject as there were celebrated sanctuaries.

[4] For the date and the ceremonies peculiar to this festival, see the testimonies of ancient authors put together by Movers, *Die Phönizier*, p. 205, et seq. The analogy which they exhibit with the festivals of Osiris in the month of Khoiak (Loret, *Les Fêtes d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak*, in the *Recueil*, vol. iii. pp. 43-57; vol. iv. pp. 21-33), and especially the rite of the *Gardens*, lead me to believe that they were practically the same at the time of the Egyptian conquest and that of the Cæsars.

[5] Plutarch, *Nicias*, § 8: εἴδωλα νεκροῖς ἐκκομιζομένοις ὅμοια; cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, xix. 1, § 10: "*locuti . . . figmenta vehentes hominum mortuorum ita curata pollincta ut et funerum essent corporibus jam sepultis*," where the context shows that the object in view was to imitate the ceremonial used at the burying of Adonis.

[6] Hesychius, s.v. Ἀδώνιδος κῆποι. In Greece there arose in later times a proverb, ἀκαρπότερος Ἀδώνιδος κήπων, "more barren than the gardens of Adonis" (Suidas, s.v. Ἀδώνιδος κῆποι).

[7] Am. Marcellinus, xix. 1, § 10, is an authority for the seven days' search. For the Nenia, see the description, Ἀδωνιασμός, which Pollux (*Onomasticon*, lib. iv. § 7) gives of them, and also the passage in which Jeremiah (xxii. 18, cf. xxxiv. 5) threatens King Jehoiakim that he will not receive after his death the usual honours; cf. Movers, *Phönizier*, pp. 244-253.

brought it to the feet of the goddess, washed it while displaying its wound, anointed it with sweet-smelling unguents, wrapped it in a linen and woollen shroud, placed it on a catafalque, and, after expressing around the bier their feelings of desolation, according to the rites observed at funerals, placed it solemnly in the tomb.[1] The close and dreary summer passes away. With the first days of September the autumnal rains begin to fall upon the hills, and washing away the ochreous earth lying upon the slopes, descend in muddy torrents into the hollows of the valleys. The Adonis river begins to swell with the ruddy waters, which, on reaching the sea, do not readily blend with it. The wind from the offing drives the river water back upon the coast, and forces it to cling for a long time to the shore, where it forms a kind of crimson fringe.[2] This was the blood of the hero, and the sight of this precious stream stirred up anew the devotion of the people, who donned once more their weeds of mourning until the priests were able to announce to them that, by virtue of their supplications, Adonis was brought back from the shades into new life.[3] Shouts of joy immediately broke forth, and the people who had lately sympathized with the mourning goddess in her tears and cries of sorrow, now joined with her in expressions of mad and amorous delight. Wives and virgins —all the women who had refused during the week of mourning to make a sacrifice of their hair—were obliged to atone for this fault by putting themselves at the disposal of the strangers whom the festival had brought together, the reward of their service becoming the property of the sacred treasury.[4]

Berytus shared with Byblos the glory of having had El for its founder.[5] The road which connects these two cities makes a lengthy detour in its course along the coast, having to cross numberless ravines and rocky summits; before reaching Palai-Byblos, it passes over a headland by a series of steps cut into the rock, forming a kind of "ladder" similar to that which is encountered lower down, between Acre and the plains of Tyre.[6] The river Lykos runs like a kind

[1] Theocritus has described in his fifth Idyll (*The Syracusans*, v. 78, et seq.) the laying out and burial of Adonis as it was practised at Alexandria in Egypt in the IIIrd century before our era.

[2] *De Deâ Syrâ*, § 8. The same phenomenon occurs in spring. Maundrell (*Voyage*, pp. 57, 58) saw it on March 17, and Renan (*Mission de Phénicie*, p. 283) in the first days of February.

[3] *De Deâ Syrâ*, § 6; cf. Movers, *Die Phönizier*, pp. 204, 205.

[4] *De Deâ Syrâ*, § 6; cf. for a similar rite at Babylon, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 638, 640. A similar usage was found in later times in the countries colonised by or subjected to the influence of the Phœnicians, especially in Cyprus (Engel, *Kypros*, vol. i. p. 142, et seq.).

[5] Stephen of Byzantium, s.v. Βηρυτός. The name Berytus was found by Hincks in the Egyptian texts (*An Attempt to ascertain the Number, etc., of the Hieroglyphic Alphabet*, p. 47) under the form Bîrutu, Beîrutu; it occurs frequently in the Tel el-Amarna tablets (Bezold-Budge, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, p. xlvi.).

[6] This is the κλῖμαξ of Strabo (XIV. ii., § 19, p. 755), which Renan (*Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 333, 334) places "on the flank of the mountain which forms the northern side of the bay of Juni, and which takes the form of a staircase in a gorge of the rocks;" he is inclined to place Palai-Byblos at the modern village of Sarbah (Id., *ibid.*, pp. 332, 333). The name Palai-Byblos contains probably a Phœnician word which the Greeks wrongly identified with παλαιός (Movers, *Das Phönizische*

of natural fosse along the base of this steep headland. It forms at the present time a torrent, fed by the melting snows of Mount Sannin, and is entirely unnavigable. It was better circumstanced formerly in this respect, and even in the early years of the Roman conquest, sailors from Arvad (Arados) were accustomed to sail up it as far as one of the passes of the lower Lebanon, leading into Cœle-Syria.[1] Berytus was installed at the base of a great headland which stands out boldly into the sea, and forms the most striking promontory to be met with in these regions from Carmel to the vicinity of Arvad. The port is nothing but an open creek with a petty roadstead, but it has the advantage of a good supply of fresh water, which pours down from the numerous springs to which it is indebted for its name.[2] According to ancient legends, it was given by El to one of his offspring called Poseidôn[3] by the Greeks. Adonis desired to take possession of it, but was frustrated in the attempt, and the maritime Baal secured the permanence of his rule by marrying one of his sisters—the Baalat-Beyrut who is represented as a nymph on Græco-Roman coins.[4] The rule of the city extended as far as the banks of the Tamur, and an old legend narrates that its patron fought in ancient times with the deity of that river, hurling stones at him to prevent his becoming master of the land to the north. The bar formed of shingle and the dunes which contract the entrance were regarded as evidences of this conflict.[5] Beyond the southern bank of the river, Sidon sits enthroned as "the firstborn of Canaan." In spite of this ambitious title it was at first nothing but a poor fishing village founded by Bel, the Agenor of the Greeks, on the southern slope of a spit of land which juts out obliquely towards the

Altertum, vol. i. p. 106, note 161; Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 377; Pietschmann, *Geschichte der Phönizier*, p. 49.

[1] Strabo, XVI. ii., § 8, p. 755. Renan (*Mission*, etc., p. 342; cf. Pietschmann, *Ges. der Phönizier*, p. 50) does not accept the testimony of Strabo, while other historians regard it as correct (Kenrick, *Phœnicia*, pp. 12, 13), and modern geologists have pointed out on the banks of this small river traces of the waters having once attained a higher level than at present. The Duc de Luynes has shown that the present name, Nahr el-Kelb, probably preserves the chief element—Kelb—of the ancient name which the Greeks rendered Λύκος, "wolf" (*Voyage d'exploration autour de la mer Morte*, vol. i. p. 9, n. 1); cf. p. 9, note 5, of the present work.

[2] The name Beyrut has been often derived from a Phœnician word signifying *cypress*, and which may have been applied to the pine tree (Renan, *Mission*, etc., pp. 353, 359). The Phœnicians themselves derived it from Bîr, "wells:" cf. Stephen of Byzantium, *s.v.* Βηρυτός, ἐκλήθη διὰ τὸ εὔυδρον· βὴρ γὰρ τὸ φρέαρ παρ' αὐτοῖς.

[3] Philo Byblius, *Fragm.* 2, § 25, in Müller-Didot, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 569.

[4] The poet Nonnus (*Dionysiaca*, ll. xli.–xliii.) has preserved a highly embellished account of this rivalry, where Adonis is called Dionysos; for the coins of Berytus, on which the nymph appears, cf. Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides*, pl. xxv., No. 23, and pp. 180, 186.

[5] The original name appears to have been Tamur, Tamyr, from a word signifying "palm" in the Phœnician language (Schröder, *Die Phönizische Sprache*, p. 133); it has been rendered in Greek sometimes by Δαμούρας (Polybius, V. lxviii. 9), sometimes by Ταμύρας (Strabo, XVI. ii., § 22, p. 756). The myth of the conflict between Poseidôn and the god of the river, a Baal-Demarous (Philo Byblius, *Fragm.* 2, § 22, in Müller-Didot, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 568), has been explained by Renan (*Mission de Phénicie*, p. 315), who accepts the identification of the river-deity with Baal-Tamar, already mentioned by Movers (*Die Phönizier*, pp. 661, 662).

south-west.[1] It grew from year to year, spreading out over the plain, and became at length one of the most prosperous of the chief cities of the country —a "mother" in Phœnicia.[2] The port, once so celebrated, is shut in by three chains of half-sunken reefs, which, running out from the northern end of the peninsula, continue parallel to the coast for some hundreds of yards: narrow passages in these reefs afford access to the harbour; one small island, which is always above water, occupies the centre of this natural dyke of rocks, and furnishes a site for a maritime quarter opposite to the continental city.[3] The necropolis on the mainland extends to the east and north, and consists of an irregular series of excavations made in a low line of limestone cliffs which must have been lashed by the waves of the Mediterranean long prior to the beginning of history. These tombs are crowded closely together, ramifying into an inextricable maze, and are separated from each other by such thin walls that one expects every moment to see them give way, and bury the visitors in the ruin. Many date back to a very early period, while all of them have been re-worked and re-appropriated over and over again. The latest occupiers were contemporaries of the Macedonian kings or the Roman Cæsars. Space was limited and costly in this region of the dead; the Sidonians made the best use they could of the tombs, burying in them again and again, as the Egyptians were accustomed to do in their cemeteries at Thebes and Memphis.[4] The surrounding plain is watered by the "pleasant Bostrênos," and is covered with gardens which are reckoned to be the most beautiful in all Syria—at least after those of Damascus: their praises were sung even in ancient days, and they had then earned for the city the epithet of "the flowery Sidon."[5] Here, also, an Astartê ruled over the destinies of the people, but a chaste and immaculate Astartê, a self-restrained and warlike virgin, sometimes identified with the moon, sometimes with the pale and frigid morning

[1] Sidon is called "the firstborn of Canaan" in *Gen.* x. 15; the name means a fishing-place, as the classical authors already knew—"nam piscem Phœnices *sidon* appellant" (Justin, xviii. 3, 2; cf. Isidore of Seville, *Origines*, xv. 1, 28, where the passage from Justin is reproduced almost verbally). Its name was recognised in the *Anastasi Papyrus*, No. 1, pl. xx. l. 8, under the form Zidûna, by Hincks (*An Attempt to ascertain the Number, etc., of the Hieroglyphic Alphabet*, p. 45). It appears frequently in the Tel el-Amarna tablets (Bezold-Budge, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, p. xlvii.).

[2] In the coins of classic times it is called "Sidon, the mother—*Om*—of Kambe, Hippo, Citium, and Tyre" (Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides*, pp. 236, 237).

[3] Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 362, 363; Guérin, *Galilée*, vol. ii. pp. 482–500. The only description of the port which we possess is that in the romance of Clitophon and Leucippus by Achilles Tatius; Pietschmann (*Gesch. der Phönizier*, pp. 54–58) has commented on it at length, and has endeavoured to reproduce on a modern map its different parts.

[4] Excavations were made in these cemeteries some thirty years ago, and the results described by Renan (*Mission de Phénicie*, p. 400, et seq.).

[5] Dionysius, *Periegesis*, 912, 913: [illegible] Βοστρήνοιο (Müller-Didot, *Geog. Græci Minores*, vol. ii. p. 160). The Bostrênos, which is perhaps to be recognised under the form Borinos in the Periplus of Scylax (Müller-Didot, *ibid.*, vol. i. p. xxxviii.), is the modern Nahr el-Awaly.

star.[1] In addition to this goddess, the inhabitants worshipped a Baal-Sidon, and other divinities of milder character—an Astarté Shem-Baal, wife of the supreme Baal, and Eshmun, a god of medicine—each of whom had his own particular temple either in the town itself or in some neighbouring village in the mountain.[2] Baal delighted in travel, and was accustomed to be drawn in a chariot through the valleys of Phœnicia in order to receive the prayers and offerings of his devotees.[3] The immodest Astarté, excluded, it would seem, from the official religion, had her claims acknowledged in the cult offered to her by the people, but she became the subject of no poetic or dolorous legend like her namesake at Byblos, and there was no attempt to disguise her innately coarse character by throwing over it a garb of sentiment. She possessed in the suburbs her chapels and grottoes, hollowed out in the hillsides, where she was served by the usual crowd of *Ephebæ* and sacred courtesans.[4] Some half-dozen towns or fortified villages, such as Bitziti,[5] the Lesser Sidon, and Sarepta, were scattered along the shore, or on the lowest slopes of the Lebanon. Sidonian territory reached its limit at the Cape of Sarepta, where the high-lands again meet the sea at the boundary of one of those basins into which Phœnicia is divided. Passing beyond this cape, we come first upon a Tyrian outpost, the Town of Birds;[6] then upon the village of Nazana[7] with its river of the same name; beyond this upon a plain hemmed in by low hills, cultivated to their summits; then

[1] Astarté is represented in the Bible as the goddess of the Sidonians (1 *Kings* xi. 5, 33; 2 *Kings* xxiii. 13), and she is in fact the object of the invocations addressed to the mistress Deity in the Sidonian inscriptions (*Corpus Inscript. Semiticarum*, vol. i. pp. 21, 22), the patroness of the town (Johannes Lydus, *De Mensibus*, iv. 44; Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe et Clitophon*, bk. i. § 1). Kings and queens were her priests and priestesses respectively (*Corp. Ins. Sem.*, vol. i. pp. 13, 20; E. Renan, *Le Sarcophage de Tabnit roi de Sidon*, pp. 2, 3). For the character of this Sidonian goddess, see with the necessary reserves, Movers, *Die Phönizier*, pp. 601–607.

[2] These deities and their temples are mentioned in the inscription of Eshmunazar, ll. 16–18, in the *Corp. Ins. Sem.*, vol. i. pp. 13, 20. As to Astarté Shem-Baal, see M. de Vogüé, *Mél. d'Arch. Orientale*, pp. 54–58, who translates it "Astarté Name of Baal."

[3] He is represented in the tail-piece at the foot of the table of contents of this chapter, p. 110 of the present work (cf. Babelon, *Les Perses Achém.*, pl. xxxiii., Nos. 10 and 13).

[4] Renan has described the grottoes consecrated to the popular Astarté near El-Zeitûn and Maghdusheh, in the neighbourhood of Sidon (*Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 517, 518).

[5] Bitziti is not mentioned except in the Assyrian texts, and has been identified by Delitzsch (*Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 284) with the modern region Aïn ez-Zeitûn to the south-east of Sidon (Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 516, 517). It is very probably the Elaïs of Philo of Byblos (*Fragm.* 17, in Müller-Didot, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 575), the Elaïs of Dionysius Periegetes (Müller-Didot, *Geog. Græci Min.*, vol. ii. p. 60), which Renan (*Mission*, etc., pp. 525, 526) is inclined to identify with Heldua, Khan-Khaldi, by substituting Elda as a correction (Maspero, *De Quelques Localités voisines de Sidon*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xvii. pp. 101, 102). As for Little Sidon, known to-day as Khurbet-Sidon, see Maspero, *op. cit.*, vol. xvii. pp. 101, 102. Sarepta was recognised in the Egyptian texts for the first time by Hincks, *An Attempt to ascertain, etc., of the Hieroglyphic*, p. 45.

[6] The Phœnician name of Ornithopolis is unknown to us: the town is often mentioned by the geographers of classic times, Scylax (Müller-Didot, *Geog. Græci Min.*, vol. i. p. 78), Strabo (XVI. ii. § 24, p. 758), Pliny (*H. Nat.*, v. 17), but with certain differences, some placing it to the north and others to the south of Sarepta. It was near to the site of Adlun, the Adnonum of the Latin itineraries, if it was not actually the same place.

[7] Nazana was both the name of the place and the river, as Kasimiyeh and Khan Kasimiyeh, near the same locality, are to-day. It is known only from the *Anastasi Papyrus*, No. 1, pl. 20, l. 8–21, l. 1; cf. p. 2, note 6, of the present work.

on tombs and gardens in the suburbs of Aûnu;[1] and, further still, to a fleet of boats moored at a short distance from the shore, where a group of reefs and islands furnishes at one and the same time a site for the houses and temples of Tyre, and a protection from its foes.

It was already an ancient town at the beginning of the Egyptian conquest.[2] As in other places of ancient date, the inhabitants rejoiced in stories of the origin of things in which the city figured as the most venerable in the world.[3] After the period of the creating gods, there followed immediately, according to the current legends, two or three generations of minor deities—heroes of light and flame—who had learned how to subdue fire and turn it to their needs; then a race of giants, associated with the giant peaks of Kasios, Lebanon, Hermon, and Brathy;[4] after which were born two male children—twins: Samemrum, the lord of the supernal heaven, and Usôos the hunter.[5] Human beings at this time lived a savage life, wandering through the woods, and given up to shameful vices. Samemrum took up his abode among them in that region which became in later times the Tyrian coast, and showed them how to build huts, papyrus, or other reeds; Usôos in the mean time pursued the avocation of a hunter of wild beasts, living upon their flesh and clothing himself with their skins. A conflict at length broke out between the two brothers, the inevitable result of rivalry between the ever-wandering hunter and the husbandman attached to the soil. Usôos


THE AMBROSIAN ROCKS AND OLIVE TREE.[6]

[1] Aûnu was identified by Brugsch (*Geogr. Inschr.*, vol. ii. p. 83) with Anatha, which is probably El-Awwâtîn, on the hill facing Tyre (Renan, *Mission, etc.*, pp. 583–591; cf. Maspero, *Notes sur différents points de Grammaire*, in the *Mél. d'Arch. Égyptienne et Assyrienne*, vol. ii. p. 293). Max Müller, who reads the word as Anthu, Oṣu, prefers the Usu or Ushu of the Assyrian texts (*Asien und Europa*, p. 194), which we shall have occasion to consider lower down.

[2] In the Tel el-Amarna tablets it appears under the form Zurri, Zurri (Bezold-Budge, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in British Museum*, p. lxx., n. 2), and in the Egyptian texts with the transliteration Zaru, Zaûru (*Anastasi Papyrus*, No. 1, pl. 21, l. 1; cf. Chabas, *Le Voyage, etc.*, p. 19). Dionysius Periegetes calls it Ὠγυγίη (v. 911, in Müller-Didot, *Geog. Græci Min.*, vol. ii. p. 160), and Strabo (XVI. ii. § 22, p. 756) ἀρχαιοτάτη πόλις Τύρος.

[3] Philo Byblius, *Fragm.* 2, §§ 7, 8, in Müller-Didot, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 566, where all the Tyrian views as to the origin of the city are given.

[4] The identification of the peak of Brathy is uncertain. The name has been associated with Tabor (Renan, *Mém. sur l'origine, etc., de l'Histoire phénicienne qui porte le nom de Sanchoniathon*, pp. 262, 276), accepting the correction proposed by Nolte of Βραθύ into Ἀταβύριον); since it exactly recalls the name of the cypress (Movers, *Die Phönizier*, p. 576) and of Berytus, it would be more prudent, perhaps, to look for the name in that of one of the peaks of the Lebanon near the latter town.

[5] Some editions of Philo read Μημρούμος for the name of the first brother, which has led to a comparison of the name with that of Lake Huleh (Movers, *Die Phönizier*, pp. 396, 667). The true reading is Σαμημροῦμος ὁ καὶ Ὑψουράνιος, which agrees, according to some, with the abridged form of Baalshamerum, "the high lord of heaven" (Schröder, *Die Phön. Sprache*, pp. 131, 132); according to others, more probably with Shame-merum, "the high Heavens" (Baudissin, *Stud. zur Sem. Religionsg.*, vol. ii. p. 186, n. 5; Fr. Lenormant, *Les Orig. de l'Hist.*, vol. i. p. 529). The name and the legend of Usôos the hunter have been commonly associated with the history of Esau (Movers, *Die Phönizier*, pp. 396, 397; Renan, *Mémoire, etc., de l'Hist. Phénicienne*, pp. 252–256); Fr. Lenormant (*Les Origines, etc.*, vol. i. p. 529) has preferred to identify him with the god Shu of the Egyptians; cf. *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 84, 85.

[6] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the original in the *Cabinet des Médailles*; cf. Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides*, pl. xxxvii., No. 16.

succeeded in holding his own till the day when fire and wind took the part of his enemy against him.[1] The trees, shaken and made to rub against each other by the tempest, broke into flame from the friction, and the forest was set on fire. Usôos, seizing a leafy branch, despoiled it of its foliage, and placing it in the water let it drift out to sea, bearing him, the first of his race, with it. Landing on one of the islands, he set up two menhirs, dedicating them to fire and wind that he might thenceforward gain their favour. He poured out at their base the blood of animals he had slaughtered, and after his death, his companions continued to perform the rites which he had inaugurated. The town which he had begun to build on the sea-girt isle was called Tyre, the "Rock"[2] and the two rough stones which he had set up remained for a long time as a sort of talisman, bringing good luck to its inhabitants. It was asserted of old that the island had not always been fixed, but that it rose and fell with the waves like a raft. Two peaks looked down upon it—the "Ambrosian Rocks"—between which grew the olive tree of Astarté, sheltered by a curtain of flame from external danger. An eagle perched thereon watched over a viper coiled round the trunk: the whole island would cease to float as soon as a mortal should succeed in sacrificing the bird in honour of the gods. Usôos, the Herakles, destroyer of monsters, taught the people of the coast how to build boats, and how to manage them; he then made for the island and disembarked: the bird offered himself spontaneously to his knife, and as soon as its blood had moistened the earth, Tyre rooted itself fixedly opposite the mainland.[4] Coins of the Roman period represent the chief elements in this legend; sometimes the eagle and olive tree, sometimes the olive tree and the stelæ, and sometimes the two stelæ only.[5] From this time forward the gods never ceased to reside on the holy island; Astarté herself was born there,[6] and one of the temples there showed to the admiration of the faithful a fallen star—an aerolite which she had brought back from one of her journies.[7] Baal was called the Melkarth,[8] king of the city, and the Greeks


THE GOD OF TYRE.[3]

[1] The text simply states the material facts, the tempest and the fire; the general movement of the narrative seems to prove that the intervention of these elements is an episode in the quarrel between the two brothers—that in which Usôos is forced to fly from the region civilized by Samemroum.

[2] This is the etymology given by the learned of classic times: Σὼρ, πέτρα, ὁ Τσὼρ πέτρα (St. Jerome, *Liber de Nominibus Hebraicis*, s.v.). The Greeks adopted the hard form of the name, Τύρος, while the form Sara, Sarra, more like the original, was known in the Old Latin.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the original in the *Cabinet des Médailles*; cf. Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides*, pl. xxxv., Nos 9-12.

[4] Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, l. xl., where the legend is related at length.

[5] See coins in Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides*, pl. xxvii. 5, 9-11, 16, 23-27, 29; xxviii. 1, 24, 25, 27.

[6] Cicero, *De Naturâ Deorum*, iii. 23, 59.

[7] Philo Byblius, *Fragm.* 2, § 24, in Müller-Didot, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 569.

[8] Μελκάθρος, ὁ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς (Philo Byblius, *Fragm.* 2, § 22, in Müller-Didot, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 568); on Melkarth, cf. Movers, *Die Phönizier*, pp. 18, 400, et seq.

afterwards identified him with their Herakles. His worship was of a severe and exacting character: a fire burned perpetually in his sanctuary; his priests, like those of the Egyptians, had their heads shaved; they wore garments of spotless white linen, held pork in abomination, and refused permission to married women to approach the altars.[1] Festivals, similar to those of Adonis at Byblos, were held in his honour twice a year: in the summer, when the sun burnt up the earth with his glowing heat, he offered himself as an expiatory victim to the solar orb, giving himself to the flames in order to obtain some mitigation of the severity of the sky;[2] once the winter had brought with it a refreshing coolness, he came back to life again, and his return was celebrated with great joy.[3] His temple stood in a prominent place on the largest of the islands farthest away from the mainland.[4] It served to remind the people of the remoteness of their origin, for the priests relegated its foundation almost to the period of the arrival of the Phœnicians on the shores of the Mediterranean.[5] The town had no supply of fresh water, and there was no submarine spring like that of Arvad to provide a resource in time of necessity; the inhabitants had, therefore, to resort to springs which were fortunately to be found everywhere on the hill-sides of the mainland. The waters of the well of Ras el-Aîn had been led down to the shore and dammed up there, so that boats could procure a ready supply from this source in time of peace; in time of war the inhabitants of Tyre had to trust to the cisterns in which they had collected the rains that fell at certain seasons.[6]



TYRE AND ITS SUBURBS ON THE MAINLAND.

[1] The worship of Melkarth at Gades (Cadiz) and the functions of his priests are described by Silius Italicus (iii. 21-32); as Gades was a Tyrian colony, it has been naturally assumed that the main features of the religion of Tyre were reproduced there, and Silius's account of the Melkarth of Gades thus applies to his namesake of the mother city (MOVERS, *Die Phön.*, p. 101, et seq.; KENRICK, *Phœn.*, pp. 322, 323).

[2] The festival commemorating his death by fire was celebrated at Tyre, where his tomb was shown (CLEMENT OF ROME, *Recognitiones*, x. 24), and in the greater number of the Tyrian colonies (MOVERS, *Die Phönizier*, pp. 153-155, 394, 395; PIETSCHMANN, *Gesch. der Phönizier*, p. 234, n. 3).

[3] The festival of the "Awakening of Melkarth," τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἔγερσις, is mentioned by MENANDER, *Frag.* 1, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iv. p. 446, where the editor gives a different text, viz. τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἀνέγερσιν ἐποιήσατο ἐν τῷ Περιτίῳ μηνί, taken from JOSEPHUS, *Contra Apionem*, i. 18; the mention of the "Awakening" is found in a more complete and more correct form furnished by the same Josephus elsewhere (*Ant. Jud.*, viii. 5, 3). Cf., upon this subject, MOVERS, *Die Phön.*, pp. 385-387.

[4] On the site ascribed to this insular temple of Melkarth, see the long discussion of the subject by RENAN, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 554-559.

[5] For an account of this immigration of the Phœnicians, see pp. 61, 62 of the present work.

[6] Abisharri (Abimilki), King of Tyre, confesses to the Pharaoh Amenôthes III. that in case of a

The strait separating the island from the mainland was some six or seven hundred yards in breadth,[1] less than that of the Nile at several points of its course through Middle Egypt, but it was as effective as a broader channel to stop the movement of an army: a fleet alone would have a chance of taking the city by surprise, or of capturing it after a lengthened siege. Like the coast region opposite Arvad, the shore which faced Tyre, lying between the mouth of the Litâny and Ras el-Aïn, was an actual suburb of the city itself—with its gardens, its cultivated fields, its cemeteries, its villas, and its fortifications. Here the inhabitants of the island were accustomed to bury their dead, and hither they repaired for refreshment during the heat of the summer. To the north the little town of Mahalliba, on the southern bank of the Litâny, and almost hidden from view by a turn in the hills, commanded the approaches to the Bekaa, and the high-road to Cœle-Syria.[2] To the south, at Ras el-Aïn, Old Tyre (Palætyrus) looked down upon the route leading into Galilee by way of the mountains.[3] Eastwards Autu commanded the landing-places on the shore, and served to protect the reservoirs; it lay under the shadow of a rock, on which was built, facing the insular temple of Melkarth, protector of mariners, a sanctuary of almost equal antiquity dedicated to his namesake of the mainland.[4] The latter divinity was probably the representative of the legendary Samemrum, who

siege his town would neither have water nor wood (Bezold-Budge, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 30, p. 65, ll. 37–44; No. 28, p. 61, ll. 74–76; No. 31, pp. 66, 67, ll. 16–30, 49–54; No. 29, pp. 62, 63, ll. 63–66). Mention of vessels bringing water is made in the *Anastasi Papyrus*, No. 1, pl. xxi. l. 2; cf. Chabas, *Voyage d'un Égyptien*, pp. 158, 160. Aqueducts and conduits of water are spoken of by Menander as existing in the time of Shalmaneser (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, IX. xiv. 2); all modern historians agree in attributing their construction to a very remote antiquity (Movers, *Das Phönizische Alterthum*, vol. i. pp. 231–240; Kenrick, *Phœnicia*, p. 384; Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 593, 594; Pietschmann, *Geschichte der Phönizier*, p. 70).

[1] According to the writers who were contemporary with Alexander, the strait was 4 stadia wide (nearly ½ mile), or 500 paces (about ¼ mile), at the period when the Macedonians undertook the siege of the town (Diodorus Siculus, xvii. 40; Quintus Curtius, IV. ii. 7); the author followed by Pliny says (*H. Nat.*, v. 17) 700 paces, possibly over ½ mile wide. From the observations of Poulain de Bossay (*Recherches sur Tyr et Palætyr*, p. 7, et seq.), Renan thinks the space between the island and the mainland might be nearly a mile in width, but we should perhaps do well to reduce this higher figure and adopt one agreeing better with the statements of Diodorus and Quintus Curtius (*Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 527, 528).

[2] Mahallîba is the present Khurbet-Mahalib (Clermont-Ganneau, *Épigraphie et Antiquités sémitiques en 1891*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, vol. xix., 1892, p. 115; and Maspero, *De Quelques Localités voisines de Sidon*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xvii. p. 101).

[3] Palætyrus has often been considered as a Tyre on the mainland of greater antiquity than the town of the same name on the island (Movers, *Das Phönizische Alterthum*, vol. i. pp. 171–177; Kenrick, *Phœnicia*, pp. 342–346); it is now generally admitted that it was merely an outpost (Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 576, 577; Pietschmann, *Geschichte der Phönizier*, pp. 68–70), which is conjecturally placed by most scholars in the neighbourhood of Ras el-Aïn.

[4] For Autu, cf. p. 183 of the present work. If the name has been preserved, as I believe it to be, in that of El-Awatin, the town must be that whose ruins we find at the foot of Tell-Mashûk, and which are often mistaken for those of Palætyrus (Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 378, 379). The temple on the summit of the Tell was probably that of Heracles Astrochiton mentioned by Nonnus (*Dionysiaca*, xl. 366), as was conjectured by Bertou (*Essais sur la Topographie de Tyr*, p. 63), but not accepted by Movers (*Das Phönizische Alterthum*, vol. i. p. 241, note 170)—a conjecture, however, which has appeared possible, and even probable, to other scholars (Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 592, 597); this is the temple which the Tyrians represented to Alexander as being older than that of insular Tyre (Justin, xi. 10; Quintus Curtius, iv. 2).



THE SCULPTURED ROCKS OF HANAWEH.[1]

had built his village on the coast, while Usoos had founded his on the ocean. He was the Baalsamim of starry tunic, lord of heaven and king of the sun.[2] As was customary, a popular Astarté was associated with these deities of high degree, and tradition asserted that Melkarth purchased her favour by the gift of the first robe of Tyrian purple which was ever dyed. Priestesses of the goddess had dwellings in all parts of the plain, and in several places the caves are still pointed out where they entertained the devotees of the goddess.[3] Behind Autu the ground rises abruptly, and along the face of the escarpment, half hidden by trees and brushwood, are the remains of the most important of the Tyrian burying-places, consisting of half-filled-up pits, isolated caves, and dark galleries, where whole families lie together in their last sleep. In some spots the chalky mass has been literally honeycombed by the quarrying gravedigger, and regular lines of chambers follow one another in the direction of the strata, after the fashion of the rock-cut tombs of Upper Egypt. They present a bare and dismal appearance both within and without. The entrances are narrow and arched, the ceilings low, the walls bare and colourless, unrelieved by moulding, picture, or inscription.[4] At one place only, near the modern village of Hanaweh, a few groups of figures and coarsely cut stelæ are to be found, indicating, it would seem, the burying-place of some chief of very early times. These figures

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Lortet; cf. *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui*, p. 133.

[2] Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, xl. 369, et seq.; cf. Movers, *Die Phönizier*, pp. 183–184.

[3] For the legend relating to the loves of Melkarth and Astarté, cf. Pollux, *Onomasticon*, i. 45; Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, xl. 306; the sacred caves of Vasita, and their characteristic representations, are described in detail by Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 647–653.

[4] Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 580–583, 587–592, insists on the antiquity of some of these tombs.

run in parallel lines along the rocky sides of a wild ravine. They vary from 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet in height, the bodies being represented by rectangular pilasters, sometimes merely rough-hewn, at others grooved with curved lines to suggest the folds of the Asiatic garments; the head is carved full face, though the eyes are given in profile, and the summary treatment of the modelling gives evidence of a certain skill.[1] Whether they are to be regarded as the product of a primitive Amorite art or of a school of Phœnician craftsmen, we are unable to determine. In the time of their prosperity the Tyrians certainly pushed their frontier as far as this region. The wind-swept but fertile country lying among the ramifications of the lowest spurs of the Lebanon bears to this day innumerable traces of their indefatigable industry—remains of dwellings, conduits and watercourses, cisterns, pits, millstones and vintage-troughs, are scattered over the fields, interspersed with oil and wine presses. The Phœnicians took naturally to agriculture, and carried it to such a high state of perfection as to make it an actual science, to which the neighbouring peoples of the Mediterranean were glad to accommodate their modes of culture in later times.[2] Among no other people was the art of irrigation so successfully practised, and from such a narrow strip of territory as belonged to them no other cultivators could have gathered such abundant harvests of wheat and barley, and such supplies of grapes, olives, and other fruits. From Arvad to Tyre, and even beyond it, the littoral region and the central parts of the valleys presented a long ribbon of verdure of varying breadth, where fields of corn were blended with gardens and orchards and shady woods. The whole region was independent and self-supporting, the inhabitants having no need to address themselves to their neighbours in the interior, or to send their children to seek their fortune in distant lands. To insure prosperity, nothing was needed but a slight exercise of labour and freedom from the devastating influence of war.

The position of the country was such as to secure it from attack, and from the conflicts which laid waste the rest of Syria. Along almost the entire eastern border of the country the Lebanon was a great wall of defence running parallel to the coast, strengthened at each extremity by the additional protection of the rivers Nahr el-Kebîr and Litâny. Its slopes were further defended by the forest, which, with its lofty trees and brushwood, added yet another barrier to that afforded by rocks and snow. Hunters' or shepherds' paths led

[1] LORTET, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui*, pp. 138–140, in which the author expresses his belief that this is a very ancient work of the Phœnicians.

[2] Their taste for agriculture, and the comparative perfection of their modes of culture, are proved by the greatness of the remains still to be observed: "The Phœnicians constructed a winepress, a trough, to last for ever" (RENAN, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 633–637; cf. p. 221). Their colonists at Carthage carried with them the same clever methods, and the Romans borrowed many excellent things in the way of agriculture from Carthaginian books, especially from those of Mago.

here and there in tortuous courses from one side of the mountain to the other. Near the middle of the country two roads, practicable in all seasons, secured communications between the littoral and the plain of the interior. They branched off on either side from the central road in the neighbourhood of Tubakhi, south of Qodshu, and served the needs of the wooded province of Magara.[1] This region was inhabited by pillaging tribes, which the Egyptians called at one time Lamnana, the Libanites,[2] at others Shausu, using for them the same appellation as that which they bestowed upon the Bedouin of the desert.[3] The roads through this province ran under the dense shade afforded by oaks, cedars, and cypresses, in an obscurity favourable to the habits of the wolves and hyænas which infested it, and even of those thick-maned lions known to Asia at the time; and then proceeding in its course, crossed the ridge in the neighbourhood of the snow-peak called Shaua, which is probably the Sannin[4] of our times. While one of these roads, running north along the lake of Yamuneh and through the gorge of Akura, then proceeded along the Adonis[5] to Byblos, the other took a southern direction, and followed the Nahr el-Kelb to the sea.[6] Towards the mouth of the latter a wall of rock opposes the progress of the river, and leaves at length but a narrow and precipitous defile for the passage of its waters: a pathway cut into the cliff at a very remote date leads almost perpendicularly from the bottom of the precipice to the summit of the promontory. Commerce followed these short and direct routes, but invading hosts very rarely took

[1] Magara is mentioned in the *Anastasi Papyrus*, No. 1, pl. xix. l. 2, and Chabas (*Voyage d'un Égyptien*, pp. 126, 127) has identified it with the plain of Marsyas, which Strabo (XVI. ii., § 17, p. 755) places in Syria, in the neighbourhood of Eleutheros. The same locality has been associated by Chabas (*Études sur l'Antiquité Historique*, 2nd edit., p. 216, note 2) with the Makhar-pit named in a papyrus at Bologna (Lincke, *Correspondenzen aus der Zeit der Ramessiden*, pl. vii. l. 9), and by the same writer (*Beiträge zur Kenntniss der altägyptischen Literatur*, pp. 21, 22) with the Magra-pui of the lists of Thutmosis III. (Mariette, *Les Listes Géog. de Karnak*, p. 39, No. 94); for arguments against this view, see W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 718, note 2, and p. 201, note 1. The context shows that the wooded region extending along the eastern slopes of the Lebanon, on the level of Tell Nebi-Mindoh and Baalbek, is meant. Perhaps an echo of the name is preserved in the name Magoras, which was that of the river of Beyrut in Græco-Roman times.

[2] The name Lamnana is given in a picture of the campaigns of Seti I. (Champollion, *Mon. de l'Égypte*, etc., pl. ccxc., and vol. ii. pp. 87, 88; Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pl. xlvi.), where Wilkinson was the first to recognise the name of Lebanon (*Topog. of Thebes and General View of Egypt*, p. 192, note 3). Brugsch was inclined to see in them the Armenians (*Geog. Inschr.*, vol. ii. pp. 38, 39), but Wilkinson's identification now holds its ground (Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 197, et seq.).

[3] *Anastasi Papyrus*, No. 1, pl. xix. ll. 1-4; cf. Chabas, *Voyage d'un Égyptien*, p. 111, et seq.

[4] *Anastasi Papyrus*, No. 1, pl. xix. l. 4; cf. Chabas, *Voyage d'un Égyptien*, p. 128. W. Max Müller (*Asien und Europa*, p. 199, note 2) has rightly associated the Egyptian term Shaua with the name Saua, which serves to designate in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III. (Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pileser's III.*, pp. 20, 21, 78, 79) one of the peaks of the Lebanon. From the general import of the Egyptian context Shaua can hardly be other than the Sannin of the present day.

[5] This is the road pointed out by Renan (*Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 305–309) as the easiest but least known of those which cross the Lebanon; the remains of an Assyrian inscription graven on the rocks near Ain el-Asafir show that it was employed from a very early date, and Renan thought that it was used by the armies which came from the upper valley of the Orontes.

[6] This road, which runs along the Nahr el-Kelb, is probably that followed by the Egyptian in the *Anastasi Papyrus*, No. 1, pl. xix. l. 6 (cf. Chabas, *Voyage d'un Égyptien*, p. 133, et seq.), to pass from the neighbourhood of Qodshu to Byblos and Beyrut in the valley of the Orontes.

advantage of them, although they offered access into the very heart of Phœnicia. Invaders would encounter here, in fact, a little known and broken country, lending itself readily to surprises and ambuscades; and should they reach the foot of the Lebanon range, they would find themselves entrapped in a region of slippery defiles, with steep paths at intervals cut into the rock, and almost inaccessible to chariots or horses, and so narrow in places that a handful of resolute men could have held them for a long time against whole battalions. The enemy preferred to make for the two natural breaches at the respective extremities of the line of defence, and for the two insular cities which flanked the approaches to them—Tyre in the case of those coming from Egypt, Arvad and Simyra for assailants from the Euphrates. The Arvadians, bellicose by nature, would offer strong resistance to the invader, and not permit themselves to be conquered without a brave struggle with the enemy, however powerful he might be.[1] When the disproportion of the forces which they could muster against the enemy convinced them of the folly of attempting an open conflict, their island-home offered them a refuge where they would be safe from any attacks. Sometimes the burning and pillaging of their property on the mainland might reduce them to throw themselves on the mercy of their foes, but such submission did not last long, and they welcomed the slightest occasion for regaining their liberty. Conquered again and again on account of the smallness of their numbers, they were never discouraged by their reverses, and Phœnicia owed all its military history for a long period to their prowess. The Tyrians were of a more accommodating nature, and there is no evidence, at least during the early centuries of their existence, of the display of those obstinate and blind transports of bravery by which the Arvadians were carried away.[2] Their foreign policy was reduced to a simple arithmetical question, which they discussed in the light of their industrial or commercial interests. As soon as they had learned from a short experience that a certain Pharaoh had at his disposal armies against which they could offer no serious opposition, they at

[1] Thûtmosis III. was obliged to enter on a campaign against Arvad in the year XXIX. (*Annals*, ll. 4–7), in the year XXX. (*id.*, ll. 7–9), and probably twice in the following years. Under Amenôthes III. and IV. we see that these people took part in all the intrigues directed against Egypt (Bezold-Budge, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, pp. lix., lxxiii., lxxiv.); they were the allies of the Khâti against Ramses II. in the campaign of the year V. (*Poème de Pentaouîrît*, cf. E. J. de Rougé, in the *Revue Égyptologique*, vol. iii. p. 157, l. 6), and later on we find them involved in most of the wars against Assyria.

[2] No campaign against Tyre is mentioned in any of the Egyptian annals: the expedition of Thûtmosis III. against Senzauru (*Inscription d'Amenemhabi*, l. 20) was not directed against "the double Tyre," as Ebers thought (*Das Grab, etc., des Feldhauptmanns Amenemheb*, in the *Zeitschrift der D. Morg. Gesellschaft.*, vol. xxxi. p. 460), or against the "other Tyre," if one takes without discussion Lieblein's interpretation of the name (*Sur la Ville de Tyr*, in the *Atti del IV Congresso*, p. 23), but against a town of Cœle-Syria mentioned in the Tel el-Amarna tablets with the orthography Zinzar (Bezold-Budge, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, pp. lxvii., lxviii.), the Sizara-Larissa of Græco-Roman times (Stephen of Byzantium, *s.v.* Σίζαρα), the Shaizar of the Arab Chroniclers. On the contrary, the Tel el-Amarna tablets contain several passages which manifest the fidelity of Tyre and its governors to the King of Egypt (Bezold-Budge, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, pp. lvi.–lxii.)

once surrendered to him, and thought only of obtaining the greatest profit from the vassalage to which they were condemned. The obligation to pay tribute did not appear to them so much in the light of a burthen or a sacrifice, as a means of purchasing the right to go to and fro freely in Egypt, or in the countries subject to its influence. The commerce acquired by these privileges recouped them more than a hundredfold for all that their overlord demanded from them. The other cities of the coast—Sidon, Berytus, Byblos[1] —usually followed the example of Tyre, whether from mercenary motives, or from their naturally pacific disposition, or from a sense of their impotence; and the same intelligent resignation with which, as we know, they accepted the supremacy of the great Egyptian empire, was doubtless displayed in earlier centuries in their submission to the Babylonians. Their records show that they did not accept this state of things merely through cowardice or indolence, for they are represented as ready to rebel and shake off the yoke of their foreign master when they found it incompatible with their practical interests.[2] But their resort to war was exceptional; they generally preferred to submit to the powers that be, and to accept from them as if on lease the strip of coast-line at the base of the Lebanon, which served as a site for their warehouses and dockyards. Thus they did not find the yoke of the stranger irksome—the sea opening up to them a realm of freedom and independence which compensated them for the limitations of both territory and liberty imposed upon them at home.

The epoch which was marked by their first venture on the Mediterranean, and the motives which led to it, were alike unknown to them. The gods had taught them navigation, and from the beginning of things they had taken to the sea as fishermen, or as explorers in search of new lands.[3] They were not driven by poverty to leave their continental abode, or inspired thereby with a zeal for distant cruises. They had at home sufficient corn and wine, oil and fruits, to meet all their needs, and even to administer to a life of luxury. And if they lacked cattle, the abundance of fish within their reach compensated for the absence of flesh-meat. Nor was it the number of commodiously situated ports on their coast which induced them to become a seafaring people, for their harbours were badly protected for the most part, and offered no shelter when

[1] See letters from the princes of Berytus (Bezold-Budge, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, pp. lv., lvi.), of Byblos (Id., *ibid.*, pp. xliv.–lv.), showing their zeal for the interests of Pharaoh. Sidon was more turbulent (Id., *ibid.*, pp. xlvi., xlvii.; lviii.–lxii.), but seems never to have gone too far in the spirit of rebellion. It is not found, any more than Tyre, among the Egyptian triumphal lists known up to the present time.

[2] Cf., in regard to the Assyro-Chaldæan epoch, their long resistance to the enterprises of Shalmaneser IV., Sargon, Sennacherib, and Nebuchadrezzar II.

[3] According to one of the cosmogonies of Sanchoniathon, Khusôr, who has been identified with Hephæstos, was the inventor of the fishing-boat, and was the first among men and gods who taught navigation (Philo Byblius, *Fragm.* 2, § 9, in Müller-Didot, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 566). According to another legend, Melkarth showed the Tyrians how to make a raft from the branches of a fig tree (Nonnus, *Dionys.*, xl. 443, et seq.), while the construction of the first ships is elsewhere ascribed to the *Cabiri* (Philo Byblius, *Fragm.* 2, § 11, in Müller-Didot, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 567). Cf. Movers, *Das Phönizische Alterthum*, vol. iii. pp. 149–182.

the wind set in from the north, the rugged shore presenting little resource against the wind and waves in its narrow and shallow havens. It was the nature of the country itself which contributed more than anything else to make them mariners. The precipitous mountain masses which separate one valley from another rendered communication between them difficult, while they served also as lurking-places for robbers. Commerce endeavoured to follow, therefore, the sea-route in preference to the devious ways of this highwayman's region, and it accomplished its purpose the more readily because the common occupation of sea-fishing had familiarised the people with every nook and corner on the coast. The continual wash of the surge had worn away the bases of the limestone cliffs, and the superincumbent masses tumbling down into the sea formed lines of rocks, hardly rising above the water-level,[1] which fringed the headlands with perilous reefs, against which the waves broke continuously at the slightest wind. It required some bravery to approach them, and no little skill to steer one of the frail boats, which these people were accustomed to employ from the earliest times, scatheless amid the breakers. The coasting trade was attracted from Arvad successively to Berytus, Sidon, and Tyre, and finally to the other towns of the coast.[2] It was in full operation, doubtless, from the VI[th] Egyptian dynasty onwards, when the Pharaohs no longer hesitated to embark troops at the mouths of the Nile for speedy transmission to the provinces of Southern Syria, and it was by this coasting route that the tin and amber of the north succeeded in reaching the interior of Egypt.[3] The trade was originally, it would seem, in the hands of those mysterious Kefâtiu of whom the name only was known in later times. When the Phœnicians established themselves at the foot of the Lebanon, they had probably only to take the place of their predecessors and to follow the beaten tracks which they had already made. We have every reason to believe that they took to a seafaring life soon after their arrival in the country, and that they adapted themselves and their civilization readily to the exigencies of a maritime career.[4] In their towns, as in most seaports, there was a considerable foreign element, both of slaves and freemen, but the Egyptians confounded them all under one name, Kefâtiu, whether they were Cypriotes, Asiatics, or Europeans, or belonged to the true Tyrian and Sidonian race. The costume of the Kafiti was similar to that worn by the people of the interior—the loin-cloth, with or without a long upper garment; while in tiring

[1] Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 572–574, where the eroding effects of the sea, peculiar to the Phœnician coast, are described and explained.

[2] For the natural motives determining the maritime calling of the populations dwelling on the Phœnician coast, see especially the summary of Pietschmann, *Gesch. der Phönizier*, pp. 28–34.

[3] For an account of the commerce, see *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 392–394.

[4] Connection between Phœnicia and Greece was fully established at the outbreak of the Egyptian wars (E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, vol. i. pp. 234–235; vol. ii. p. 129, *et seq.*), and we may safely assume their existence in the centuries immediately preceding the second millennium before our era (Pietschmann, *Gesch. der Phönizier*, p. 250); for the probable period of the Phœnician immigration, see *supra*, p. 62.

the hair they adopted certain refinements, specially a series of curls which the men arranged in the form of an aigrette above their foreheads. This motley collection of races was ruled over by an oligarchy of merchants and shipowners, whose functions were hereditary, and who usually paid homage to a single king, the representative of the tutelary god, and absolute master of the city.[1] The industries pursued in Phœnicia were somewhat similar to those of other parts of Syria; the stuffs, vases, and ornaments made at Tyre and Sidon could not be distinguished from those of Hamath or of Carchemish. All manufactures bore the impress of Babylonian influence, and their implements, weights, measures, and system of exchange were the same as those in use among the Chaldæans. The products of the country were, however, not sufficient to freight the fleets which sailed from Phœnicia every year bound for all parts of the known world, and additional supplies had to be regularly obtained from neighbouring peoples, who thus became used to pour into Tyre and Sidon the surplus of their manufactures, or of the natural wealth of their country. The Phœnicians were also accustomed to send caravans into regions which they could not reach in their caracks, and to establish trading stations at the fords of rivers, or in the passes over mountain ranges.[3] We know of the existence of such emporia at Laish near the sources of the Jordan,[4] at Thapsacus,[5] and at Nisibis,[6] and they must have served the purpose of a series



ONE OF THE KAFÎTI FROM THE TOMB OF REKHMIRÂ.[2]

[1] The little that is known of the organisation of the Phœnician cities before the Greek period has been set forth at length by Movers, *Das Phönizische Alterthum*, vol. i. pp. 479–561, and has been summarised by Pietschmann, *Geschichte der Phönizier*, pp. 227, 228. Under the Egyptian supremacy, the local princes did not assume the royal title in the despatches which they addressed to the kings of Egypt, but styled themselves governors of their cities.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the coloured sketches by Prisse d'Avennes in the Natural Hist. Museum; cf. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., pls. clv., clvi. 1; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. xlix. 1; Virey, *Le Tombeau de Rekhmarâ*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. v. pl. v. pp. 33, 34.

[3] Movers, *Das Phönizische Alterthum*, vol. ii. pp. 128–147, 232–271, has shown most ingeniously what was the nature of, and the routes followed in, this overland trade with the nations of the Euphrates.

[4] *Josh.* xix. 47; *Judges* xviii. 7, 27–29. Cf. Movers, *Das Phönizische Alterthum*, vol. ii. pp. 159–162.

[5] Movers, *Das Phönizische Alterthum*, vol. ii. pp. 164, 165.

[6] Philo Byblius, *Fragm.* 8, in Müller-Didot, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 571; cf. Movers, *ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 162–164.

of posts on the great highways of the world. The settlements of the Phœnicians always assumed the character of colonies, and however remote they might be from their fatherland, the colonists never lost the manners and customs of their native country. They collected together into their *okels* or storehouses such wares and commodities as they could purchase in their new localities, and, transmitting them periodically to the coast, shipped them thence to all parts of the world.

Not only were they acquainted with every part of the Mediterranean, but they had even made voyages beyond its limits. In the absence, however, of any specific records of their naval enterprise, the routes they followed must be a subject of conjecture. They were accustomed to relate that the gods, after having instructed them in the art of navigation, had shown them the way to the setting sun, and had led them by their example to make voyages even beyond the mouths of the ocean.[1] El of Byblos was the first to leave Syria: he conquered Greece and Egypt, Sicily and Libya, civilising their inhabitants, and laying the foundation of cities everywhere.[2] The Sidonian Astartê, with her head surmounted by the horns of an ox, was the next to begin her wanderings over the inhabited earth.[3] Melkarth completed the task of the gods by discovering and subjugating those countries which had escaped the notice of his predecessors. Hundreds of local traditions, to be found on all the shores of the Mediterranean down to Roman times, bore witness to the pervasive influence of the old Canaanite colonisation. At Cyprus, for instance, we find traces of the cultus of Kinyras,[4] King of Byblos and father of Adonis;[5] again, at Crete, it is the daughter of a Prince of Sidon, Europa, who is carried off by Zeus under the form of a bull;[6] it was Kadmos, sent forth to seek Europa, who visited Cyprus, Rhodes, and the Cyclades before building Thebes in Bœotia and dying in the forests of Illyria.[7] In short, wherever the Phœnicians had obtained a footing,

[1] The whole of these traditions have been collected and examined at length, often without careful criticism, by MOVERS, *Das Phönizische Alterthum*, vol. ii. pp. 58-125.

[2] The conquests and colonies of El-Kronos are mentioned by Philo Byblius (*Fragm.* 2, § 24, 27, and *Fragm.* 7, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. pp. 569, 571); for what has been gathered from the scattered traces found in Greek tradition, cf., with necessary precaution, the work of MOVERS, *Das Phönizische Alterthum*, vol. ii. pp. 59-64.

[3] The travels of Astarte, together with those of El-Kronos, were mentioned by Sanchoniathon (PHILO BYBLIUS, *Fragm.* 2, § 24, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 569); cf. MOVERS, *Das Phönizische Alterthum*, vol. ii. pp. 64-109.

[4] Legends of a late date collected and related by MOVERS, *ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 109-125.

[5] For the part which Kinyras played at Paphos, cf. ENGEL, *Kypros*, vol. i. pp. 203-209, and vol. ii. pp. 94-136; MOVERS, *Das Phönizische Alterthum*, vol. ii. pp. 226, 227.

[6] HÖCK, *Creta*, vol. i. pp. 83-104; MOVERS, *Das Phön. Alterth.*, vol. ii. pp. 77-85. The present tendency of scholars is to regard the legends of Europa and Kadmos as almost entirely western (ED. MEYER, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. ii. pp. 148-155); without going into the question, which I am not competent to deal with, one fact above all others is undeniable, namely, the connection which the Greeks themselves established between the stories relating to Europa and Phœnician colonisation.

[7] MOVERS, *Das Phön. Alterth.*, vol. ii. pp. 85-92, where the testimony of ancient writers is brought

their audacious activity made such an indelible impression upon the mind of the native inhabitants that they never forgot those vigorous thick-set men with pale faces and dark beards, and soft and specious speech, who appeared at intervals in their large and swift sailing vessels. They made their way cautiously along the coast, usually keeping in sight of land, making sail when the wind was favourable, or taking to the oars for days together when occasion demanded it, anchoring at night under the shelter of some headland, or in bad weather hauling their vessels up the beach until the morrow. They did not shrink when it was necessary from trusting themselves to the open sea, directing their course by the Pole-star;[1] in this manner they often traversed long distances out of sight of land, and they succeeded in making in a short time voyages previously deemed long and costly. It is hard to say whether they were as much merchants as pirates—indeed, they hardly knew themselves—and their peaceful or warlike attitude towards vessels which they encountered on the seas, or towards the people whose countries they frequented, was probably determined by the circumstances of the moment.[2] If on arrival at a port they felt themselves no match for the natives, the instinct of the merchant prevailed, and that of the pirate was kept in the background. They landed peaceably, gained the good will of the native chief and his nobles by small presents, and spreading out their wares, contented themselves, if they could do no better, with the usual advantage obtained in an exchange of goods. They were never in a hurry, and would remain in one spot until they had exhausted all the resources of the country, while they knew to a nicety how to display their goods attractively before the expected customer. Their wares comprised weapons and ornaments for men, axes, swords, incised or damascened daggers with hilts of gold or ivory, bracelets, necklaces, amulets of all kinds, enamelled vases, glass-work, stuffs dyed purple or embroidered with gay colours. At times the natives, whose cupidity was excited by the exhibition of such valuables, would attempt to gain possession of them either by craft or by violence. They would kill the men who had landed, or attempt to surprise the vessel during the

together and construed with an exaggeration habitual to the author. As in the story of Europa, we must here see in the person and adventures of Kadmos merely a type as well as a collection of legends of Hellenic origin. Here again we are forced to recall the fact that the Greeks connected these traditions with memories of Phœnician colonisation.

[1] The Greeks for this reason called it Phœnikê, the Phœnician star (Hyginus, *Astronom.*, ii. § 2); *cf.* also in Movers, *Das Phönizische Alterthum*, vol. iii. pp. 185, 186, the passages from ancient writers referring to the use which the Phœnicians made of the Pole-star to guide them in navigation.

[2] The manner in which the Phœnicians plied their trade is strikingly described in the *Odyssey*, xv. 403–484, in the part where Eumæos relates how he was carried off by a Sidonian vessel and sold as a slave; *cf.* the passage which mentions the voyages of the Greeks on the coast of the Delta, xiv. 285–289. Herodotus (I. i.) recalls the rape of Io, daughter of Inachos, by the Phœnicians, who carried her and her companions into Egypt; on the other hand, during one of their Egyptian expeditions they had taken two priestesses from Thebes, and had transported one of them to Dodona, the other into Libya (II. liv., lvi.).

night. But more often it was the Phœnicians who took advantage of the friendliness or the weakness of their hosts. They would turn treacherously upon the unarmed crowd when absorbed in the interest of buying and selling; robbing and killing the old men, they would make prisoners of the young and strong, the women and children, carrying them off to sell them in those markets where slaves were known to fetch the highest price. This was a recognised trade, but it exposed the Phœnicians to the danger of reprisals, and made them objects of an undying hatred. When on these distant expeditions they were subject to trivial disasters which might lead to serious consequences. A mast might break, an oar might damage a portion of the bulwarks, a storm might force them to throw overboard part of their cargo or their provisions; in such predicaments they had no means of repairing the damage, and, unable to obtain help in any of the places they might visit, their prospects were of a desperate character. They soon, therefore, learned the necessity of establishing cities of refuge at various points in the countries with which they traded—stations where they could go to refit and revictual their vessels, to fill up the complement of their crews, to take in new freight, and, if necessary, pass the winter or wait for fair weather before continuing their voyage.

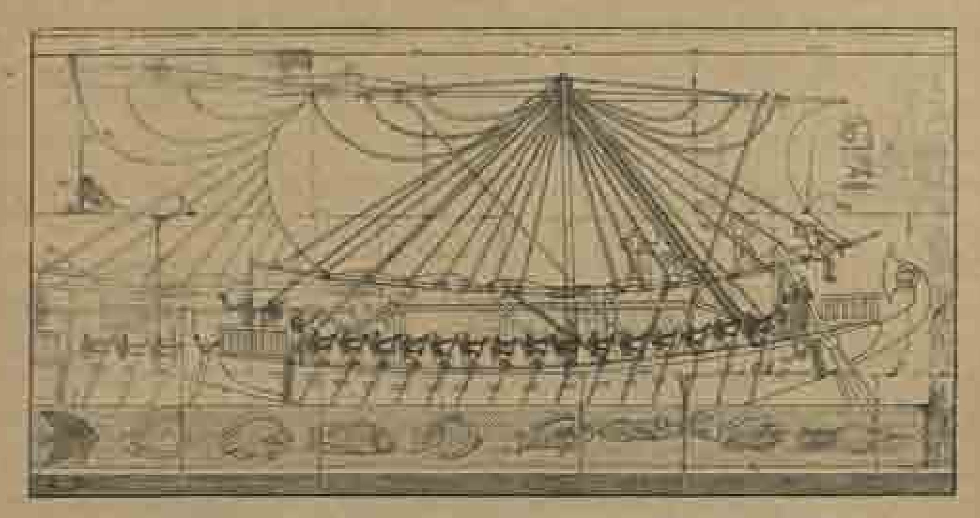
HEAD OF A GAZELLE FORMING THE FIGURE-HEAD OF AN EGYPTIAN GALLEY.[1]

For this purpose they chose by preference islands lying within easy distance of the mainland, like their native cities of Tyre and Arvad, but possessing a good harbour or roadstead. If an island were not available, they selected a peninsula with a narrow isthmus, or a rock standing at the extremity of a promontory, which a handful of men could defend against any attack, and which could be seen from a considerable distance by their pilots. Most of their stations thus happily situated became at length important towns. They were frequented by the natives from the interior, who allied themselves with the new-comers, and furnished them not only with objects of trade, but with soldiers, sailors, and recruits for their army; and such was the rapid spread of

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by M. de Mertens; this figure-head is in the Berlin Museum (Erman, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss*, No. 11,101, p. 222), and the photograph has been reproduced in the above drawing by the kind permission of the curator.

these colonies, that before long the Mediterranean was surrounded by an almost unbroken chain of Phœnician strongholds and trading stations.

All the towns of the mother country—Arvad, Byblos, Berytus, Tyre, and Sidon—possessed vessels engaged in cruising long before the Egyptian conquest of Syria.[1] We have no direct information from any existing monument to show us what these vessels were like, but we are familiar with the construction of the galleys which formed the fleets of the Pharaohs of the XVIII^th^



AN EGYPTIAN TRADING VESSEL OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE XVIII^th^ DYNASTY.[2]

dynasty. The art of shipbuilding had made considerable progress since the times of the Memphite kings.[3] From the period when Egypt aspired to become one of the great powers of the world, she doubtless endeavoured to bring her naval force to the same pitch of perfection as her land forces could boast of, and her fleets probably consisted of the best vessels which the dockyards of that day could turn out. Phœnician vessels of this period may therefore be regarded with reason as constructed on lines similar to those of the Egyptian ships, differing from them merely in the minor details of the shape of the hull and manner of rigging. The hull continued to be built long and narrow, rising at the stem and stern. The bow was terminated by a sort of hook, to which, in time of peace, a bronze ornament was attached,

[1] For the existence of a navy at Byblos, see p. 172 of the present work; its vessels, together with those of Simyra, Berytus, and Sidon, are mentioned in the Tel el-Amarna tablets (Bezold-Budge, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 12, pl. 30, ll. 12-14, 17-20; No. 23, pls. 61, 63, ll. 65-68; No. 28, p. 61, ll. 37-43).

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Beato.

[3] For the Egyptian navy of the Memphite period, cf. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 392; for the vessels of Queen Hâtshopsîtû, see B. Graser, *Das Seewesen der alten Ægypter*, in Dümichen, *Resultate*, vol. i. pp. 1-27; and Maspero, *De quelques Navigations*, pp. 11-17.

fashioned to represent the head of a divinity, gazelle, or bull, while in time of war this was superseded by a metal cut-water made fast to the hull by several turns of stout rope, the blade rising some couple of yards above the level of the deck.[1] The poop was ornamented with a projection firmly attached to the body of the vessel, but curved inwards and terminated by an open lotus-flower. An upper deck, surrounded by a wooden rail, was placed at the bow and stern to serve as forecastle and quarter-decks respectively, and in order to protect the vessel from the danger of heavy seas the ship was strengthened by a structure to which we find nothing analogous in the shipbuilding of classical times: an enormous cable attached to the gammonings of the bow rose obliquely to a height of about a couple of yards above the deck, and, passing over four small crutched masts, was made fast again to the gammonings of the stern. The hull measured from the blade of the cut-water to the stern-post some twenty to five and twenty yards, but the lowest part of the hold did not exceed five feet in depth. There was no cabin, and the ballast, arms, provisions, and spare-rigging occupied the open hold.[2] The bulwarks were raised to a height of some two feet, and the thwarts of the rowers ran up to them on both the port and starboard sides, leaving an open space in the centre for the long-boat, bales of merchandise, soldiers, slaves, and additional passengers.[3] A double set of steering-oars and a single mast completed the equipment. The latter, which rose to a height of some twenty-six feet, was placed amidships,[4] and was held in an upright position by stays. The masthead was surmounted by two arrangements which answered respectively to the top ["gabie"] and *calcet* of the masts of a galley.[5] There were no shrouds on each side from the masthead to the rail, but, in place of them, two stays ran respectively to the bow and stern. The single square-sail was extended between two yards some sixty to

[1] To get a clear idea of the details of this structure, we have only to compare the appearance of ships with and without a cut-water in the scenes at Thebes, representing the celebration of a festival at the return of the fleet (Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, pls. 11, 12).

[2] M. Glaser thinks that there were cabins for the crew under the deck, and he recognises in the sixteen oblong marks on the sides of the vessels at Deir el-Bahari so many dead-lights (*Das Seewesen der alten Ægypter*, p. 16); as there could not have been space for so many cabins, I had concluded that these were ports for oars to be used in time of battle (*De quelques Navigations des Égyptiens*, p. 11, and notes 1, 8), but on further consideration, I saw that they represented the ends of the beams supporting the deck.

[3] One of the bas-reliefs exhibits a long-boat in the water at the time the fleet was at anchor at Pûanît (Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, pl. 6). As we do not find any vessel towing one after her, we naturally conclude that the boat must have been stowed on board.

[4] For the mode in which the mast was stepped and maintained firmly in its place, see Borchardt, *Deck, Ruderbänke und Mastbefestigung an Ægyptischen Schiffsmodellen*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxiii. pp. 27–[illegible].

[5] The "gabie" was a species of top where a sailor was placed on the look-out. It is the καρχήσιον of the Greeks, the "calcese" of the Italians. The "calcet" is, properly speaking, a square block of wood containing the sheaves on which the halyards travelled. The Egyptian apparatus had no sheaves, and answers to the "calcet" on the masts of a galley only in its serving the same purpose. Its details are given on a large scale by Dümichen, *Die Flotte einer Ægyptischen Königin*, pl. x.

seventy feet long, and each made of two pieces spliced together at the centre. The upper yard was straight, while the lower curved upward at the ends. The yard was hoisted and lowered by two halyards, which were made fast aft at the feet of the steersmen. The yard was kept in its place by two lifts which came down from the masthead, and were attached respectively about eight feet from the end of each yard-arm. When the yard was hauled up it was farther supported by six auxiliary lifts, three being attached to each yard-arm. The lower yard, made fast to the mast by a figure-of-eight knot, was secured by sixteen lifts, which, like those of the upper yard, worked through the "calcet." The crew comprised thirty rowers, fifteen on each side, four top-men, two steersmen, a pilot at the bow, who signalled to the men at the helm the course to steer, a captain and a governor of the slaves, who formed, together with ten soldiers, a total of some fifty men.[1] In time of battle, as the rowers would be exposed to the missiles of the enemy, the bulwarks were farther heightened by a mantlet, behind which the oars could be freely moved, while the bodies of the men were fully protected, their heads alone being visible above it. The soldiers were stationed as follows: two of them took their places on the forecastle, a third was perched on the masthead in a sort of cage improvised on the bars forming the top, while the remainder were posted on the deck and poop, from which positions and while waiting for the order to board they could pour a continuous volley of arrows on the archers and sailors of the enemy.[2]

The first colony of which the Phœnicians made themselves masters was that island of Cyprus whose low, livid outline they could see on fine summer evenings in the glow of the western sky.[3] Some hundred and ten miles in length and thirty-six in breadth, it is driven like a wedge into the angle which Asia Minor makes with the Syrian coast. It throws out to the north-east a narrow strip of land, somewhat like an extended finger pointing to where the two coasts meet at the extremity of the gulf of Issos. A limestone cliff, of almost uniform height throughout, bounds, for half its length at least, the northern side of the island, broken occasionally by short deep valleys, which open out into creeks deeply embayed. A scattered population of fishermen exercised their calling in this region, and small towns, of which

[1] I have made this calculation from an examination of the scenes in which ships are alternatively represented as at anchor and under weigh (Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, pl. 6); I know of vessels of smaller size, and consequently with a smaller crew, but I know of none larger or more fully manned.

[2] The details are taken from the only representation of a naval battle which we possess up to this moment, viz. that of which I shall have occasion to speak farther on in connection with the reign of Ramses III. (Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., pl. ccxxii.; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pls. cxxx., cxxxi.)

[3] For the various names of Cyprus in classical antiquity, see Engel, *Kypros*, vol. i. pp. 11-21.

we possess only the Greek or Grecised names—Karpasia, Aphrodision, Kerynia, Lapethos—led there a slumbering existence. Almost in the centre of the island two volcanic peaks, Troodes and Olympos, face each other, and rise to a height of nearly 7000 feet, the range of mountains to which they belong—that of Aous—forming the framework of the island. The spurs of this range fall by a gentle gradient towards the south, and spread out either into stony slopes favourable to the culture of the vine, or into great maritime flats fringed with brackish lagoons. The valley which lies on the northern side of this chain runs from sea to sea in an almost unbroken level. A scarcely perceptible watershed divides the valley into two basins similar to those of Syria, the larger of the two lying opposite to the Phœnician coast. The soil consists of black mould, as rich as that of Egypt, and renewed yearly by the overflowing of the Pediæos and its affluents. Thick forests occupied the interior, promising inexhaustible resources to any naval power. Even under the Roman emperors the Cypriotes boasted that they could build and fit out a ship from the keel to the masthead without looking to resources beyond those of their own island.[1] The ash, pine, cypress, and oak flourished on the sides of the range of Aous,[2] while cedars grew there to a greater height and girth than even on the Lebanon.[3] Wheat, barley, olive trees, vines, sweet-smelling woods for burning on the altar, medicinal plants such as the poppy and the *ladanum*,[4] henna for staining with a deep orange colour the lips, eyelids, palm, nails, and finger-tips of the women,[5] all found here a congenial habitat; while a profusion everywhere of sweet-smelling flowers, which saturated the air with their penetrating odours—spring violets, many-coloured anemones, the lily, hyacinth, crocus, narcissus, and wild rose—led the Greeks to bestow upon the island the designation of "the balmy Cyprus." Mines also contributed their share to the riches of which the island could boast. Iron in small quantities, alum, asbestos, agate and other precious stones, are still to be found there, and in ancient times the neighbourhood of Tamassos yielded copper in such quantities that the Romans were accustomed to designate this metal by the name "Cyprium," and the word passed from them into all the languages of

[1] Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv. 8, 14, who draws his information from an older source.

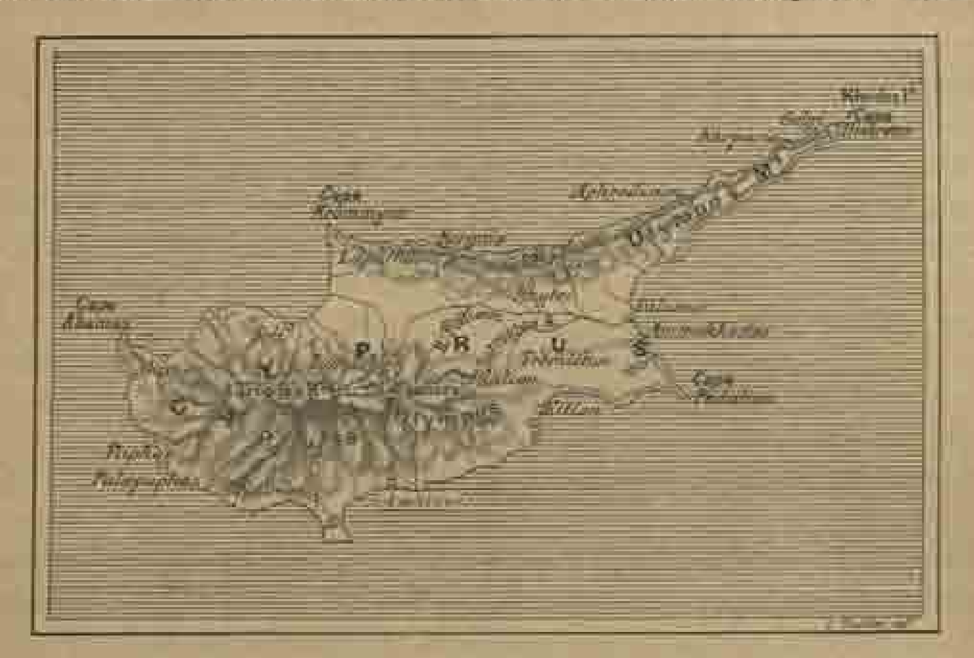
[2] The enumeration of the different species of forest trees known to ancient authors is to be found fully given in Engel, *Kypros*, vol. i. pp. 58, 62, 63.

[3] Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.*, v. 8, 1; on the development to which forests had attained in ancient times, see the evidence given by Eratosthenes in Strabo, XIV. vi., § 5, p. 684.

[4] Dioscorides, *Hist. Plant.*, i. 128; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xii. 27.

[5] Henna, *Lawsonia inermis*, L., is called "kopher" in Hebrew, *κύπρος* in Greek, and the flower *κύπρις*, like the goddess of Cyprus; cf. Engel, *Kypros*, vol. i. pp. 64-66. The plant was introduced into Egypt about the middle of the second Theban empire (Loret, *La Flore Pharaonique*, 2nd edit., pp. 80, 81). The ancients derived the name of the island from that of the plant (Stephen of Byzantium, *s.v.* Κύπρος; Eustathius, *Com. ad Dionysium Periegetam*, v. 508, 509, in Müller-Didot, *Geographi Græci Minores*, vol. ii. p. 312).

Europe.[1] It is not easy to determine the race to which the first inhabitants of the island belonged, if we are not to see in them a branch of the Kefâtiu, who frequented the Asiatic shores of the Mediterranean from a very remote period.[2] In the time of Egyptian supremacy they called their country Asi, and this name inclines one to connect the people with the Ægeans.[3] An examination of the objects found in the most ancient tombs of the island seems to confirm this opinion. These



consist, for the most part, of weapons and implements of stone—knives, hatchets, hammers, and arrow-heads; and mingled with these rude objects a score of different kinds of pottery, chiefly hand-made and of coarse design—pitchers with contorted bowls, shallow buckets, especially of the milk-pail variety, provided with spouts and with pairs of rudimentary handles. The pottery is red or black in colour, and the ornamentation of it consists of incised geometrical designs. Copper and bronze, where we find examples of these metals, do not appear to have been employed in the manufacture of ornaments or arrow-heads, but

[1] For the copper mining industry in ancient times, see Engel, *Kypros*, vol. i. pp. 42-53.

[2] Birch and Chabas saw in Cyprus the Egyptian name Kafti, Kaftui, *Mémoire sur une Patère égyptienne du Musée du Louvre*, pp. 23-28, 30-32. Birch thought that the first syllable of Κύπρος contained the element "Kaf," "Kaf," from which Kafti is derived, and that the name Ἀσῖται given to the Cypriotes is another form of the same word; cf. Brugsch, *Geog. Inschr.*, vol. ii. pp. 86, 87, who connects it with the Hebrew Kaphthor.

[3] "Asi," "Asii," was at first sought for on the Asiatic continent—at Is on the Euphrates (Birch, *Obs. on the Statistical Table of Karnak*, pp. 46, 47), or in Palestine (Brugsch, *Geog. Ins.*, vol. ii. pp. 51, 52); the discovery of the Canopic decree allows us to identify it with Cyprus, and this has now been generally done (Brugsch, *Gesch. Ægyptens*, p. 301; Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. Ægyptens*, p. 230; W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 336, 337). The reading "Asebi" is still maintained by some. On the possible connection of Asi and 'Ασία, see Maspero, in the *Revue Critique*, 1883, vol. i. p. 179. W. Max Müller has tried to show that Asi and Alasia are two forms of the same word, and consequently that Alasia is also Cyprus (*Das Land Alasia*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. x. pp. 257-264).

usually in making daggers. There is no indication anywhere of foreign influence, and yet Cyprus had already at this time entered into relations with the civilised nations of the continent.[1] According to Chaldæan tradition, it was conquered about the year 3800 B.C. by Sargon of Agadê;[2] without insisting upon the reality of this conquest, which in any case must have been ephemeral in its nature, there is reason to believe that the island was subjected from an early period to the influence of the various peoples which lived one after another on the slopes of the Lebanon. Popular legend attributes to King Kinyras and to the Giblites [*i.e.* the people of Byblos] the establishment of the first Phœnician colonies in the southern region of the island—one of them being at Paphos, where the worship of Adonis and Astartê continued to a very late date.[3] The natives preserved their own language and customs, had their own chiefs, and maintained their national independence, while constrained to submit at the same time to the presence of Phœnician colonists or merchants on the coast, and in the neighbourhood of the mines in the mountains. The trading centres of these settlers—Kition, Amathus, Solins, Golgos, and Tamassos—were soon, however, converted into strongholds, which ensured to Phœnicia the monopoly of the immense wealth contained in the island.[4]

Tyre and Sidon had no important centres of industry on that part of the Canaanite coast which extended to the south of Carmel, and Egypt, even in the time of the shepherd kings, would not have tolerated the existence on her territory of any great emporium not subject to the immediate supervision of her official agents. We know that the Libyan cliffs long presented an obstacle to inroads into Egyptian territory, and baffled any attempts to land to the westwards of the Delta; the Phœnicians consequently turned with all the greater ardour to those northern regions which for centuries had furnished them with most valuable products—bronze, tin, amber, and iron, both native and wrought. A little to the north of the Orontes, where the Syrian border is crossed and Asia Minor begins, the coast turns due west and runs in that direction for a considerable distance. The Phœnicians were accustomed to trade along this region, and we may attribute, perhaps, to them the foundation of those obscure cities—

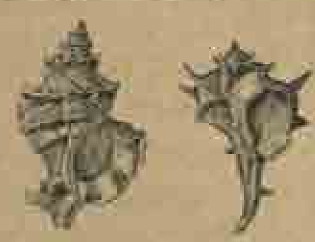
[1] An examination into the origin of the Cypriotes formed part of the original scheme of this work, together with that of the monuments of the various races scattered along the coast of Asia Minor and the islands of the Ægean; but I have been obliged to curtail it, in order to keep within the limits I had prescribed for myself, and I have merely epitomised, as briefly as possible, the results of the researches undertaken in those regions during the last few years, particularly those of Ohnefalsch-Richter.

[2] Cf. what is said on the subject of this conquest in MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 598.

[3] All the legends relating to the foundation of Paphos have been brought together by ENGEL, *Kypros*, vol. i. pp. 122, 168–173, vol. ii. p. 94, et seq.; and by MOVERS, *Das Phönizische Alterthum*, vol. ii. pp. 226, 227.

[4] The Phœnician origin of these towns is proved by the passages from classical writers collected by ENGEL, *Kypros*, vol. i. pp. 71, 72, 103–105, 109–111, 121–124 (who admits it only in the case of Paphos, Amathus, and Kition), and by MOVERS, *Das Phönizische Alterthum*, vol. ii. p. 221, et seq.). The date of the colonisation is uncertain, but with the knowledge we possess of the efficient vessels belonging to the various Phœnician towns, it would seem difficult not to allow that the coasts at least of Cyprus must have been partially occupied at the time of the Egyptian invasions.

Kibyra, Masura, Ruskopus, Syllon, Mygdalè, and Sidyma[1]—all of which preserved their apparently Semitic names down to the time of the Roman epoch. The whole of the important island of Rhodes fell into their power, and its three ports, Ialysos, Lindos, and Kamiros, afforded them a well-situated base of operations for farther colonisation.[2] On leaving Rhodes, the choice of two routes presented itself to them. To the south-west they could see the distant outline of Karpathos, and on the far horizon behind it the summits of the Cretan chain. Crete itself bars on the south the entrance to the Ægean, and is almost a little continent, self-contained and self-sufficing. It is made up of fertile valleys and mountains clothed with forests, and its inhabitants could employ themselves in mines and fisheries. The Phœnicians effected a settlement on the coast



THE MUREX TRUNCULUS AND THE MUREX BRANDARIS.

at Itanos, at Kairatos, and at Arados,[3] and obtained possession of the peak of Cythera, where, it is said, they raised a sanctuary to Astartè.[4] If, on leaving Rhodes, they had chosen to steer due north, they would soon have come into contact with numerous rocky islets scattered in the sea between the continents of Asia and Europe, which would have furnished them with as many stations, less easy of attack, and more readily defended than posts on the mainland. Of these the Giblites occupied Melos, while the Sidonians chose Oliaros and Thera,[5] and we find traces of them in every island where any natural product, such as metals, sulphur, alum, fuller's earth, emery, medicinal plants, and shells for producing dyes, offered an attraction.[6] The purple used by the Tyrians for dyeing is secreted by several varieties of molluscs common in the Eastern Mediterranean; those most esteemed by the dyers were the *Murex trunculus* and the *Murex Brandaris*, and solid masses made up of the detritus of these shells are found in enormous

[1] No direct evidence exists to lead us to attribute the foundation of these towns to the Phœnicians, but the Semitic origin of nearly all the names is an uncontested fact (MOVERS, *Das Phönizische Alterthum*, vol. ii. pp. 246, 247).

[2] For the cycle of legends which has preserved the memory of the Phœnician connection with Rhodes, cf. MOVERS, *ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 247–257; KENRICK, *Phœnicia*, pp. 78–83; G. RAWLINSON, *Hist. of Phœnicia*, pp. 100, 101; ED. MEYER, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. i. pp. 230, 231; vol. ii. pp. 143, 177.

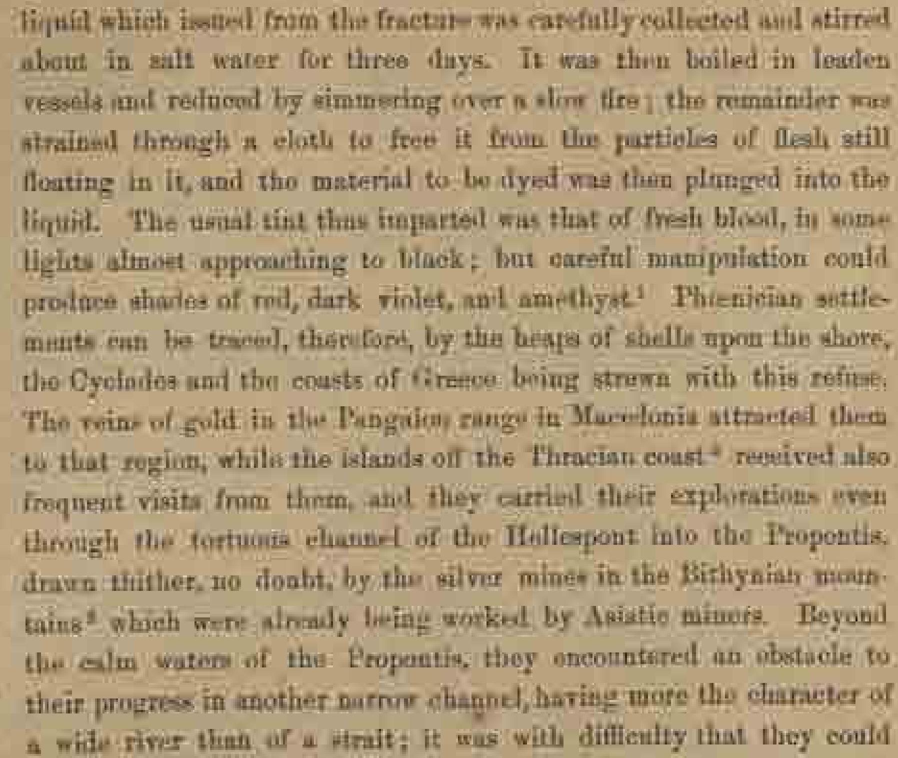
[3] MOVERS, *Das Phönizische Alterthum*, vol. ii. pp. 259–272; KENRICK, *Phœnicia*, pp. 81–84; ED. MEYER, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. i. p. 233; vol. ii. pp. 145, 146.

[4] MOVERS, *Das Phön. Alterthum*, vol. ii. pp. 270–272; KENRICK, *Phœnicia*, pp. 86–87; G. RAWLINSON, *Hist. of Phœnicia*, p. 102; ED. MEYER, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, vol. i. p. 223; vol. ii. pp. 143, 146.

[5] MOVERS, *Das Phön. Alterthum*, vol. ii. pp. 260–269; KENRICK, *Phœnicia*, pp. 94–96; G. RAWLINSON, *Hist. of Phœnicia*, pp. 102–104; ED. MEYER, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, vol. i. p. 225; vol. ii. p. 143. Thucydides (I. viii.) states that "the Phœnicians and the Carians had colonised the greater number of the isles of the Ægean, both Cyclades and Sporades."

[6] Sulphur, alum, and fuller's earth at Melos (DIOSCORIDES, *M. M.*, v. 123, 124, 180; SENECA, v. 11; PLINY, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxv. 19, 50, 52). Emery (σμύρις) is mentioned in the *Annals of Thutmosis III.* (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 30 a, l. 15) under the form *asmiri*. Schweinfurth has drawn attention to a lichen from Crete among the plants collected at Deir el-Bahari (*Ueber Pflanzenreste aus altägyptischen Gräbern*, in the *Berichte der Deutschen Botanischen Gesellschaft*, 1884, p. 371, No. 15).

quantities in the neighbourhood of many Phœnician towns. The colouring matter was secreted in the head of the shellfish. To obtain it the shell was broken by a blow from a hammer, and the small quantity of slightly yellowish



DAGGER OF AHMOSIS.[4]

liquid which issued from the fracture was carefully collected and stirred about in salt water for three days. It was then boiled in leaden vessels and reduced by simmering over a slow fire; the remainder was strained through a cloth to free it from the particles of flesh still floating in it, and the material to be dyed was then plunged into the liquid. The usual tint thus imparted was that of fresh blood, in some lights almost approaching to black; but careful manipulation could produce shades of red, dark violet, and amethyst.[1] Phœnician settlements can be traced, therefore, by the heaps of shells upon the shore, the Cyclades and the coasts of Greece being strewn with this refuse. The veins of gold in the Pangaion range in Macedonia attracted them to that region, while the islands off the Thracian coast[2] received also frequent visits from them, and they carried their explorations even through the tortuous channel of the Hellespont into the Propontis, drawn thither, no doubt, by the silver mines in the Bithynian mountains[3] which were already being worked by Asiatic miners. Beyond the calm waters of the Propontis, they encountered an obstacle to their progress in another narrow channel, having more the character of a wide river than of a strait; it was with difficulty that they could make their way against the violence of its current, which either tended to drive their vessels on shore, or to dash them against the reefs which hampered the navigation of the channel. When, however, they succeeded in making the passage safely, they found themselves upon a vast and stormy sea, whose wooded shores extended east and west as far as eye could reach. From the tribes who inhabited them, and who acted as intermediaries, the Phœnician traders were able to procure tin, lead, amber, Caucasian gold, bronze, and iron, all products of the extreme north—a region which always seemed to elude their

[1] KENRICK, *Phœnicia*, pp. 237-247. The principal references to Tyrian purple in classical authors are those in Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.*, v. 15) and in Pliny (*H. Nat.*, ix. 36, 37); the first experiments made by Cole in England (*Observations on the Purple*, in the *Philosophical Trans. of London*, vol. xv. p. 1280), continued and extended in France by Réaumur (*Découverte d'une nouvelle teinture de pourpre*, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences*, 1711, pp. 168-199) and by Du Hamel (*Quelques Expériences sur la liqueur colorante que fournit la pourpre*, in the *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Sciences*, 1736, pp. 6-8, 49-63), were confirmed by Deshayes (*Mollusques de la Méditerranée*, in the *Expédition scientifique de Morée*, vol. iii. pp. 182-191), and more recently by Lacaze-Duthiers (*Mémoire sur la pourpre*, in the *Annales des Sciences naturelles*, *Zoologie*, 4th series, vol. xii. pp. 1-92), and have enabled us to discover the various processes used in the preparation of the purple dye.

[2] The fact that they worked the mines of Thasos is attested by Herodotus (VI. xlvii., II. xliv.; cf. PAUSANIAS, v. 25, 12); for their settlements in those regions, see MOVERS, *Das Phönizische Alterthum*, vol. ii. pp. 273-290, and ED. MEYER, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. i. p. 231; vol. ii. p. 144.

[3] Pronectos, on the Gulf of Astacus, was supposed to be a Phœnician colony (STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM, s. v.).

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin; cf. MARIETTE, *Notice des principaux monuments*, 1864, p. 222.

persevering efforts to discover it. We cannot determine the furthest limits reached by the Phœnician traders, since they were wont to designate the distant countries and nations with which they traded by the vague appellations of "Isles of the Sea" and "Peoples of the Sea,"[1] refusing to give more accurate information either from jealousy or from a desire to hide from other nations the sources of their wealth.

The peoples with whom they traded were not mere barbarians, contented with worthless objects of barter;[2] their clients included the inhabitants of



ONE OF THE DAGGERS DISCOVERED AT MYCENÆ, SHOWING AN IMITATION OF EGYPTIAN DECORATION.[3]

the Ægean, who, if inferior to the great nations of the East, possessed an independent and growing civilization, traces of which are still coming to light from many quarters in the shape of tombs, houses, palaces, utensils, ornaments, representations of the gods, and household and funerary furniture,—not only in the Cyclades, but on the mainland of Asia Minor and of Greece. No inferior goods or tinsel wares would have satisfied the luxurious princes who reigned in such ancient cities as Troy and Mycenæ, and who wanted the best industrial products of Egypt and Syria—costly stuffs, rare furniture, ornate and well-wrought weapons, articles of jewellery, vases of curious and delicate design—such objects, in fact, as would have been found in use among the sovereigns and nobles of Memphis or of Babylon. For articles to offer in exchange they were not limited to the natural or roughly worked products of their own country. Their craftsmen, though less successful in general technique than their Oriental contemporaries, exhibited considerable artistic intelligence and an extraordinary manual skill. Accustomed at first merely to copy the objects sold to them by the Phœnicians, they soon developed a style of their own; the Mycenæan dagger in the illustration on this page, though several centuries later in date than that of the Pharaoh Âhmosis, appears to be traceable to this ancient source of inspiration, although it gives evidence of new elements in

[1] These are the names used by the Egyptians of the XIXth and XXth dynasties (E. de Rougé, *Extrait d'un Mémoire sur les Attaques dirigées contre l'Égypte*, pp. 5, 10, et seq.).

[2] Here again I have had to restrict myself in describing the development of the Ægean races, and must refer the reader for a further knowledge of their civilization to the accounts given in Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. vi. p. 105, et seq., and Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, vol. ii. pp. 53-182.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the facsimile in Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. vi. pl. xviii.

its method of decoration and in its greater freedom of treatment. The inhabitants of the valleys of the Nile and of the Orontes, and probably also those of the Euphrates and Tigris, agreed in the high value they set upon these artistic objects in gold, silver, and bronze, brought to them from the further shores of the Mediterranean, which, while reproducing their own designs, modified them to a certain extent; for just as we now imitate types of ornamental work in vogue among nations less civilized than ourselves, so the Ægean people set themselves the task through their potters and engravers of reproducing exotic models. The Phœnician traders who exported to Greece large consignments of objects made under various influences in their own workshops, or purchased in the bazaars of the ancient world, brought back as a return cargo an equivalent number of works of art, bought in the towns of the West, which eventually found their way into the various markets of Asia and Africa. These energetic merchants were not the first to ply this profitable trade of maritime carriers, for from the time of the Memphite empire the products of northern regions had found their way, through the intermediation of the Haûinibû, as far south as the cities of the Delta and the Thebaid. But this commerce could not be said to be either regular or continuous; the transmission was carried on from one neighbouring tribe to another, and the Syrian sailors were merely the last in a long chain of intermediaries—a tribal war, a migration, the caprice of some chief, being sufficient to break the communication, and even cause the suspension of transit for a considerable period. The Phœnicians desired to provide against such risks by undertaking themselves to fetch the much-coveted objects from their respective sources, or, where this was not possible, from the ports nearest the place of their manufacture. Reappearing with each returning year in the localities where they had established emporia, they accustomed the natives to collect against their arrival such products as they could profitably use in bartering with one or other of their many customers. They thus established, on a fixed line of route, a kind of maritime trading service, which placed all the shores of the Mediterranean in direct communication with each other, and promoted the blending of the youthful West with the ancient East.





THE EIGHTEENTH THEBAN DYNASTY.

THÛTMOSIS I. AND HIS ARMY—HÂTSHOPSÎTÛ AND THÛTMOSIS III.: THE ORGANIZATION OF THE SYRIAN PROVINCES—AMENÔTHES III.: THE WORSHIPPERS OF ATONÛ.

Thûtmosis I.'s campaign in Syria—The organization of the Egyptian army: the infantry of the line, the archers, the horses, and the charioteers—The classification of the troops according to their arms—Marching and encampment in the enemy's country; battle array—Chariot-charges—The enumeration and distribution of the spoil—The vice-royalty of Kush and the adoption of Egyptian customs by the Ethiopian tribes.

The first successors of Thûtmosis I.: Ahmasi and Hatshopsîtû, Thûtmosis II.—The temple of Deir el-Bahari and the buildings of Karnak—The builders of [illegible]—The expedition to Pûanît: bartering with the natives, the return of the fleet.

Thûtmosis III.: his departure for Asia, the battle of Megiddo and the subjection of Southern Syria—The year 23 to the year 28 of his reign—Conquest of Lotanû and of Mitanni—The campaign of the 33rd year of the king's reign and the taking of Qodshû in the 42nd year—The tribute of the south—The triumphal song of Amon.

The constitution of the Egyptian empire—The Crown vassals and their relations with the Pharaoh—The king's messengers—The allied states—Royal presents and marriages; the status of foreigners in the royal harem—Commerce with Asia, its resources and its risks; protection granted to the national industries, and treaties of extradition.

Amenôthes II., his campaigns in Syria and Nubia—Thûtmosis IV.; his dream under the shadow of the Sphinx and his marriage—Amenôthes III. and his peaceful reign—The great building works—The temples of Nubia: Soleb and the sanctuary built by Amenôthes III., Gebel Barkal, Elephantine—The beautifying of Thebes: the temple of Mût, the temples of Amon at Luxor and at Karnak, the tomb of Amenôthes III., the chapel and the colossi of Memnon.

The increasing importance of Amon and his priests: preference shown by Amenôthes III. for the Heliopolitan gods, his marriage with Tîi—The influence of Tîi over Amenôthes IV.; the downfall of Amon and of Thebes, Atonû and Khûitniatonû—Change of physiognomy in Khûniatonû, his character, his government, his relations with Asia: the tombs of Tel el-Amarna and the art of the period—Tûtankhamon, Ai: the return of the Pharaohs to Thebes and the close of the XVIIIth dynasty.





THE TEMPLE OF LUXOR IN ITS PRESENT CONDITION, SEEN FROM THE LEFT BANK OF THE NILE.[1]

CHAPTER III.

THE EIGHTEENTH THEBAN DYNASTY.

Thûtmosis I. and his army—Hâtshopsîtû and Thûtmosis III.: the organisation of the Syrian provinces—Amenôthes III.: the royal worshippers of Atonû.

THE account of the first expedition undertaken by Thûtmosis in Asia, a region at that time new to the Egyptians, would be interesting if we could lay our hands upon it. We should perhaps find in the midst of official documents, or among the short phrases of funerary biographies, some indication of the impression which the country produced upon its conquerors. With the exception of a few merchants or adventurers, no one from Thebes to Memphis had any other idea of Asia than that which could be gathered from the scattered notices of it in the semi-historical romances of the preceding age. The actual sight of the country must have been a revelation; everything appearing new and paradoxical to men of whom the majority had never left their fatherland, except on some warlike expedition into Ethiopia or on some rapid raid along the coasts of the Red Sea. Instead of their own narrow valley, extending between its two mountain ranges, and fertilised by the periodical overflowing of the Nile which recurred regularly almost to a day,

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Golénischeff. The vignette, by Faucher-Gudin, represents the fine statue of Amenôthes II. in red granite, which came from Thebes, and is now in the Turin Museum; cf. Orcurti, *Catalogo illustrato dei Monumenti Egizi*, vol. i. p. 59, n. 3.

they had before them wide irregular plains, owing their fertility not to inundations, but to occasional rains or the influence of insignificant streams; hills of varying heights covered with vines and other products of cultivation; mountains of different altitudes irregularly distributed, clothed with forests, furrowed with torrents, their summits often crowned with snow even in the hottest period of summer: and in this region of nature, where everything was strange to them, they found nations differing widely from each other in appearance and customs, towns with crenellated walls perched upon heights difficult of access; and finally, a civilization far excelling that which they encountered anywhere in Africa outside their own boundaries.

Thûtmosis succeeded in reaching on his first expedition a limit which none of his successors was able to surpass, and the road taken by him in this campaign—from Gaza to Megiddo, from Megiddo to Qodshû, from Qodshû to Carchemish—was that which was followed henceforward by the Egyptian troops in all their expeditions to the Euphrates. Of the difficulties which he encountered on his way we have no information. On arriving at Naharaim, however, we know that he came into contact with the army of the enemy, which was under the command of a single general—perhaps the King of Mitanni himself, or one of the lieutenants of the Cossæan King of Babylon—who had collected together most of the petty princes of the northern country to resist the advance of the intruder.[1] The contest was hotly fought out on both sides, but victory at length remained with the invaders, and innumerable prisoners fell into their hands. The veteran Âhmosi, son of Abîna, who was serving in his last campaign, and his cousin, Âhmosi Pannekhabît, distinguished themselves according to their wont. The former, having seized upon a chariot, brought it, with the three soldiers who occupied it, to the Pharaoh, and received once more "the collar of gold;"[2] the latter killed twenty-one of the enemy, carrying off their hands as trophies, captured a chariot, took one prisoner, and obtained as reward a valuable collection of jewellery, consisting of collars, bracelets, sculptured lions, choice vases, and costly weapons.[3] A stele, erected on the banks of the Euphrates not far from the scene of the battle, marked the spot which the conqueror wished to be recognised henceforth as the frontier of his empire.[4] He re-entered Thebes with immense booty, by which gods as well as men profited, for he consecrated a part of it to the embellishment of the temple of Amon, and the sight of the spoil undoubtedly removed the lingering prejudices

[1] Cf., however, what is said of the weakness of the Cossæan kings in pp. 118–128 of the present volume; this prince of Naharaim was probably one of the kings of Mitanni.

[2] *Inscription of Ahmosi-si-Abina*, ll. 36–39; cf. Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 12; Chabas, *Les Pasteurs en Égypte*, p. 22; Brugsch, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 221, 223, 271.

[3] Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, vol. xiv. a, ll. 8, 9, b, ll. 9, 10; cf. Maspero, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1883, p. 78, ll. 8–11.

[4] *Annals of Thûtmosis III.*, ll. 17, 18; cf. E. de Rougé, *Notice de quelques fragments de l'Inscription de Karnak*, pp. 17, 18, 24–26, where the fact was noticed for the first time.

which the people had cherished against expeditions beyond the isthmus. Thûtmosis was held up by his subjects to the praise of posterity as having come into actual contact with that country and its people, which had hitherto been known to the Egyptians merely through the more or less veracious tales of exiles and travellers. The aspect of the great river of the Naharaim, which could be compared with the Nile for the volume of its waters, excited their admiration. They were, however, puzzled by the fact that it flowed from north to south, and even were accustomed to joke at the necessity of reversing the terms employed in Egypt to express going up or down the river.[1] This first Syrian campaign became the model for most of those subsequently undertaken by the Pharaohs. It took the form of a bold advance of troops, directed from Zalû towards the north-east, in a diagonal line through the country, who routed on the way any armies which might be opposed to them, carrying by assault such towns as were easy of capture, while passing by others which seemed strongly defended—pillaging, burning, and slaying on every side. There was no suspension of hostilities, no going into winter quarters, but a triumphant return of the expedition at the end of four or five months, with the probability of having to begin fresh operations in the following year should the vanquished break out into revolt.[2]

The troops employed in these campaigns were superior to any others hitherto put into the field. The Egyptian army, inured to war by its long struggle with the Shepherd-kings, and kept in training since the reign of Âhmosis by having to repulse the perpetual incursions of the Ethiopian or Libyan barbarians, had no difficulty in overcoming the Syrians; not that the latter were wanting in courage or discipline, but owing to their limited supply of recruits, and the political disintegration of the country, they could not readily place under arms such enormous numbers as those of the Egyptians. Egyptian military organisation had remained practically unchanged since early times: the army had always consisted, firstly, of the militia who held fiefs and were under the obligation of personal service either to the prince of the nome or to the sovereign;[3]

[1] A passage from the inscription of Tombos (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 5 a, ll. 13, 14) thus describes the Euphrates: *mu pifi qodnu khuddît m khontît*. Now, *khodît* means *to go north*, and *khontît*, *to go south*, so that the literal translation of the phrase would call the Euphrates, "*The river where he who goes north sails as if he were going south*," that is to say, where the contrary term to that used on the Nile must be employed in speaking of going up or down the river. The solution of this little problem was first given by E. de Rougé (*Étude des Monuments du Massif de Karnak*, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne et Assyrienne*, vol. i. p. 41, n. 4; cf. Pierret, *Petites Études Égyptologiques*, p. 26, n. 38), from whom it was borrowed by Brugsch (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 265; *Die Ægyptische Völkertafel*, in the *Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Congress, *Afrikanische Section*, pp. 33, 34; and *Die Ægyptologie*, pp. 260, 261), and from Brugsch has been passed on to other Egyptologists.

[2] From the account of the campaigns of Amenôthes II., I thought we might conclude that this Pharaoh wintered in Syria at least once (*Histoire Ancienne des peuples de l'Orient*, 1875, p. 207; cf. Lieblein, *Sur un nouvel argument chronologique tiré des récits datés des guerres pharaoniques en Syrie*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. i. p. 101); but the text does not admit of this interpretation, and we must, therefore, for the present give up the idea that the Pharaohs ever spent more than a few months of the year on hostile territory (W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 263, n. 4).

[3] At that time, the active part of this contingent which served in the infantry went by the name

secondly, of a permanent force,[1] which was divided into two corps, distributed respectively between the Saïd and the Delta. Those companies which were quartered on the frontier, or about the king either at Thebes or at one of the royal residences, were bound to hold themselves in readiness to muster for a campaign at any given moment.[2] The number of natives liable to be levied when occasion required, by "generations,"[3] or as we should say by classes, may have amounted to over a hundred thousand men,[4] but they were never all called out, and it does not appear that the army on active service ever contained more than thirty thousand men at a time, and probably on ordinary occasions not much more than ten or fifteen thousand.[5] The infantry was, as we should expect, composed of troops of the line and light troops. The former wore either short wigs arranged in rows of curls, or a kind of padded cap by way of a helmet, thick enough to deaden blows; the breast and shoulders were undefended, but a short loin-cloth was wrapped round the hips, and the stomach and upper part of the thighs were protected by a sort of triangular apron, sometimes scalloped at the sides, and composed of leather thongs attached to a belt. A buckler of moderate dimensions had been substituted for the gigantic shield of the earlier Theban period;[6] it was rounded at the top and

or *Uâû*, or, as a collective, *uâûu* (Maspero, *Notes au jour le jour*, § 6, in the *Proceedings*, 1890-91, vol. xiii. p. 303; Brugsch, *Die Ægyptologie*, p. 233; W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 270, n. 2).

[2] Bouriant, *À Thèbes*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. vi. p. 44, l. 25; W. Max Müller, *Erklärung des grossen Dekrets des Königs Har-m-hebe*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1888, pp. 82-84.

[3] On the organisation of military service in Egypt, see Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 305-308, 452, 453. Recruiting is represented in several Theban tombs (Virey, *Tombeau de Pehsukher*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. v. pp. 291, 295; Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. clvi. 1-3, 5, 6, and vol. i. pp. 484-487, 831; Bouriant, *Le Tombeau d'Harmhabi*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. v. pp. 419-422.)

[4] *Zamû*. On the meaning of this word, cf. Maspero, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. p. 36, n. 2. The soldiers taken from these classes are represented at Deir el-Bahari, as hastening armed to meet the troops returning from the Pûanit (Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, pls. 11, 12).

[5] The only numbers which we know are those given by Herodotus for the Saïte period (II. clxvi.), which are evidently exaggerated (Wiedemann, *Herodot's zweites Buch*, p. 577). Coming down to modern times, we see that Mohammed-Ali, from 1830 to 1840, had nearly 130,000 men in Syria, Egypt, and the Sudan; and in 1841, at the time when the treaties imposed upon him the ill-kept obligation of reducing his army to 18,000 men, it still contained 81,000. We shall probably not be far wrong in estimating the total force which the Pharaohs of the XVIIIth dynasty, lords of the whole valley of the Nile, and of part of Asia, had at their disposal at 120,000 or 130,000 men; these, however, were never all called out at once.

[6] We have no direct information respecting the armies acting in Syria; we only know that, at the battle of Qodshu, Ramses II. had against him 2500 chariots containing three men each, making 7500 charioteers, besides a troop estimated at the Ramesseum at 8000 men, at Luxor at 9000 (Guieysse, *Textes historiques d'Ipsamboul*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. viii. p. 138), so that the Syrian army probably contained about 22,000 men. It would seem that the Egyptian army was less numerous, and I estimate it with great hesitation at about 15,000 or 18,000 men: it was considered a powerful army, while that of the Hittites was regarded as an innumerable host. A passage in the *Anastasi Papyrus* No. 1, pls. xvi. l. 1,—xviii. l. 2, tells us the composition of a corps led by Ramses II. against the tribes in the vicinity of Qoseir and the Hahmât valley: it consisted of 5000 men, of whom 520 were Shardana, 1600 Qahak, 70 Mashauasha, and 880 Negroes (Chabas, *Voyage d'un Égyptien*, pp. 49-72).

[7] For an illustration of this shield, taken from the tombs of Siût, see Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 457.

often furnished with a solid metal boss, which the experienced soldiers always endeavoured to present to the enemy's lances and javelins. Their weapons consisted of pikes about five feet long, with broad bronze or copper points, occasionally of flails, axes, daggers, short curved swords, and spears; the trumpeters were armed with daggers only, and the officers did not as a rule encumber themselves with either buckler or pike, but bore an axe



A PLATOON (TEMSÎT) OF EGYPTIAN SPEARMEN AT DEIR EL-BAHARÎ.[1]

and dagger, and occasionally a bow.[2] The light infantry was composed chiefly of bowmen—*pidâtiû*—the celebrated archers of Egypt, whose long bows and arrows, used with deadly skill, speedily became renowned throughout the East;[3] the

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph taken by NAVILLE. *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari, its Plan, its Founders, and its first Explorers. Introductory Memoir*, pl. viii.

[2] Besides the soldiers pictured above, we possess hardly any military illustrations from the earlier reigns of the XVIIIth dynasty, excepting the troops represented in the pictures of the fêtes celebrated on the return of the fleet from the Pûanît, under Hâtshopsîtû (DÜMICHEN, *Die Flotte einer Ægyptischen Königin*, pls. v., vi., vii., viii., x., xiii.; MARIETTE, *Deir el-Bahari*, pls. 6, 11, 12, 13); we meet with some of them again on the monuments of Amenôthes IV. (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 92) and of Harmhabî (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. cxli.; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. xliv. (?); LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 121 b); and for details, WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. i. p. 188, et seq.; ERMAN, *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben*, pp. 714-723.

[3] These *pidâtiû* are mentioned in the Tel el-Amarna despatches as forming the principal part of the troops which garrisoned those Asiatic towns which were subject to the Egyptians or allied to them (WIEDEMANN, DELATTRE, *Lettres de Tell el-Amarna*, in the *Proceedings of the Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. xv. 1892-93, pp. 347, 348; ERMAN, in ZIMMERN'S *Die Keilschriftbriefe aus Jerusalem*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. vi. p. 250, n. 7; W. MAX MÜLLER, *Zu den Keilschriftbriefen aus Jerusalem*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. vii. pp. 64, 65). The idea that these archers were foreign mercenaries might seem natural when their collective name was read *shardâîti*, and compared with the Coptic

quiver, of the use of which their ancestors were ignorant, had been borrowed from the Asiatics, probably from the Hyksôs, and was carried hanging at the side or slung over the shoulder.[1] Both spearmen and archers were for the most part pure-bred Egyptians, and were divided into regiments of unequal strength, each of which usually bore the name of some god—as, for example, the regiment of Râ or of Phtah, of Amon or of Sûtkhû[2]—in which the feudal contingents, each commanded by its lord or his lieutenants, fought side by side with the king's soldiers furnished from the royal domains. The effective force of the army was made up by auxiliaries taken from the tribes of the Sahara and from the negroes of the Upper Nile.[3] These auxiliaries were but sparingly employed in early times, but their numbers were increased as wars became more frequent and necessitated more troops to carry them on. The tribes from which they were drawn supplied the Pharaohs with an inexhaustible reserve; they were courageous, active, indefatigable, and inured to hardships, and if it had not been for their turbulent nature, which incited them to continual internal dissensions, they might readily have shaken off the yoke of the Egyptians. Incorporated into the Egyptian army, and placed under the instruction of picked officers, who subjected them to rigorous discipline, and accustomed them to the evolutions of regular troops, they were transformed from disorganised hordes into tried and invincible battalions.[4]

The old army, which had conquered Nubia in the days of the Papis and the Usirtasens, had consisted of these three varieties of foot-soldiers only, but

shemsu, which signifies *foreigner* (Brugsch, *Dictionnaire Hiéroglyphique*, pp. 1391, 1392, and *Die Ægyptologie*, pp. 240-242); but it is no longer admissible since the true reading of the word is known—*pidîti*—and the pictures at Deir el-Bahari, in which the archers are represented, show that they, as well as the heavy infantry, belonged to the old Egyptian race.

[1] The questions relating to the introduction of the quiver are discussed in Maspero, *Notes au jour le jour*, § 18, in the *Proceedings of the Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1891-92, vol. xiv. pp. 184-187.

[2] On the division of the Egyptian armies into battalions and regiments, cf. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. i. p. 193, et seq.; Erman, *Ægypten*, pp. 719, 717. The army of Ramses II. at the battle of Qodshû comprised *four corps*, which bore the names of Amon, Râ, Phtah, and Sutkhu. Other lesser corps, designated by the name of *sa*, and, the *gentes* or *tribes*, were called the *Tribe of Pharaoh*, the *Tribe of the Beauty of the Solar disk* (Mariette, *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos*, pp. 285, 386, Nos. 1062, 1063; pp. 388, 389, No. 1070; p. 391, No. 1076); these, as far as I can judge, must have been troops raised on the royal domains by a system of local recruiting, who were united by certain common privileges and duties which constituted them an hereditary militia, whence they were called *tribes*. These military *tribes* are probably what the author of the treatise *De Iside* (§ 72, Parthey's edit., pp. 126, 127) calls the *γένη*, those races into which the army of Osiris was divided, and who each bore as a standard some divine emblem, the worship of which was common to all who composed the army; cf. Brugsch, *Die Ægyptologie*, pp. 225, 226.

[3] These Ethiopian recruits are occasionally represented in the Theban tombs of the XVIIIth dynasty, among others in the tomb of Pahonkhir (Virey, *Le Tombeau de Pehenkher*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française du Caire*, vol. v. pp. 294, 295).

[4] The armies of Hâtshopsîtû already included Libyan auxiliaries, some of which are represented at Deir el-Bahari (Dümichen, *Die Flotte einer Ægyptischen Königin*, pls. vi., xi.; Mariette, *Deir el-Baharî*, pl. 12); others of Asiatic origin are found under Amenôthes IV. (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 92), but they are not represented on the monuments among the regular troops until the reign of Ramses II., when the Shardana appear for the first time among the king's body-guard (E. de Rougé, *Extrait d'un Mémoire sur les attaques des peuples de la mer*, pp. 22-25).

since the invasion of the Shepherds, a new element had been incorporated into the modern army in the shape of the chariotry, which answered to some extent to the cavalry of our day as regards their tactical employment and efficacy.[1] The horse, when once introduced into Egypt, soon became fairly adapted to its environment.[2] It retained both its height and size, keeping the convex forehead—which gave the head a slightly curved profile—the slender neck, the



A PLATOON OF EGYPTIAN ARCHERS AT DEIR EL-BAHARI.[3]

narrow hind-quarters, the lean and sinewy legs, and the long flowing tail which had characterised it in its native country. The climate, however, was enervating, and constant care had to be taken, by the introduction of new blood from Syria, to prevent the breed from deteriorating.[4] The Pharaohs kept studs of horses in the principal cities of the Nile valley, and the great feudal lords, following their example, vied with each other in the possession of numerous breeding stables. The office of superintendent to these establishments, which was at the disposal of the Master of the Horse, became in later

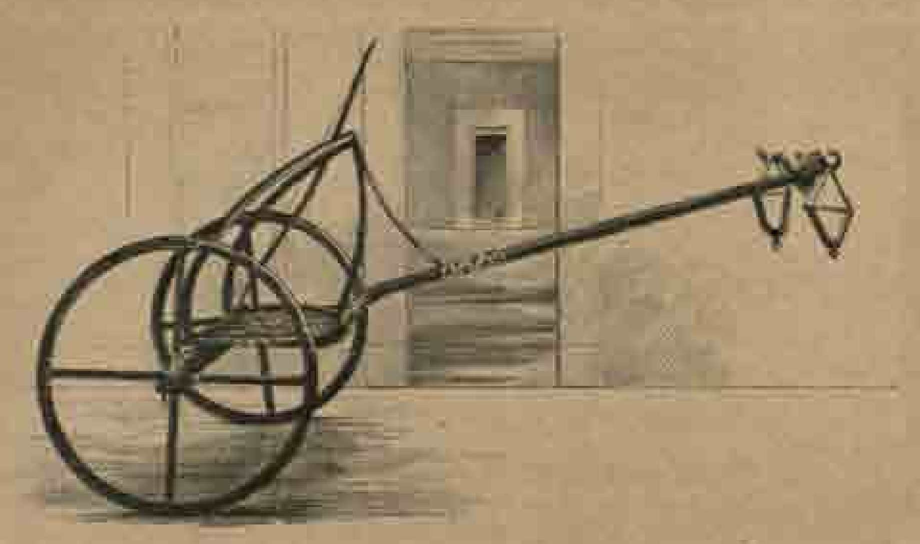
[1] The part played by chariots in the Egyptian armies was first studied by ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Civili*, vol. iii. pp. 222–271; afterwards by WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. i. pp. 222–241; and finally by TERTON DE RAYET, *Études sur les Chars de guerre égyptiens*, in the *Congrès provincial des Orientalistes Français, tenu à Saint-Étienne*, vol. ii. pp. 439–472.

[2] The characteristics of the Egyptian horse have been described by PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Des Chevaux chez les Anciens Égyptiens* (in PERRON, *Le Nâçeri, traduit de l'Arabe d'Abû-Bekr-ibn-Bedr*, vol. i. pp. 128–163); by SANSON, *Traité de Zootechnie*, pp. 48–50; and by PIÉTREMENT, *Les Chevaux dans les temps préhistoriques et historiques*, pp. 485–488. On the date of the introduction of the horse into Egypt, cf. p. 51 of the present work.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph; cf. DÜMICHEN, *Die Flotte einer Ægyptischen Königin*, pls. viii., ix., and MARIETTE, *Deir el-Bahari*, pl. 11.

[4] The numbers of horses brought from Syria either as spoils of war or as tribute paid by the conquered are frequently recorded in the *Annals of Thûtmosis III.* (32 mares are mentioned in l. 3, 188 in l. 8, 26 in l. 9, 260 in l. 22, 180 in l. 40), and the number would be far larger were the inscription not mutilated. Besides the usual species, powerful stallions were imported from Northern Syria, which were known by the Semitic name of *Abiri*, the strong (*Anastasi Papyrus IV.*, pl. xvii. ll. 8, 9; cf. *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ii. p. 116, n. 3; BONDI, *Dem Hebräisch-phönizischen Sprachzweige angehörige Lehnwörter in Hieroglyphischen und Hieratischen Texten*, pp. 24–27). In the tombs of the XVIIIth dynasty, the arrival of Syrian horses in Egypt is sometimes represented (BOURIANT, *Le Tombeau d'Harmhabi*, pl. iv., in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. v. p. 422).

times one of the most important State appointments.[1] The first chariots introduced into Egypt were, like the horses, of foreign origin,[2] but when built by Egyptian workmen they soon become more elegant, if not stronger, than their models. Lightness was the quality chiefly aimed at; and at length the weight was so reduced that it was possible for a man to carry his chariot on his shoulders



THE EGYPTIAN CHARIOT PRESERVED IN THE FLORENCE MUSEUM.[3]

without fatigue. The materials for them were on this account limited to oak or ash and leather; metal, whether gold or silver, iron or bronze, being used but sparingly, and then only for purposes of ornamentation. The wheels usually had six, but sometimes eight spokes, or occasionally only four. The axle consisted of a single stout pole of acacia. The framework of the chariot was composed of two pieces of wood mortised together so as to form a semicircle or half-

[1] On the Masters of the Horse—*Mir sisimûti*—and on the place which they occupied in the Egyptian hierarchy, cf. MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 39–41, and BRUGSCH, *Die Ægyptologie*, pp. 215, 238. In the story of the conquest of Egypt by the Ethiopian Piônkhi, studs are indicated at Hermopolis (ll. 64–65), at Athribis (ll. 109, 110), in the towns to the east and in the centre of the Delta (ll. 111–119), and at Sais (l. 138). Diodorus Siculus (i. 45) relates that, in his time, the foundations of 100 stables, each capable of containing 200 horses, were still to be seen on the western bank of the river between Memphis and Thebes. On the management of the *ihû*, *ahû*, or stables, cf. VIREY, *Étude sur un parchemin rapporté de Thèbes*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pp. 481–490, where too wide a sense is attributed to the word itself.

[2] This fact is proved by the very form of the names *merkobûti*, which is the Hebrew *merkabah*, and *agolati*, which is the Hebrew *agalah*. For everything relating to this subject, cf. CHABAS, *Études sur l'Antiquité historique*, 2nd edit., pp. 421–437, and BONDI, *Dem Hebräisch-phönizischen Sprachzweige angehörige Lehnwörter in Hieroglyphischen und Hieratischen Texten*, pp. 28, 44–47, 110.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the photograph taken by Petrie (cf. ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. cxxii. 1); the original is at present in the Florence Museum (MIGLIARINI, *Indication succincte des monuments Égyptiens du Musée de Florence*, 1859, pp. 94, 95, No. 2678). Rosellini considered this chariot to be of Scythian origin (*Monumenti Civili*, vol. iii. pp. 263–269), and his opinion is still sometimes accepted: it is, however, an Egyptian chariot, but constructed for funerary use, to be placed in a tomb, and its destination explains the excessive lightness of its construction, and the imperfections of its build.

ellipse, and closed by a straight bar; to this frame was fixed a floor of sycomore wood or of plaited leather thongs. The sides of the chariot were formed of upright panels, solid in front and open at the sides, each provided with a hand-rail. The pole, which was of a single piece of wood, was bent into



THE KING CHARGING ON HIS CHARIOT.[1]

an elbow at about one-fifth of its length from the end, which was inserted into the centre of the axletree. On the gigantic T thus formed was fixed the body of the chariot, the hinder part resting on the axle, and the front attached to the bent part of the pole, while the whole was firmly bound together with double leather thongs. A yoke of hornbeam, shaped like a bow, to which the horses were harnessed, was fastened to the other extremity of the pole.[2] The Asiatics placed three men in a chariot, but the Egyptians only two; the warrior—*sinni*—whose business it was to fight, and the shield-bearer—*qazana*—who protected his companion with a buckler during the engagement.[3] A complete set of weapons was carried in the chariot—lances, javelins, and daggers, curved spear, club, and battle-axe—while two bow-cases as well as two

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph; cf. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. lxiv.; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pls. lix. 1, lxvii. The picture is of the time of Ramses II., and comes from the temple of Beit-Wally in Nubia.

[2] The names of the different parts of the Egyptian chariot are enumerated in the texts preserved in the *Anastasi Papyrus No. I*, pl. xxiii. l. 8, et seq., the *Anastasi Papyrus IV.*, pl. xvi. l. 7, et seq., and the *Koller Papyrus*, pls. i. l. 1, ii. l. 2, published by Wiedemann, *Hieratische Texte aus den Museen zu Berlin und Paris*, pls. x., xi. The most curious of these has been interpreted by Erman, *Hymne sur le char du roi*, in the *Congrès de St-Étienne*, vol. ii. pp. 436–438, and *[illegible] Ostraka*, in *Zeitschrift*, 1880, pp. 94, 95.

[3] The part played by the *qazana*, as well as his Semitic origin, was discovered by E. de Rougé, *Notice de quelques textes hiéroglyphiques récemment publiés par M. Greene*, p. 26; that of the *sinni* by Maspero, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 41, whence it has passed to Brugsch, *Die Ægyptologie*, pp. 215, 227. The former is the ἡνίοχος or driver, the latter the παραιβάτης of the Homeric poems.

large quivers were hung at the sides. The chariot itself was very liable to upset, the slightest cause being sufficient to overturn it. Even when moving at a slow pace, the least inequality of the ground shook it terribly, and when driven at full speed it was only by a miracle of skill that the occupants could maintain their equilibrium. At such times the charioteer would stand astride of the front panels, keeping his right foot only inside the vehicle, and planting the other firmly on the pole, so as to lessen the jolting, and to secure a wider base on which to balance himself.[1] To carry all this into practice long education was necessary, for which there were special schools of instruction, and those who were destined to enter the army were sent to these schools when little more than children. To each man, as soon as he had thoroughly mastered all the difficulties of the profession, a regulation chariot and pair of horses were granted, for which he was responsible to the Pharaoh or to his generals, and he might then return to his home until the next call to arms.[2] The warrior took precedence of the shield-bearer, and both were considered superior to the foot-soldier; the chariotry, in fact, like the cavalry of the present day, was the aristocratic branch of the army, in which the royal princes, together with the nobles and their sons, enlisted.[3] No Egyptian ever willingly trusted himself to the back of a horse, and it was only in the thick of a battle, when his chariot was broken, and there seemed no other way of escaping from the mêlée, that a warrior would venture to mount one of his steeds.[4] There appear, however, to have been here and there a few horsemen, who acted as couriers or aides-de-camp; they used neither saddle-cloth nor stirrups, but were provided with reins with which to guide their animals, and their seat on horseback was even less secure than the footing of the driver in his chariot.[5]

The infantry was divided into platoons of six to ten men each, commanded by an officer and marshalled round an ensign, which represented either a

[1] Cf. the representations of the king fighting in Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. lxiv., and in Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pls. lir. 1, lxvii., one of which is reproduced on p. 217 of the present work. It was a posture frequently adopted in the mêlée, when the king was about to strike the enemy on either hand with the javelin, club, or spear; when he drew the bow he would stand with both feet on the floor of the chariot.

[2] *Anastasi Papyrus III.*, pl. vi. ll. 2–10; cf. Maspero, *Du Genre épistolaire chez les Anciens Égyptiens*, pp. 44, 45; Erman, *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben*, pp. 721, 722.

[3] On this precedence of the officers of the chariots over those of the infantry, cf. the treatise on the hierarchy published and commented on by Maspero, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 40, 41; the king's sons, as for example those of Ramses II. and Ramses III., often acted as shield-bearers to their father.

[4] In the great inscription in which Minephtah relates his victory over the peoples *of the sea*, Chabas thought he discovered the mention of *officers who were on the king's horses*, and who set off in pursuit of the vanquished (*Études sur l'Antiquité historique*, 2nd edit., pp. 197, 438, n. 2); but, on the contrary, the text says that it was charioteers, *stádú*, not riders, who did this (Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 53, l. 38).

[5] There is a figure of a horseman on an incised bronze axe in the British Museum (Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. i. p. 278), and several others are represented in battle pictures, as in Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. xxiii.; or Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. cxx., vol. iii. p. 240, et seq.; and *Monumenti Storici*, pls. xlvi. 2, lvii., lxxxvii., xcv., cciii., cx., cxx., where there are as many Egyptians as Asiatics. On this subject, cf. Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité historique*, 2nd edit., pp. 436–437, and Brugsch, *Die Ægyptologie*, p. 237.

sacred animal, an emblem of the king or of his double, or a divine figure placed upon the top of a pike;[1] this constituted an object of worship to the group of soldiers to whom it belonged. We are unable to ascertain how many of these platoons, either of infantry or of chariotry, went to form a company or a battalion, or by what ensigns the different grades were distinguished from each other, or what was their relative order of rank. Bodies of men, to the



AN EGYPTIAN LEARNING TO RIDE, FROM A BAS-RELIEF IN THE BOLOGNA MUSEUM.[2]

number of forty or fifty, are sometimes represented on the monuments, but this may be merely by chance, or because the draughtsman did not take the trouble to give the proper number accurately. The inferior officers were equipped very much like the soldiers, with the exception of the buckler, which they do not appear to have carried, and certainly did not when on the march; the superior officers might be known by their umbrella or flabellum, a distinction which gave them the right of approaching the king's person.[3] The military exercises to which all these troops were accustomed probably differed but little from those which were in vogue with the armies of the Ancient Empire;[4] they consisted in

[1] Either Plutarch, or whoever wrote the treatise *De Iside* (§ 72, Parthey's edit., p. 126), assures us that the companies and regiments of the Egyptian army were analogous to the τάξεις and the λόχοι of the Greeks. On the standards, cf. Diodorus Siculus, i. 86; Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, § 72, Parthey's edit., pp. 126, 127; and the examples collected by Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. i. pp. 193–197.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Flinders Petrie.

[3] Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. i. pp. 196, 197, seems to have been the first to observe this fact. The umbrella-bearer, *nif-sirit*, was inferior in rank to the flabellum-bearer, whose place was on the king's right hand, *nif-khâît hi-ûnamf* (cf. Maspero, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 41, and Brugsch, *Die Ægyptologie*, pp. 226, 227.

[4] See the representation of some of these exercises in Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 454, 455.

wrestling, boxing, jumping, running either singly or in line at regular distances from each other, manual exercises, fencing, and shooting at a target: the war-dance had ceased to be in use among the Egyptian regiments as a military exercise, but it was practised by the Ethiopian and Libyan auxiliaries. At the beginning of each campaign, the men destined to serve in it were called out by the military scribes, who supplied them with arms from the royal arsenals. Then followed the distribution of rations. The soldiers, each carrying a small linen bag, came up in squads before the commissariat officers, and each received his own allowance.[1] Once in the enemy's country the army advanced in close order, the infantry in columns of four, the officers in rear, and the chariots either on the right or left flank, or in the intervals between divisions.[3] Skirmishers thrown out to the front cleared the line of march, while detached parties, pushing right and left, collected supplies of cattle, grain, or drinking-water from the fields and unprotected villages.[4] The main body was



THE WAR-DANCE OF THE TIMIHU AT DEIR EL-BAHARI.[2]

[1] We see the distribution of arms made by the scribes and other officials of the royal arsenals represented in the pictures at Medinet-Habu (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. ccxviii., and vol. i. p. 368; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cxxv., and vol. v. pp. 19–23). The calling out of the classes was represented in the Egyptian tombs of the XVIIIth dynasty (VIREY, *Le Tombeau d'Amenemheb et le tombeau de Pehsukher*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission du Caire*, vol. v. pp. 224, 228–231, 288, 289), as well as the distribution of supplies. Questions relating to the army of the Theban dynasties have been fully treated by ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Civili*, vol. iii. pp. 217–222.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph; cf. DÜMICHEN, *Die Flotte einer Ægyptischen Königin*, pls. vi., xi., and MARIETTE, *Deir-el-Bahari*, pl. 12.

[3] The marches of the army of Ramses II. are represented in CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, pl. xxviii., ROSELLINI, *Mon. Stor.*, pls. lxxxvii., xcvi., xcvii., cvii.; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 153; MARIETTE, *Itinéraire de la Haute-Égypte*, vol. ii. pl. 22. Those of the army of Ramses III. were first reproduced in the *Description de l'Égypte*, Ant. vol. ii. pl. 10, and subsequently by CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, pls. ccvii., ccviii., ccxix., ccxxi.; ROSELLINI, *Mon. Stor.*, pls. cxxvi., cxxix., cxxx., cxxxvii. The march in columns of four of the archers and heavy infantry is illustrated by the discovery, made at Meîr, of the two bands of soldiers who are represented on p. 223 of the present volume. They are of the time of the first Theban empire, as is shown by the archers being without quivers; but, with the exception of this detail, their equipment is the same as that of the infantry of the XVIIIth dynasty. The statuette of one of their commanding officers is said to be in London, in the hands of Captain Myers.

[4] See the scenes represented around Dapûr, in which the troops of Ramses II. are pillaging the country (ROSELLINI, *Mon. Stor.*, pl. xcvii.; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 166; MARIETTE, *Itinéraire de la Haute-Égypte*, vol. ii. pl. 58), and also those in which the Shasu with their flocks are fleeing from the

followed by the baggage train: it comprised not only supplies and stores, but cooking-utensils, coverings, and the entire paraphernalia of the carpenters' and blacksmiths' shops necessary for repairing bows, lances, daggers, and chariot-poles, the whole being piled up in four-wheeled carts drawn by asses or oxen. The army was accompanied by a swarm of non-combatants, scribes, soothsayers,



A COLUMN OF TROOPS ON THE MARCH, CHARIOTS AND INFANTRY.[1]

priests, heralds, musicians, servants, and women of loose life, who were a serious cause of embarrassment to the generals, and a source of perpetual danger to military discipline.[2] At nightfall they halted in a village, or more frequently bivouacked in an entrenched camp, marked out to suit the circumstances of the case.[3] This entrenchment was always rectangular, its length being twice as great as its width, and was surrounded by a ditch, the earth from which, being banked up on the inside, formed a rampart from five to six feet in height; the exterior

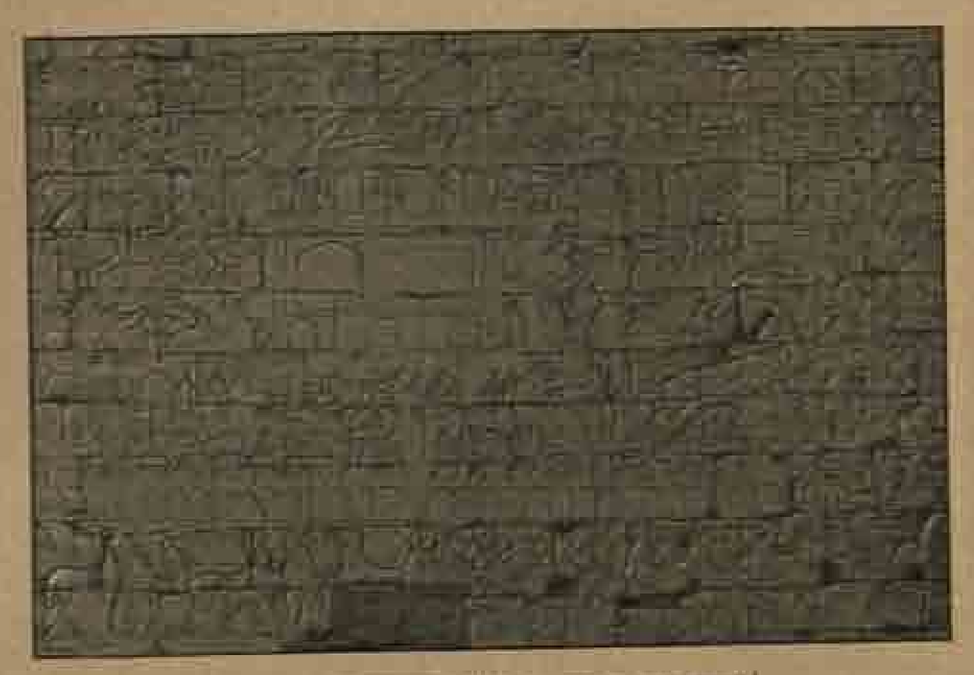
king in person (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, pl. xiii.; ROSELLINI, *Mon. Stor.*, pl. lxxx.); in the same way, at Medinet-Abu, the troops of Ramses III. are pillaging the country near a besieged town (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, pl. ccxxvii.).

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey; cf. MARIETTE, *Voyage de la Haute-Égypte*, vol. i. pl. 51. The bas-relief, which is in the temple of Ramses II. at Abydos, represents the march of one of the divisions of the Egyptian army at the battle of Qodshu.

[2] The whole of this description is taken from the pictures of camp-life in the time of Ramses II., at Luxor and the Ramesseum (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, pls. xxii. bis, xxix., xxx.); some of them are reproduced on pp. 222, 226 of the present volume.

[3] Thutmosis III. camped successively in the town of Gaza, in the villages of Yurna and Yahma, and in the plain near Megiddo (MASPERO, *Récit de la campagne contre Mégiddo sous Thoutmos III.*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ii. pp. 50, 51, 55).

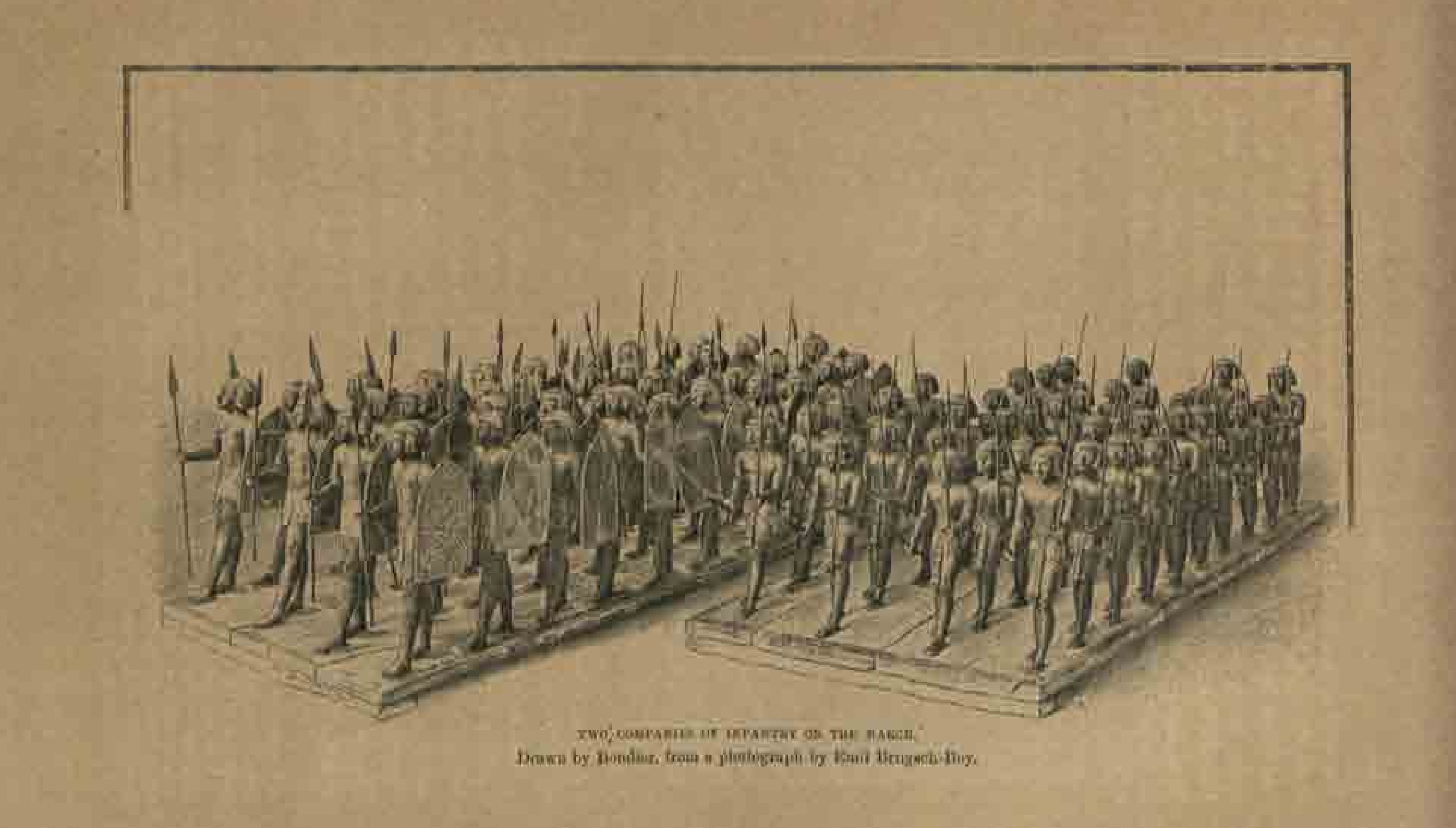
of this was then entirely faced with shields, square below, but circular in shape at the top. The entrance to the camp was by a single gate in one of the longer sides, and a plank served as a bridge across the trench, close to which two detachments mounted guard, armed with clubs and naked swords. The royal quarters were situated at one end of the camp. Here, within an enclosure, rose an immense tent, where the Pharaoh found all the luxury to which he



AN EGYPTIAN FORTIFIED CAMP, FORCED BY THE ENEMY.[1]

was accustomed in his palaces, even to a portable chapel, in which each morning he could pour out water and burn incense to his father, Amon-Râ of Thebes. The princes of the blood who formed his escort, his shield-bearers and his generals, were crowded together hard by, and beyond, in closely packed lines, were the horses and chariots, the draught bullocks, the workshops and the stores. The soldiers, accustomed from childhood to live in the open air, erected no tents or huts of boughs for themselves in these temporary encampments, but bivouacked in the open, and the sculptures on the façades of the Theban pylons give us a minute picture of the way in which they employed themselves when off duty.

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph taken by Beato in 1886. It represents the camp of Ramses II. before Qodshû; the upper angle of the enclosure and part of the surrounding wall have been destroyed by the Khâti, whose chariots are pouring in at the breach. In the centre is the royal tent, surrounded by scenes of military life. This picture has been sculptured partly over an earlier one representing one of the episodes of the battle; the latter had been covered with stucco, on which the new subject was executed. Part of the stucco has fallen away, and the king in his chariot, with a few other figures, has reappeared, to the great detriment of the later picture.



TWO COMPANIES OF INFANTRY ON THE MARCH.

Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey.

Here one man, while cleaning his armour, superintends the cooking. Another, similarly engaged, drinks from a skin of wine held up by a slave. A third has taken his chariot to pieces, and is replacing some portion the worse for wear. Some are sharpening their daggers or lances; others mend their loin-cloths or sandals, or exchange blows with fists and sticks. The baggage, linen, arms, and provisions are piled in disorder on the ground; horses, oxen, and asses are eating or chewing the cud at their ease; while here and there



SCENES FROM MILITARY LIFE IN AN EGYPTIAN CAMP.[1]

a donkey, relieved of his burden, rolls himself on the ground and brays with delight.[2]

The success of the Egyptians in battle was due more to the courage and hardihood of the men than to the strategical skill of their commanders. We find no trace of manœuvres, in the sense in which we understand the word, either in their histories or on their bas-reliefs, but they joined battle boldly with the enemy, and the result was decided by a more or less bloody conflict.[3] The heavy infantry was placed in the centre, the chariots were massed on the flanks, while light troops thrown out to the front began the action by letting fly

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Beato; cf. CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, pls. xxix., xxx.; ROSELLINI, *Mon. Stor.*, pls. lxxxvii., xcvii.–c., cvi., cvii.; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 154, 155. The original is in the Ramesseum.

[2] We are speaking of the camp of Thûtmosis III. near Alûna, the day before the battle of Magiddo, and the words put into the mouths of the soldiers to mark their vigilance are the same as those which we find in the Ramesseum and at Luxor, written above the guards of the camp where Ramses II. is reposing (MASPERO, *Récit de la campagne contre Mageddo*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ii. p. 141).

[3] WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, 2nd edit., vol. i. p. 217.

volleys of arrows and stones, which through the skill of the bowmen and slingers did deadly execution; then the pikemen laid their spears in rest, and pressing straight forward, threw their whole weight against the opposing troops. At the same moment the charioteers set off at a gentle trot, and gradually quickened their pace till they dashed at full speed upon the foe, amid the confused



ENCOUNTER BETWEEN EGYPTIAN AND ASIATIC CHARIOTS.[1]

rumbling of wheels and the sharp clash of metal. The Egyptians, accustomed by long drilling to the performance of such evolutions, executed these charges as methodically as though they were still on their parade-ground at Thebes; if the disposition of the ground were at all favourable, not a single chariot would break the line, and the columns would sweep across the field

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a drawing by Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. xxvi., Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. ciii. This represents a charge of the Egyptian chariots against those of the Hittites at the battle of Qodshu.

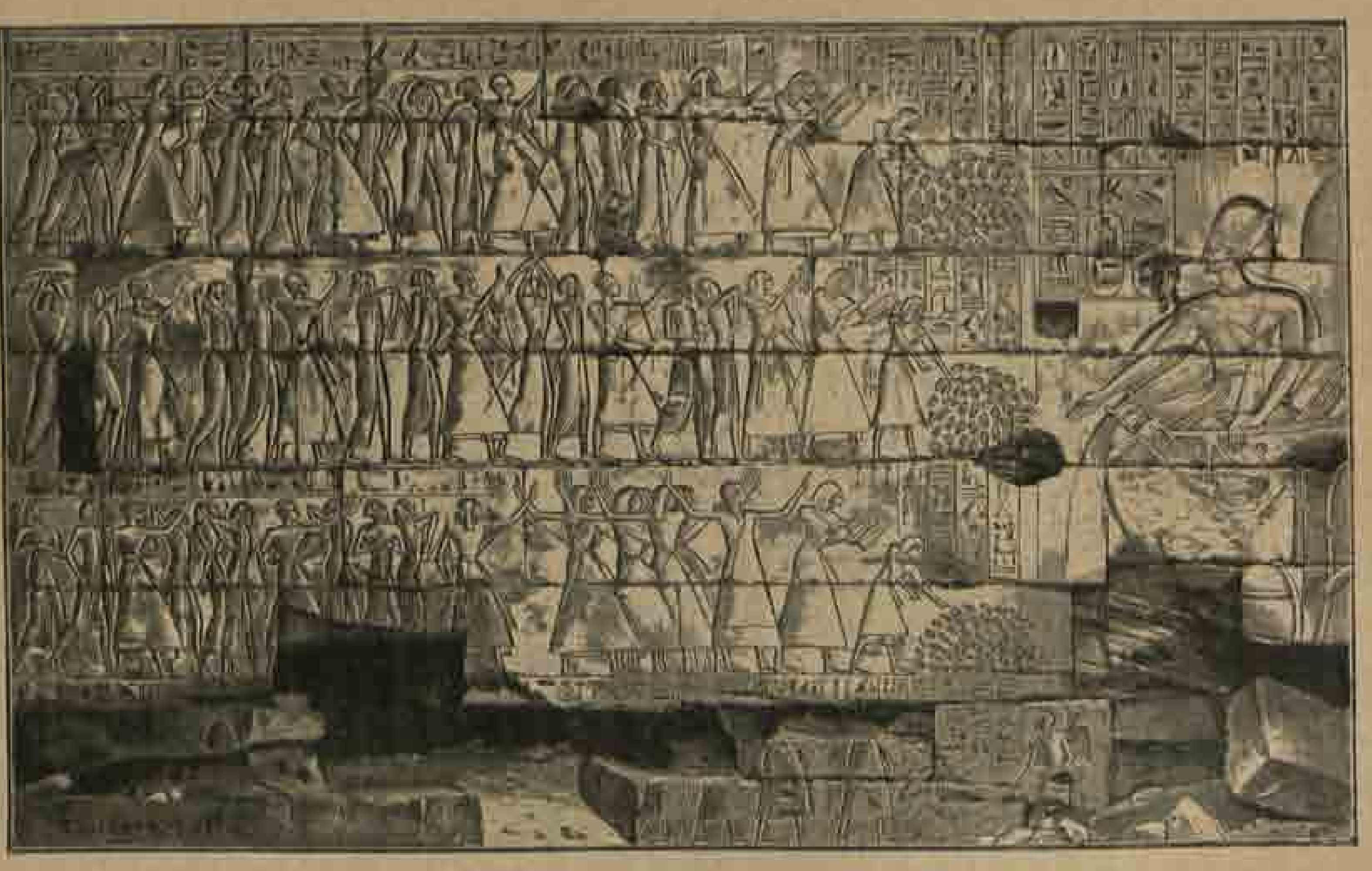
without swerving or falling into disorder. The charioteer had the reins tied round his body, and could, by throwing his weight either to the right or the left, or by slackening or increasing the pressure through a backward or forward motion, turn, pull up, or start his horses by a simple movement of the loins; he went into battle with bent bow, the string drawn back to his ear, the arrow levelled ready to let fly, while the shield-bearer, clinging to the body of the chariot with one hand, held out his buckler with the other to shelter his comrade. It would seem that the Syrians were less skilful: their bows did not carry so far as those of their adversaries, and consequently they came within the enemy's range some moments before it was possible for them to return the volley with effect. Their horses would be thrown down, their drivers would fall wounded, and the disabled chariots would check the approach of those following and overturn them, so that by the time the main body came up with the enemy the slaughter would have been serious enough to render victory hopeless. Nevertheless, more than one charge would be necessary finally to overturn or scatter the Syrian chariots, which, once accomplished, the Egyptian charioteer would turn against the foot-soldiers, and, breaking up their ranks, would tread them down under the feet of his horses.[1] Nor did the Pharaoh spare himself in the fight; his splendid dress, the uræus on his forehead, and the nodding plumes of his horses made him a mark for the blows of the enemy, and he would often find himself in positions of serious danger. In a few hours, as a rule, the conflict would come to an end. Once the enemy showed signs of giving way, the Egyptian chariots dashed upon them precipitously, and turned the retreat into a rout: the pursuit was, however, never a long one;[2] some fortress was always to be found close at hand where the remnant of the defeated host could take refuge.[3] The victors, moreover, would be too eager to secure the booty, and to strip the bodies of the dead, to allow time for following up the foe. The prisoners were driven along in platoons, their arms bound in strange and contorted attitudes,[4] each under the charge of his captor; then came the chariots, arms, slaves, and provisions collected on the battle-field or in the camp; then other

[1] The whole of the above description is based on incidents from the various pictures of battles which appear on the monuments of Ramses II. (Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. xvii. *bis*, xxxiv.; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pls. lxxxii.–cx.; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 154, 155) and of Ramses III. (Champollion, *Monuments*, etc., pls. ccxx.–ccxl. *bis*, ccxxviii.; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pls. cxxvi., cxxvii., cxxxi.).

[2] A good instance of this, under Minephtah, will be found in Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 53, l. 38.

[3] After the battle of Megiddo, the remnants of the Syrian army took refuge in the city, where Thutmosis III. besieged them (Maspero, *Récit de la campagne contre Mageddo*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ii. pp. 142, 143); similarly under Ramses II. the Hittite princes took refuge in Qodshu after their defeat (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 165).

[4] Cf. arrival of prisoners after the battle of Qodshu (Champollion, *Monuments*, etc., pl. xx.; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pls. lxxxvii., ciii., cxvi.), and after the victories of Ramses III. (Champollion, *Monuments*, etc., pls. ccii., cciii., ccxxiv.; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pls. cxxxi., cxxxii., cxxxv.). Thutmosis III. reproaches his soldiers with having loitered in quest of booty, thus allowing the leaders of the enemy to escape (Maspero, *Récit de la campagne contre Mageddo*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ii. pp. 142, 143).



COUNTING OF HANDS AND PRISONERS BROUGHT BEFORE THE KING AFTER A BATTLE

Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from photographs by Insinger and Beato

trophies of a kind unknown to modern warfare. When an Egyptian killed or mortally wounded any one, he cut off, not the head, but the right hand or the phallus, and brought it to the royal scribes. These made an accurate inventory of everything, and even Pharaoh did not disdain to be present at the registration.[1] The booty did not belong to the persons who obtained it, but was thrown into a common stock which was placed at the disposal of the sovereign: one part he reserved for the gods, especially for his father Amon of Thebes, who had given him the victory; another part he kept for himself, and the remainder was distributed among his army. Each man received a reward in proportion to his rank and services, such as male or female slaves, bracelets, necklaces, arms, vases, or a certain measured weight of gold, known as the "gold of bravery."[2] A similar sharing of the spoil took place after every successful engagement: from Pharaoh to the meanest camp-follower, every man who had contributed to the success of a campaign returned home richer than he had set out, and the profits which he derived from a war were a liberal compensation for the expenses in which it had involved him.

The results of the first expedition of Thûtmosis I. were of a decisive character; so much so, indeed, that he never again, it would seem, found it necessary during the remainder of his life to pass the isthmus. Northern Syria, it is true, did not remain long under tribute, if indeed it paid any at all after the departure of the Egyptians, but the southern part of the country, feeling itself in the grip of the new master, accepted its defeat: Gaza became the head-quarters of a garrison which secured the door of Asia for future invasion,[3] and Pharaoh, freed from anxiety in this quarter, gave his whole time to the consolidation of his power in Ethiopia. The river and desert tribes of this region soon forgot the severe lesson which he had given them: as soon as the last Egyptian soldier had left their territory they rebelled once more, and began a fresh series of inroads which had to be repressed anew year after year. Thûtmosis I. had several times to drive them back in the years II. and III.,[4] but was able to make

[1] The bringing in and registration of hands are mentioned in the *Description de l'Égypte*, Ant., vol. ii. pl. 12, also in Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pls. xxx., cxxiv., and in Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pls. xcix., cxxxii., cxxxv.; that of the phalli, in Champollion, *Monuments*, etc. pl. cxxiv., and in Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cxxxv. We find frequent references to hands brought in by the soldiers in the biographies of the two Ahmosi at El-Kab, and of Amenemhabi; the numbers of the phalli are given in the inscriptions of Minephtah (Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 54, l. 30, *et seq.*) and of Ramses III. (Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cxxxv.).

[2] Cf. the biography of the two Ahmosi of El-Kab on pp. 80-88, 90, 91, 100, 106 of the present work.

[3] This fact is nowhere explicitly stated on the monuments: we may infer it, however, from the way in which Thûtmosis III. tells how he reached Gaza without opposition at the beginning of his first campaign, and celebrated the anniversary of his coronation there (Maspero, *Notes sur la campagne contre Megiddo*, in the *Recueil*, vol. ii. pp. 49, 50). On the other hand, we learn from details in the lists (Mariette, *Karnak*, pls. 18, 19) that the mountains and plains beyond Gaza were in a state of open rebellion.

[4] Inscription of the year II., engraved on the rocks of the Tangur cataract, published in the *Graphic*, January 10, 1885, p. 43, interpreted by Sayce, *Hieroglyphic Inscription near the Cataract of Tangur*, in

short work of their rebellions. An inscription at Tombos on the Nile, in the very midst of the disturbed districts, told them in brave words what he was, and what he had done since he had come to the throne. Wherever he had gone, weapon in hand, "seeking a warrior, he had found none to withstand him; he had penetrated to valleys which were unknown to his ancestors, the inhabitants of which had never beheld the wearers of the double diadem."[1] All this would have produced but little effect had he not backed up his words by deeds, and taken decisive measures to restrain the insolence of the barbarians. Tombos lies opposite to Hannek, at the entrance to that series of rapids known as the Third Cataract. The course of the Nile is here barred by a formidable dyke of granite, through which it has hollowed out six winding channels of varying widths, dotted here and there with huge polished boulders and verdant islets. When the inundation is at its height, the rocks are covered and the rapids disappear, with the exception of the lowest, which is named Lokoh, where faint eddies mark the place of the more dangerous reefs; and were it not that the fall here is rather more pronounced and the current somewhat stronger, few would suspect the existance of a cataract at the spot. As the waters go down, however, the channels gradually reappear. When the river is at its lowest, the three westernmost channels dry up almost completely, leaving nothing but a series of shallow pools; those on the east still maintain their flow, but only one of them, that between the islands of Tombos and Abadin,[2] remains navigable. Here Thûtmosis built, under invocation of the gods of Heliopolis, one of those brickwork citadels, with its rectangular keep, which set at nought all the efforts and all the military science of the Ethiopians: attached to it was a harbour, where each vessel on its way downstream put in for the purpose of hiring a pilot.[3] The monarchs of the XIIth and XIIIth dynasties had raised fortifications at the approaches to Wady Halfa, and their engineers skilfully chose the sites so as completely to protect from the ravages of the

the *Proceedings* of the Soc. Bibl. Arch., 1884–85, vol. vii. p. 121. It is undoubtedly an inscription of Thûtmosis I. dated in his second year. This same expedition is referred to in the inscription at Tombos, published by Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. pl. 5 *a*, translated by Piehl, *Petites Études Égyptologiques*, pp. 1–26. Inscriptions of the year III., at Sehel and at Assuan, have been published by Wilbour, *Canalizing the Cataract*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiii. p. 202, and by J. de Morgan, *De la Frontière de Nubie à Kom-Ombos*, p. 41, No. 185, and p. 85, Nos. 13, 19.

[1] Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 5 *a*, ll. 11–12; cf. Piehl, *Petites Études Égyptologiques*, p. 4.

[2] Gottberg, *Des Cataractes du Nil*, pp. 24–28, and pl. i.; Chélu, *Le Nil, le Soudan, l'Égypte*, pp. 49–54.

[3] The foundation of this fortress is indicated in an emphatic manner in ll. 10, 11 of the Tombos inscription:—"The masters of the Great Castle (the gods of Heliopolis) have made a fortress for the soldiers of the king, which the nine peoples of Nubia combined could not carry by storm, for, like a young panther before a bull which lowers its head, the souls of his Majesty have blinded them with fear" (cf. Piehl, *Petites Études hiéroglyphiques*, pp. 3, 4, 24, 25). Quarries of considerable size, where Cailliaud imagined he could distinguish an overturned colossus, show the importance which this establishment had attained in ancient times (Cailliaud, *Voyage à Méroé*, vol. ii. pp. 232–235); the ruins of the town cover a fairly large area near the modern village of Kerman (Lepsius, *Briefe aus Ægypten und Æthiopien*, pp. 258, 259).

Nubian pirates that part of the Nile which lay between Wady Halfa and Philæ. Henceforward the garrison at Tombos was able to defend the mighty curve described by the river through the desert of Mahas, together with the island of Argo, and the confines of Dongola. The distance between Thebes and this southern frontier was a long one, and communication was slow during the winter months, when the subsidence of the waters had rendered the task of navigation difficult for the Egyptian ships. The king was obliged, besides, to concentrate his attention mainly on Asiatic affairs, and was no longer able to watch the movements of the African races with the same vigilance as his predecessors had exercised before Egyptian armies had made their way as far as the banks of the Euphrates. Thûtmosis placed the control of the countries south of Assuan in the hands of a viceroy, who, invested with the august title of "Royal Son of Kûsh," must have been regarded as having the blood of Râ himself running in his veins.[1] Sura, the first of these viceroys whose name has reached us, was in office at the beginning of the campaign of the year III.[2] He belonged, it would seem, to a Theban family, and for several centuries afterwards his successors are mentioned among the nobles who were in the habit of attending the court. Their powers were considerable: they commanded armies, built or restored temples, administered justice, and received the homage of loyal sheikhs or the submission of rebellious ones.[3] The period for which they were appointed was not fixed by law, and they held office simply at the king's pleasure.[4] During the XIXth dynasty it was usual to confer this office, the highest in the state, on a son of the sovereign, preferably the heir-apparent. Occasionally his appointment was purely formal, and he continued in attendance on his father, while a trusty substitute ruled in his place: often, however, he took the government on himself, and in the regions of the Upper Nile served an apprenticeship to the art of ruling. This district was in a perpetual state of war—a war without danger, but full of trickery and surprises; here he prepared himself for the larger arena of the Syrian campaigns, learning the arts

[1] The meaning of this title was at first misunderstood. Champollion (*Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, 2nd edit., p. 160) and Rosellini (*Monumenti Storici*, vol. iii. pt. 1, pp. 259, 260) took it literally, and thought it referred to Ethiopian princes who were vassals or enemies of Egypt. Birch persists in regarding them as Ethiopians driven out by their subjects, restored by the Pharaohs as viceroys, while admitting that they may have belonged to the solar family (Arundale-Bonomi-Birch, *Gallery of Antiquities selected from the British Museum*, pp. 94, 95, 110).

[2] He is mentioned in the Sehel inscription as "the royal son Sura" (Wilbour, *Canalizing the Cataract*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiii. p. 202). Nahi, who had been regarded as the first holder of the office (Birch, *Upon a Historical Tablet of Ramses II.*, p. 20; Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, vol. i. p. 58, and *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 269), and who was still in office under Thûtmosis III., had been appointed by Thûtmosis I. (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 47 a, l. 6), but after Sura.

[3] Under Thûtmosis III., the viceroy Nahi restored the temple at Semneh (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 47 c, 56 a); under Tutankhamon, the viceroy Hui received tribute from the Ethiopian princes, and presented them to the sovereign (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 117, 118).

[4] Cf. the list of these princes under Ramses IV. in Wiedemann, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, pp. 468, 469.

of generalship more perfectly than was possible in the manœuvres of the parade-ground. Moreover, the appointment was dictated by religious as well as by political considerations. The presumptive heir to the throne was to his father what Horus had been to Osiris—his lawful successor, or, if need be, his avenger, should some act of treason impose on him the duty of vengeance: and was it not in Ethiopia that Horus had gained his first victories over Typhon?



A CITY OF MODERN NUBIA—THE ANCIENT DONGOLA.[1]

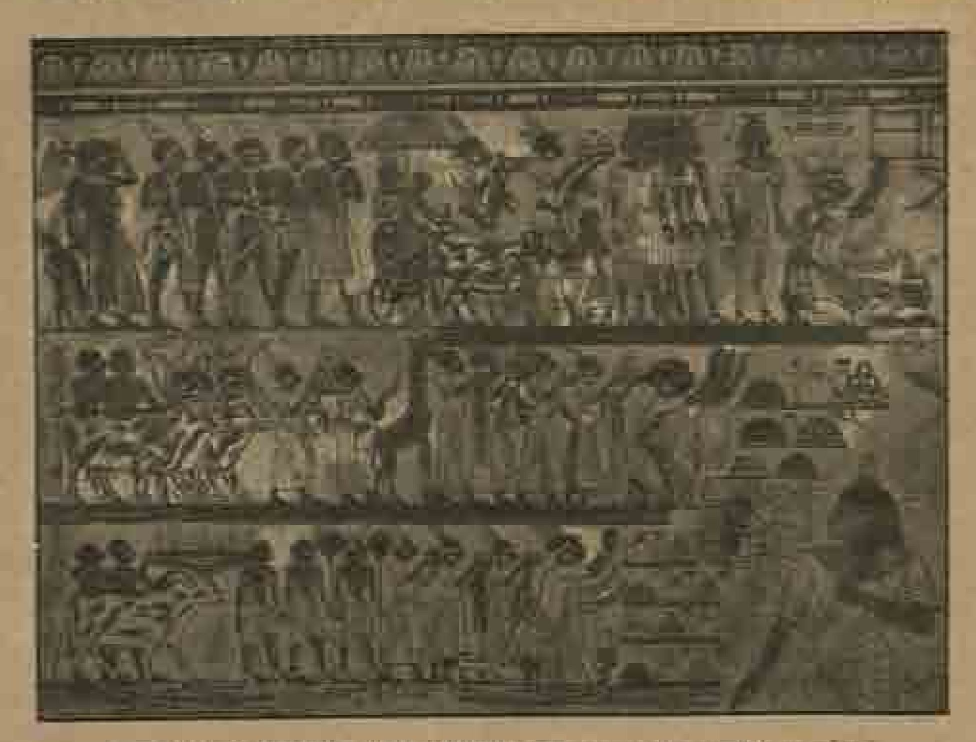
To begin like Horus, and flesh his maiden steel on the descendants of the accomplices of Sit, was, in the case of the future sovereign, equivalent to affirming from the outset the reality of his divine extraction.[2]

As at the commencement of the Theban dynasties, it was the river valley only in these regions of the Upper Nile which belonged to the Pharaohs. From this time onward it gave support to an Egyptian population as far as the juncture of the two Niles: it was a second Egypt, but a poorer one, whose cities presented the same impoverished appearance as that which we find to-day in the towns of Nubia. The tribes scattered right and left in the desert, or distributed beyond the confluence of the two Niles among the plains of Sennar, were descended from the old indigenous races, and paid valuable tribute every year in precious metals, ivory, timber, or the natural products of

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Insinger, taken in 1881.

[2] E. de Rougé was the first to point out (*Extrait d'un Manuscrit Égyptien en écriture hiératique*, p. 14, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1st series, vol. ix., 1852) that in the *Orbiney Papyrus* the title of "Prince of Kush" was assigned to the heir-presumptive to the throne.

their districts, under penalty of armed invasion.[1] Among these races were still to be found descendants of the Mazaiû and Uauaît, who in days gone by had opposed the advance of the victorious Egyptians; the name of the Uauaît was, indeed, used as a generic term to distinguish all those tribes which frequented



ARRIVAL OF AN ETHIOPIAN QUEEN BRINGING TRIBUTE TO THE VICEROY OF KÛSH.[2]

the mountains between the Nile and the Red Sea,[3] but the wave of conquest had passed far beyond the boundaries reached in early campaigns, and had brought the Egyptians into contact with nations, with whom they had been in only indirect commercial relations in former times. Some of these were light-coloured men of a type similar to that of the modern Abyssinians or Gallas: they had the same haughty and imperious carriage, the same well-developed and powerful frames, and the same love of fighting. Most of the

[1] The tribute of the Qanbâtiu, or people of the south, and that of Kûsh and of the Uauaît, is mentioned repeatedly in the *Annales de Thoutmosis III.*, ll. 15–17 for the year XXXI., ll. 27–29 for the year XXXIII., and ll. 35–37 for the year XXXIV. The regularity with which this item recurs, unaccompanied by any mention of war, following after each Syrian campaign, shows that it was an habitual operation which was registered as an understood thing. True, the inscription does not give the item for every year, but then it only dealt with Ethiopian affairs in so far as they were subsidiary to events in Asia; the payment was none the less an annual one, the amount varying in accordance with local agreement.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Insinger; cf. Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 118.

[3] The *Annals of Thûtmosis III.* mention the tribute of Uauaît for the peoples of the coast, the tribute of Uauaît for the peoples of the mountain between the Nile and the sea, the tribute of Kûsh for the peoples of the south, or Qanbâtiu (cf. for this term Brugsch, *Dict. Hiéroglyphique*, pp. 1513, 1514, and *Die altaegyptische Völkertafel*, at the Berlin Congress, *Afrikanische Sektion*, pp. 57, 43).

remaining tribes were of black blood, and such of them as we see depicted on the monuments resemble closely the negroes inhabiting Central Africa at the present day. They have the same elongated skull, the low prominent forehead, hollow temples, short flattened nose, thick lips, broad shoulders, and salient breast, the latter contrasting sharply with the undeveloped appearance of the lower part of the body, which terminates in thin legs almost devoid of calves. Egyptian civilisation had already penetrated among these tribes, and, as far as dress and demeanour were concerned, their chiefs differed in no way from the great lords who formed the escort of the Pharaoh.[1] We see these provincial dignitaries represented in the white robe and petticoat of starched, pleated, and gauffered linen; an innate taste for bright colours, even in those early times, being betrayed by the red or yellow scarf in which they wrapped themselves, passing it over one shoulder and round the waist, whence the ends depended and formed a kind of apron. A panther's skin covered the back, and one or two ostrich-feathers waved from the top of the head or were fastened on one side to the fillet confining the hair, which was arranged in short curls and locks, stiffened with gum and matted with grease, so as to form a sort of cap or grotesque aureole round the skull. The men delighted to load themselves with rings, bracelets, earrings, and necklaces, while from their arms, necks, and belts hung long strings of glass beads, which jingled with every movement of the wearer.[2] They seem to have frequently chosen a woman as their ruler, and her dress appears to have closely resembled that of the Egyptian ladies. She appeared before her subjects in a chariot drawn by oxen, and protected from the sun by an umbrella edged with fringe.[3] The common people went about


TYPICAL GALLA WOMAN.

[1] Cf., in addition to the Ethiopian races represented in the woodcut on p. 232, the types of tributary negro peoples shown, for instance, on the Theban tombs of the XVIIIth dynasty, and on those of Rakhmiri (Virey, *Le Tombeau de Rekhmara*, pl. vi., in the *Mémoires de la Mission du Caire*, vol. v., pp. 33-36), of Amenemhâbi (Virey, *Tombeau d'Amenemheb*, in the *Mémoires*, vol. v. pp. 247, 248), and of Haremhabi (Bouriant, *Tombeau d'Harmhabi*, in the *Mémoires*, vol. v. pp. 422, 423, and pl. iv.).

[2] Cf., in regard to these strings of glass beads, the cut published by Bouriant, in *Le Tombeau d'Harmhabi*, in the *Mémoires*, vol. v. pl. iv.

[3] Cf. the queen represented in the cut on p. 237; later on, when the African element overcame

nearly naked, having merely a loin-cloth of some woven stuff or an animal's skin thrown round their hips. Their heads were either shaven, or adorned with tufts of hair stiffened with gum.[1] The children of both sexes wore no clothes until the age of puberty; the women wrapped themselves in a rude garment or in a covering of linen, and carried their children on the hip or in a basket of esparto grass on the back, supported by a leather band which passed across the forehead.[2] One characteristic of all these tribes was their love of singing and dancing, and their use of the drum and cymbals; they were active and industrious, and carefully cultivated the rich soil of the plain, devoting themselves to the raising of cattle, particularly of oxen, whose horns they were accustomed to train fantastically into the shapes of lyres, bows, and spirals, with bifurcations at the ends, or with small human figures as terminations. As in the case of other negro tribes, they plied the blacksmith's and also the goldsmith's trade, working up both gold and silver into rings, chains, and quaintly shaped vases, some specimens of their art being little else than toys, similar in design to those which delighted the Byzantine Cæsars of later date. A wall-painting remains of a gold epergne, which represents men and monkeys engaged in gathering the fruit of a group of dôm-palms. Two individuals lead each a tame giraffe by the halter, others kneeling on the rim raise their hands to implore mercy from an unseen enemy, while negro prisoners, grovelling on their stomachs, painfully attempt to raise their head and shoulders from the ground. This, doubtless, represents a scene from the everyday life of the people of the Upper Nile, and gives a faithful picture of what took place among many of its tribes during a rapid inroad of some viceroy of Kûsh or a raid by his lieutenants.[3]

The resources which Thûtmosis I. was able to draw regularly from these southern regions, in addition to the wealth collected during his Syrian campaign, enabled him to give a great impulse to building work. The tutelary deity of his capital—Amon-Râ—who had ensured him the victory in all his battles, had a prior claim on the bulk of the spoil; he received it as a matter of course, and his temple at Thebes was thereby considerably enlarged;[4] we are not, however, able to estimate exactly what proportion fell to other cities, such as

the Egyptian, the Ethiopian empire was governed by a succession of queens, the Candaces of classical historians (Wiedemann, *L'Éthiopie au temps de Tibère*, p. 16).

[1] Bouriant, *Le Tombeau d'Harmhabi*, pl. iv.; Scheil, *Tombeau de Mâi*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. v. p. 551, where different examples of this mode of dressing the hair are shown.

[2] See the processions of negro tributaries or captives in Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pls. xvi. and xvi. *bis*, xxxv., lix.–clviii., clxxvi. 3; Virey, *Le Tombeau de Rekhmarâ*, pl. viii.; and Bouriant, *Le Tombeau d'Harmhabi*, pl. iv. (*Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. v.).

[3] Cf. the cut on p. 235. Some of these objects, mounted in gold or silver, and dating from the time of Ramses II., are to be seen represented at Beit el-Wally (Champollion, *Monuments*, pls. lxvii., lxix.; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cxxiii.; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 117).

[4] As to the part taken by Thûtmosis I. in the construction of the temple of Karnak, cf. E. de Rougé, *Étude des monuments du Massif de Karnak*, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne*, vol. i. pp. 41–48, and Mariette, *Karnak: Étude topographique et archéologique*, pp. 27–30, 77

Kummeh,[1] Elephantinê,[2] Abydos,[3] and Memphis,[4] where a few scattered blocks of stone still bear the name of the king. Troubles broke out in Lower Egypt, but they were speedily subdued by Thûtmosis, and he was able to end his



GOLD EPERGNE REPRESENTING SCENES FROM ETHIOPIAN LIFE.[5]

days in the enjoyment of a profound peace, undisturbed by any care save that of ensuring a regular succession to his throne, and of restraining the ambitions of those who looked to become possessed of his heritage.[6] His position was, indeed, a curious one; although *de facto* absolute in power, his children by Queen Âhmasi took precedence of him, for by her mother's descent she had a better right to the crown than her husband,[7] and legally the king should have retired in favour of his sons as soon as they were old enough to reign. The eldest of them, Uazmosû, died early.[8] The second, Amenmosû, lived at least to attain

[1] Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 59 *a*, where Thûtmosis II. substitutes his own cartouches for those of his father. The second of the two small grottoes at Ibrîm, described by Champollion, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, 2nd edit., p. 123, and *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. i. pp. 82, 84, was erroneously attributed to Thûtmosis I.: it is really the work of Thûtmosis III., named Manakhopirkerî, a variant of his cartouche prenomen.

[2] Wiedemann, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 328, found his name there cut in a block of brown sandstone.

[3] A stele at Abydos (Mariette, *Abydos*, vol. ii. pl. 31) speaks of the building operations carried on by Thûtmosis I. in that town (E. and J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, pls. xix.–xxii.); Brugsch (*Ueber den Verlauf ...*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1868, p. 77, and *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 377–382) and Mariette (*Catalogue Général*, No. 1048, p. 379) erroneously attribute it to Thûtmosis III.

[4] Grébaut, *Inscription inédite du règne de Thoutmos I.*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. vi. p. 142.

[5] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a painting on the tomb of Hûi (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 118).

[6] The expressions from which we gather that his reign was disturbed by outbreaks of internal rebellion (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 18, ll. 8, 9; cf. E. de Rougé, *Étude des Monuments de Karnak*, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, etc., vol. i. p. 47) seem to refer to a period subsequent to the Syrian expedition, and prior to his alliance with the Princess Hâîtshopsîtû.

[7] Cf. what has already been said in regard to this queen and her rights on p. 104 of the present work.

[8] Uazmosû is represented on the tomb of Pahiri at El-Kab (Champollion, *Monuments*, vol. i. pp. cxl., 653; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 10 *a*, 11 *b*; E. and J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, pl. cxlix.; Tylor-Griffith, *The Tomb of Paheri*, pls. iv., vii., x.), where Mr. Griffith (pp. 6, 7) imagines he can trace two distinct Uazmosû; for the present, I am of opinion that there was but one, the son of Thûtmosis I. (Maspero, *Les Momies royales de Déîr el-Baharî*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pp. 636–637). His funerary chapel was discovered at Thebes by Grébaut, *Le Musée Égyptien*,

adolescence; he was allowed to share the crown with his father from the fourth year of the latter's reign, and he also held a military command in the Delta,[1] but before long he also died, and Thûtmosis I. was left with only one son—a Thûtmosis like himself—to succeed him. The mother of this prince was a certain Mûtnofrit,[2] half-sister to the king on his father's side, who enjoyed such a high rank in the royal family that her husband allowed her to be portrayed in royal dress; her pedigree on the mother's side, however, was not so distinguished, and precluded her son from being recognised as heir-apparent, hence the occupation of the "seat of Horus" reverted once more to a woman, Hâtshopsîtû, the eldest daughter of Âhmasi. Hâtshopsîtû herself was not, however, of purely divine descent. Her maternal ancestor, Sonisonbû, had not been a scion of the



PORTRAIT OF THE QUEEN ÂHMASI.[3]

royal house, and this flaw in her pedigree threatened to mar, in her case, the sanctity of the solar blood. According to Egyptian belief, this defect of birth could only be remedied by a miracle,[4] and the ancestral god, becoming

pls. ii., vii.; cf. MASPERO, in the *Revue Critique*, 1890, vol. ii. p. 410 et seq.: it is in a very bad state of preservation.

[1] Amenmasu is represented at El-Kab, by the side of his brother Uazmosu (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. i. p. 653; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 11 b; E. and J. DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, pl. cxxxix.; TYLOR-GRIFFITH, *The Tomb of Paheri*, pl. x.). Also on a fragment where we find him, in the fourth year of his father's reign, honoured with a cartouche at Memphis, and consequently associated with his father in the royal power: cf. GRÉBAUT, *Inscription inédite du règne de Thoutmès I.*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. vi. p. 142, and MASPERO, *Les Momies royales de Deir el-Baharî*, pp. 631, 632.

[2] Mûtnofrit was supposed by MARIETTE (*Karnak*, pl. 38 b 4, and Text, pp. 59, 60) to have been a daughter of Thûtmosis II.; the statue reproduced on p. 237 has shown us that she was wife of Thûtmosis I. and mother of Thûtmosis II. (PIEHL, *Varia*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1887, p. 125; MASPERO, *Les Momies royales de Deir el-Baharî*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission du Caire*, vol. i. pp. 633, 634).

[3] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by NAVILLE (*The Temple of Deir el-Baharî*, pl. xl.).

[4] Cf. as to this theory what has been said in MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 258, 259, and on pp. 77, 78 of the present work. A similar instance of divine substitution is known to us in the case of

incarnate in the earthly father at the moment of conception, had to condescend to infuse fresh virtue into his race in this manner. The inscriptions with which Hâtshopsîtû decorated her chapel relate how, on that fateful night, Amon descended upon Âhmasi in a flood of perfume and light. The queen received him favourably, and the divine spouse on leaving her announced to her the approaching birth of a daughter, in whom his valour and strength should be manifested once more here below. The sequel of the story is displayed in a series of pictures before our eyes. The protecting divinities who preside over the birth of children conduct the queen to her couch, and the sorrowful resignation depicted on her face, together with the languid grace of her whole figure, display in this portrait of her a finished work of art. The child enters the world amid shouts of joy, and the propitious genii who nourish both her and her double constitute themselves her nurses. At the appointed time, her earthly father summons the great nobles to a solemn festival, and presents to them his daughter, who is to reign with him over Egypt and the world.[1] From henceforth Hâtshopsîtû adopts every possible device to conceal her real sex.



QUEEN MÂÛTNOFRÎT IN THE GIZEH MUSEUM.[2]

She changes the termination of her name, and calls herself Hâtshopsû, the chief of the nobles, in lieu of Hâtshopsîtû, the chief of the favourites.[3] She becomes the King Mâkerî, and on the occasion of all public ceremonies she appears in male costume. We see her represented on the Theban monuments with

two other sovereigns, viz. Amenôthes III., whose father, Thûtmosis IV., was born under conditions analogous to those attending the birth of Thûtmosis I.; and Ptolemy Cæsarion, whose father, Julius Cæsar, was not of Egyptian blood.

[1] These sculptures were brought to light by NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari, Introductory Memoir*, p. 15. The association of Hâtshopsîtû with her father on the throne, first suggested by E. de Rougé (*L'Étude des monuments de Karnak*, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, etc., pp. 46-48), has now been placed beyond doubt by the inscriptions discovered and commented on by Naville in 1895 (*Trois Inscriptions de la Reine Hatshopsou*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xviii. pp. 91-97).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey; cf. GRÉBAUT, *Le Musée Égyptien*, pl. x. The statue of Mâûtnofrît is now in the Gizeh Museum (VIREY, *Notice des principaux Monuments*, pp. 76, 77, No. 251).

[3] NAVILLE, *Trois Inscriptions de la Reine Hatshopsou*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xviii. pp. 92-94, where this important detail is very conclusively demonstrated.

uncovered shoulders, devoid of breasts, wearing the short loin-cloth and the keffieh, while the diadem rests on her closely cut hair, and the false beard depends from her chin. She retained, however, the feminine pronoun in speaking of herself, and also an epithet, inserted in her cartouche, which declared her to be the betrothed of Amon — *Khnûmit Amanûû*.[1] Her father united her while still young to her brother Thûtmosis who appears to have been her junior, and this fact doubtless explains the very subordinate part which he plays beside the queen. When Thûtmosis I. died, Egyptian etiquette demanded that a man should be at the head of affairs, and this youth succeeded his father in office: but Hâtshopsîtû, while relinquishing the semblance of power and the externals of pomp to her husband,[3] kept the direction of the state entirely in her own hands.



QUEEN HÂTSHOPSÎTÛ IN MALE COSTUME.[2]

[1] Cf. NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari, Introductory Memoir*, p. 15, et seq. We know how greatly puzzled the early Egyptologists were by this manner of depicting the queen, and how Champollion, in striving to explain the monuments of the period, was driven to suggest the existence of a regent, Amenenthes, the male counterpart and husband of Hâtshopsîtû (CHAMPOLLION, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, 2nd edit., pp. 202–298), whose name he read Amense. This hypothesis, adopted by Rosellini (*Monumenti Storici*, vol. i. pp. 220–230, and vol. iii. pt. 1, p. 128, et seq.) with some slight modifications, was rejected by Birch. This latter writer pointed out the identity of the two personages separated by Champollion, and proved them to be one and the same queen, the Amenses of Manetho; he called her Amen-num-het (ARUNDALE-BONOMI-BIRCH, *Gallery of Antiquities selected from the British Museum*, pp. 77–79), but he made her out to be a sister of Amenôthes I., associated on the throne with her brothers Thûtmosis I. and Thûtmosis II., and regent at the beginning of the reign of Thûtmosis III. Hincks tried to show that she was the daughter of Thûtmosis I., the wife of Thûtmosis II., and the sister of Thûtmosis III. (*On the Years and Cycles used by the Ancient Egyptians*, in the *Memoirs* of the Dublin Academy, vol. xviii. pt. 2, p. 192, et seq., and *On the Defacement of Divine and Royal Names*, pp. 3–5; cf. BIRCH, *On the Obelisk on the Atmeidan at Constantinople*, p. 4); it is only quite recently that her true descent and place in the family tree has been recognized. She was, not the sister, but the aunt of Thûtmosis III. (MASPERO, *Notes au jour le jour*, § 16, in the *Proceedings* of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch., 1892, vol. xiv. pp. 170–182). The queen, called by Birch Amen-num-het, the latter part of her name being dropped and the royal pronoun being joined to her own name, was subsequently styled Ha-asu or Hatasu, and this form is still adopted by some writers; the true reading is Hâtshopsîtû or Hâtshopsîtû, then Hâtshopsît or Hâtshopsîtû, as Naville has pointed out.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by NAVILLE, in *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, pl. xiii.; cf. the statue in the Berlin Museum (ERMAN, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss*, p. 29, No. 2306).

[3] It is evident, from the expressions employed by Thûtmosis I. in associating his daughter with himself on the throne, that she was unmarried at the time, and Naville thinks that she married her

The portraits of her which have been preserved represent her as having refined features, with a proud and energetic expression. The oval of the face is elongated, the cheeks a little hollow, and the eyes deep set under the arch of the brow, while the lips are thin and tightly closed. She governed with so firm a hand that neither Egypt nor its foreign vassals dared to make any serious attempt to withdraw themselves from her authority. One raid, in which several prisoners were taken, punished a rising of the Shaûsû in Central Syria,[1] while the usual expeditions maintained order among the peoples of Ethiopia, and quenched any attempt which they might make to revolt. When in the second year of his reign the news was brought to Thûtmosis II. that the inhabitants of the Upper Nile had ceased to observe the conditions which his father had imposed upon them, he "became furious as a panther," and assembling his troops set out for war without further delay. The presence of the king with the army filled the rebels with dismay, and a campaign of a few weeks put an end to their attempt at rebelling.[3]



BUST OF QUEEN HÂTSHOPSÎTÛ.[2]

The earlier kings of the XVIII^th dynasty had chosen for their last resting-

brother Thûtmosis II. after the death of her father (*The Temple of Deir el-Bahari, Introductory Memoir*, p. 16, and *Trois Inscriptions*, in the *Recueil*, vol. xviii. p. 102). It appears to me more probable that Thûtmosis I. married her to her brother after she had been raised to the throne, with a view to avoiding complications which might have arisen in the royal family after his own death. The inscription of Stout-er-Ragil (EMMERSON, *An Historical Monument*, in the *Proceedings of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch.*, 1880–81, p. 101; FLINDERS PETRIE, *A Season in Egypt*, 1887, pl. xv., No. 176, and p. 15), which has furnished Mariette with the hypothesis that Thûtmosis I. and Thûtmosis II. reigned simultaneously (*Deir el-Bahari, Text*, p. 57), proves that the person mentioned in it, a certain Pennît, flourished under both these Pharaohs, but by no means shows that these two reigned together: he exercised the functions which he held by their authority during their successive reigns.

[1] *Inscription of Ahmosi Pennekhabit*, in LEPSIUS, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, pl. xiv. A, ll. 9, 10; MASPERO, *Notes sur différents points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, § xliv., in the *Zeitschrift*, 1883, pp. 77, 78, where we should read the first name of Thûtmosis II. instead of that of Thûtmosis I. inserted by a printer's error.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by M. de Mertens. This was the head of one of the sphinxes which formed an avenue at Deir el-Bahari; it was brought over by Lepsius and is now in the Berlin Museum (cf. ERMAN, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss*, p. 78, No. 2301, and p. 83, No. 2279). The fragment has undergone extensive restoration, but this has been done with the help of fragments of other statues, in which the details have been kept in a good state of preservation.

[3] Stele of the second year of Thûtmosis II., on the rocks of Assuan, LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 16 a; J. DE MORGAN, *Catalogue des Monuments et Inscriptions*, vol. i. pp. 3, 4. It was probably from this expedition that the Pharaoh brought back the list of African names published by NAVILLE, *Trois Inscriptions de la reine Hatshopsou*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xviii. pp. 81–92.

place a spot on the left bank of the Nile at Thebes, where the cultivated land joined the desert, close to the pyramids built by their predecessors.[1] Probably, after the burial of Amenôthes, the space was fully occupied, for Thûtmosis I. had to seek his burying-ground some way up the ravine, the mouth of which was blocked by their monuments. The Libyan chain here forms a kind of amphitheatre of vertical cliffs, which descend to within some ninety feet of the



THE AMPHITHEATRE AT DEIR EL-BAHARI, AS IT APPEARED BEFORE NAVILLE'S EXCAVATIONS.[2]

valley, where a sloping mass of detritus connects them by a gentle declivity with the plain. The great lords and the queens in the times of the Antufs and the Usirtasens had taken possession of this spot, but their chapels were by this period in ruins, and their tombs almost all lay buried under the waves of sand which the wind from the desert drives perpetually over the summit of the cliffs.[3] This site was seized on by the architects of Thûtmosis, who laid there the foundations of a building which was destined to be unique in the world. Its ground plan consisted of an avenue of sphinxes starting from the plain and running between the tombs till it reached a large courtyard, terminated on the west by a colonnade, which was supported by a double row of pillars. Above

[1] Cf. what is said with regard to the necropolis where the Pharaohs of previous dynasties were buried, in MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 460, 461, 522–530, and p. 20 of the present work.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Émil Brugsch-Bey, taken in 1881, from the edge of the plateau overlooking the valley, on the path leading to the Tombs of the Kings.

[3] We still find there, for instance, the tombs of Queens Nofrû and Tonrî (MASPERO, *Les Inscriptions des Pyramides de Saqqarah*, p. 20, n. 1, and *Notes sur différents points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, § xxiii., in the *Zeitschrift*, 1883, p. 77).



THE NORTHERN COLONNADE OF HÂTSHOPSITÛ AT DEIR EL-BAHARI.[3]

and beyond this was the vast middle platform,[4] connected with the upper court by the central causeway which ran through it from end to end; this middle platform, like that below it, was terminated on the west by a double colonnade, through which access was gained to two chapels hollowed out of the mountain-side, while on the north it was bordered with excellent effect by a line of proto-Doric columns ranged against the face of the cliff. This northern colonnade was never completed, but the existing part is of as exquisite proportions as anything that Greek art has ever produced. At length we reach the upper platform, a nearly square courtyard, cutting on one side into the mountain slope, the opposite side being enclosed by a wall pierced by a single door, while to right and left ran two lines of buildings destined for purposes connected with the daily worship of the temple. The sanctuary was cut out of the solid rock, but the walls were faced with white limestone; some of the chambers are vaulted, and all of them decorated with bas-reliefs of exquisite workmanship, perhaps the finest examples of this period.[5] Thûtmosis I. scarcely did more than lay the

[3] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph supplied by Naville.

[4] A sketch of the history of the temple was furnished in part by Mariette (*Deir el-Bahari, Documents topographiques, historiques et ethnographiques recueillis dans ce temple pendant les fouilles, Texte*, 1877, pp. 1–11, 35–40), and fully by Naville (*The Temple of Deir el-Bahari, its Plan, its Founders, and its first Explorers*, 1894, pp. 1–12, 19, 25), who completely cleared the ruins for the *Egypt Exploration Fund* in the years 1893–96. Mariette, struck by the strange appearance of the edifice, thought that it betrayed a foreign influence, and supposed that Queen Hâtshopsîtû had constructed it on the model of some buildings seen by her officers in the land of Puanît (*Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 10, 11). It is, however, a purely Egyptian structure of the *Hemi-Speos* kind.

[5] The English nomenclature employed in describing this temple is that used in the *Guide to Deir el-Bahari*, published by the *Egypt Exploration Fund*.—Tr.



HEAD OF THE MUMMY OF THÛTMOSIS I.[4]

foundations of this magnificent building, but his mummy was buried in it with great pomp, to remain there until a period of disturbance and general insecurity obliged those in charge of the necropolis to remove the body, together with those of his family, to some securer hiding-place.[1] The king was already advanced in age at the time of his death, being over fifty years old, to judge by the incisor teeth, which are worn and corroded by the impurities of which the Egyptian bread was full. The body, though small and emaciated, shows evidence of unusual muscular strength; the head is bald, the features are refined, and the mouth still bears an expression characteristic of shrewdness and cunning.[2] Thûtmosis II. carried on the works begun by his father, but did not long survive him.[3] The mask on his coffin represents him with a smiling and amiable countenance, and with the fine pathetic eyes which show his descent from the Pharaohs of the XII[th]

[1] Both E. de Rougé (*Étude des Mon. du Massif de Karnak*, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne*, vol. i. pp. 48, 49) and Mariette (*Deir el-Bahari*, p. 35) were opposed to the view that the temple was founded by Thûtmosis I., and Naville agrees with them (*The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 16, 17). Judging from the many new texts discovered by Naville, I am inclined to think that Thûtmosis I. began the structure, but from plans, it would appear, which had not been so fully developed as they afterwards became. From indications to be found here and there in the inscriptions of the Ramesside period, I am not, moreover, inclined to regard Deir el-Bahari as the funerary chapel of tombs which were situated in some unknown place elsewhere (Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 2, 3; Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 5–8), but I believe that it included the burial-places of Thûtmosis I., Thûtmosis II., Queen Hâtshopsîtû, and of numerous representatives of their family; indeed, it is probable that Thûtmosis III. and his children found here also their last resting-place.

[2] The coffin of Thûtmosis I. was usurped by the priest-king Pinozmû I., son of Piônkhi (Maspero, *Les Momies royales*, in the *Mém. de la Mission Française*, vol. i. p. 545), and the mummy was lost. I fancy I have discovered it in mummy No. 5283, of which the head presents a striking resemblance to those of Thûtmosis II. and III. (Id., *ibid.*, pp. 581, 582), a fact which may be established by comparing the illustration given above with those on pages 243 and 290.

[3] The latest year up to the present known of this king is the II[nd], found upon the Assuan stele (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 16 a). Erman (*Ægypten*, p. 71), followed by Ed. Meyer (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 232, 234), thinks that Hâtshopsîtû could not have been free from complicity in the premature death of Thûtmosis II.; but I am inclined to believe, from the marks of disease found on the skin of his mummy, that the queen was innocent of the crime here ascribed to her (cf. Wiedemann, *Ægyptische Geschichte, Supplement*, p. 38).

[4] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph taken by Emil Brugsch-Bey in 1881; cf. Maspero, *Les Momies royales*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pp. 581, 582.

dynasty. His statues bear the same expression, which indeed is that of the mummy itself. He resembles Thûtmosis I., but his features are not so marked, and are characterised by greater gentleness. He had scarcely reached the age of thirty when he fell a victim to a disease of which the process of embalming could not remove the traces. The skin is scabrous in patches, and covered with scars, while the upper part of the skull is bald; the body is thin and somewhat shrunken, and appears to have lacked vigour and muscular power.[1] By his marriage with his sister, Thûtmosis left daughters only,[2] but he had one son, also a Thûtmosis, by a woman of low birth, perhaps merely a slave, whose name was Isis.[3] Hâtshopsîtû proclaimed this child her successor, for his youth and humble parentage could not excite her jealousy. She betrothed him to her one surviving daughter, Hâtshopsîtû II.,[4] and having thus settled the succession in the male line, she continued to rule alone in the name of her nephew who was still a minor, as she had done formerly in the case of her half-brother.



HEAD OF THE MUMMY OF THÛTMOSIS II.[5]

Her reign was a prosperous one, but whether the flourishing condition of things was owing to the ability of her political administration or to her fortunate choice of ministers, we are unable to tell. She pressed forward the work of building with great activity, under the direction of her architect Saumût,[6] not only at Deir el-Bahari, but at Karnak, and indeed everywhere in Thebes. The

[1] Maspero, *Les Momies royales*, in the *Mém. de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pp. 545-547, where a complete description of the body is given from its examination by Dr. Fouquet.

[2] Two daughters of Queen Hâtshopsîtû I. are known, of whom one, Nofirûrî, died young (Champollion, *Mon. de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. cxciv. 1-3; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 20 *e*, 25 *i*, 25 *bis n, q*), and Hâtshopsîtû II. Mâîtkerî, who was married to her half-brother on her father's side, Thûtmosis III., who was thus her cousin as well (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 25 *bis q*, 38 *a, b*). Amenôthes II. was offspring of this marriage.

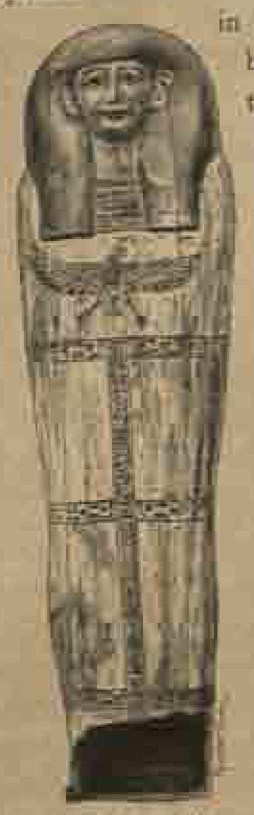
[3] The name of the mother of Thûtmosis III. was revealed to us on the wrappings found with the mummy of this king in the hiding-place of Deir el-Bahari (Maspero, *Les Momies royales*, in the *Mém. de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pp. 547, 548); the absence of princely titles, while it shows the humble extraction of the lady Isis, explains at the same time the somewhat obscure relations between Hâtshopsîtû and her nephew (Maspero, *Notes sur différents points de Grammaire*, etc., in the *Zeitschrift*, 1882, pp. 132, 133; cf. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, p. 11).

[4] Champollion, *Mon. de l'Égypte*, etc., pl. cxcv. 3.

[5] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph in the possession of Emil Brugsch-Bey, taken in 1886.

[6] This is the individual represented on p. 245; besides his statue in the Berlin Museum (Erman, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss*, p. 88, No. 2296), an inscription exists cut on the rocks at Aswân, which ascribes to him the erection of two obelisks, probably those at Karnak (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 25 *bis q*; J. de Morgan, *Catalogue des Monuments*, vol. i. p. 41, No. 181 *bis*). A second statue of him was found in 1896 by Miss Benson in the temple of Mût at Karnak.

plans of the building had been arranged under Thûtmosis I., and their execution had been carried out so quickly, that in many cases the queen had merely to see to the sculptural ornamentation on the all but completed walls. This work, however, afforded her sufficient excuse, according to Egyptian custom, to attribute the whole structure to herself, and the opinion she had of her own powers is exhibited with great naiveness in her inscriptions. She loves to pose as premeditating her actions long beforehand, and as never venturing on the smallest undertaking without reference to her divine father. "This is what I teach to mortals who shall live in centuries to come, and whose hearts shall inquire concerning the monument which I have raised to my father, speaking and exclaiming as they contemplate it: as for me, when I sat in the palace and thought upon him who created me, my heart prompted me to raise to him two obelisks of electrum, whose apices should pierce the firmaments, before the noble gateway which is between the two great pylons of the King Thûtmosis I. And my heart led me to address these words to those who shall see my monuments in after-years and who shall speak of my great deeds: Beware of saying, 'I know not, I know not why it was resolved to carve this mountain wholly of gold!' These two obelisks, My Majesty has made them of electrum for my father Amon, that my name may remain and live on in this temple for ever and ever; for this single block of granite has been cut, without let or obstacle, at the desire of My Majesty, between the first of the second month of Pirit of the Vth year, and the 30th of the fourth month of Shomû of the VIth year, which makes seven months from the day when they began to quarry it."[2] One of these two monoliths is still standing among the ruins of Karnak, and the grace of its outline, the finish of its hieroglyphics, and the beauty of the figures which cover it, amply justify the pride which the queen and her brother felt in contemplating it. The tops of the pyramids were gilt, so that "they could be seen from both banks of the river," and "their brilliancy lit up the two lands of



THE COFFIN OF THÛTMOSIS I.[1]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph in the possession of E. Brugsch-Bey, taken in 1881.

[2] Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments Égyptiens*, pl. xviii.; West, ll. 2-8, North, ll. 1, 2, 5-8; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 24 e, ll. 2-8, and e, ll. 1, 2, 5-8; cf. Lepage-Renouf, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. xii. pp. 133-135. These two obelisks were cut in the quarry under the superintendence of Senmut, as we are informed by the rock-cut monuments put up by this individual at Aswân (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 25 bis q; J. de Morgan, *Catalogue des Monuments*, vol. i. p. 41, No. 181 bis).

Egypt:[1] needless to say these metal spices have long disappeared.[1] Later on, in the VIIth or VIIIth year of the queen's reign, Amon enjoined a work which was more difficult to carry out.[2] On a day when Hâtshopsîtû had gone to the temple to offer prayers, "her supplications arose up before the throne of the Lord of Karnak, and a command was heard in the sanctuary, a behest of the god himself, that the ways which lead to Pûanît should be explored, and that the roads to the 'Ladders of Incense' should be trodden."[3] The aromatic gums required for the temple service had hitherto reached the Theban priests solely by means of foreign intermediaries, so that in the slow transport across Africa they lost much of their freshness, besides being defiled by passing through impure hands. In addition to these drawbacks, the merchants confounded under the one term "Anîti" substances which differed considerably both in value and character, several of them, indeed, scarcely coming under the category of perfumes, and hence being unacceptable to the gods. One kind, however, found favour with them above all



THE STATUE OF SANMÛT.[4]

[1] Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments Égyptiens*, Suppl., ll. 6, 7; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 24 *a*, ll. 6, 7.

[2] The date of this expedition depends upon an inscription, incompletely reproduced by Dümichen, *Die Flotte einer Ægyptischen Königin*, pl. xviii. *a* 3, and p. 19; and in its entirety by Naville, *Trois Inscriptions de la reine Hatshepsu*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xviii. pp. 105–106, which records that in the year IX. the incense trees brought from Pûanît had been recently planted. The voyage lasted probably from the year VII. to the year VIII. The illustrations of the voyage discovered by Mariette in 1858 were first published by Dümichen, *Die Flotte einer Ægyptischen Königin*, folio, 1868, and in *Historische Inschriften*, vol. ii. pls. viii.–xxii., and later by Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, *Documents topographiques*, etc., in folio, Text in quarto, 1877. Dümichen and Mariette, in the texts to their respective collections of plates, examined them, and Chabas bestowed special consideration on them, *Études sur l'Antiquité historique*, 2nd edit., pp. 151–172. They were afterwards studied by Brugsch, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 281–288; Maspero, *De quelques Navigations des Égyptiens sur les côtes de la Mer Érythrée*, pp. 9–20; Lieblein, *Handel und Schiffahrt auf dem Rothen Meere in alten Zeiten*, pp. 23–37; Krall, *Studien zur Geschichte des alten Ægyptens*, *IV. Das Land Punt* (in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Academy of Vienna, 1890, vol. cxxi.), by Glaser, *Die Phœnizier in Ostafrika*, pp. 15–16, 131–160, and lastly by Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 21–25.

[3] Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, vol. ii. pl. xx. ll. 2, etc.; Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, pl. 10, ll. 4–6. The word "Ladders" is the translation of the Egyptian word "Khaiû," employed in the text to designate the country laid out in terraces where the incense trees grew; cf., with a different meaning, the "ladders" (Échelles) of the eastern Mediterranean.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by M. de Mertens: the original is in the Berlin Museum, whither Lepsius brought it; cf. Erman, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss*, p. 36, No. 2296. Sanmût is squatting and holding between his arms and knees the young king Thûtmosis III., whose head with the youthful side lock appears from under his chin.

others, being that which still abounds in Somali-land at the present day—a gum secreted by the incense sycamore.[1] It was accounted a pious work to send and obtain it direct from the locality in which it grew, and if possible to procure the plants themselves for acclimatisation in the Nile valley. But the relations maintained in former times with the people of these aromatic regions had been suspended for centuries. "None now climbed the 'Ladders of Incense,' none of the Egyptians; they knew of them from hearsay, from the stories of people of ancient times, for these products were brought to the kings of the Delta, thy fathers, to one or other of them, from the times of thy ancestors the kings of the Saïd who lived of yore."[2] All that could be recalled of this country was summed up in the facts, that it lay to the south or to the east, that from thence many of the gods had come into Egypt, while from out of it the sun rose anew every morning.[4] Amon, in his omniscience, took upon himself to describe it and give an exact account of its position. "The 'Ladders of Incense' is a secret province of Tonûtir, it is in truth a place of delight. I created it, and I thereto lead Thy Majesty, together



HÂTSHOPSÎTÛ'S OBELISK AT KARNAK.[3]

[1] From the form of the trees depicted on the monument (cf. p. 258 of the present volume, where some are represented), it is certain that the Egyptians went to Pûanît in search of the *Boswellia Thurifera* Carr. (Loret, *La Flore Pharaonique*, 2nd edit., p. 96); but they brought back with them other products also, which they confounded together under the name "incense."

[2] Dümichen, *Hist. Inschr.*, vol. ii. pl. xx. ll. 10-12; Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, pl. 10, ll. 10-12.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Beato.

[4] See pp. 84, 85 of the *Dawn of Civilization* concerning the Egyptian gods who came from Pûanît, and pp. 396-398, 432, 434, 491-498 for the relations between Pûanît and Egypt, both under the Memphite, and during the first Theban empires.

with Mâît, Hâthor, Urrit, the Lady of Pûanit, Uîrit-hikaû, the magician and regent of the gods, that the aromatic gum may be gathered at will, that the vessels may be laden joyfully with living incense trees and with all the products of this earth."[1] Hâtshopsîtû chose out five well-built galleys, and manned them with picked crews. She caused them to be laden with such merchandise as would be most attractive to the barbarians, and placing the vessels under the command of a royal envoy, she sent them forth on the Red Sea in quest of the incense.[2]

We are not acquainted with the name of the port from which the fleet set sail, nor do we know the number of weeks it took to reach the land of Pûanit, neither is there any record of the incidents which befell it by the way. It sailed past the places frequented by the mariners of the XIIth dynasty—Suakin, Massowah, and the islands of the Red Sea; it touched at the country of the Ilim which lay to the west of the Bab el-Mandeb, went safely through the Straits, and landed at last in the Land of Perfumes on the Somali coast.[3] There, between the bay of Zeilah and Ras Hafun, stretched the Barbaric region, frequented in later times by the merchants of Myos Hormos and of Berenicê. The first stations which the latter encountered beyond Cape Direh—Avalis, Malao, Mundos, and Mosylon—were merely open roadsteads offering no secure shelter;[4] but beyond Mosylon, the classical navigators reported the existence of several wadys, the last of which, the Elephant River, lying between Ras el-Fil and Cape Guardafui, appears to have been large enough not only to

[1] Dümichen, *Hist. Inschriften*, vol. ii. pl. xx. ll. 13-15; Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, pl. 10, ll. 13-15. An enumeration of the divinities of Pûanit is found as early as the *Memoirs of Sinûhît*, ll. 209, 210; cf. Maspero, *Le Papyrus de Berlin*, No. 1, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne*, vol. iii. p. 160.

[2] It was for some time believed that the five vessels portrayed were merely representative of a more numerous fleet (Brugsch, *Gesch. Ægyptens*, p. 281); the proof that they formed the entire squadron is given in Maspero, *De quelques Navigations des Égyptiens*, p. 11, No. 1.

[3] That part of Pûanit where the Egyptians landed was at first located in Arabia by Brugsch (*Geogr. Inschr.*, vol. ii. p. 15, and iii. pp. 63, 64), then transferred to Somali-land by Mariette (*Les Listes géog. des Pylônes de Karnak*, pp. 60-66, and *Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 26-35), whose opinion was accepted by most Egyptologists (Brugsch, *Gesch. Ægyptens*, pp. 281, 282; Maspero, *De quelques Navigations des Égyptiens*, pp. 5, 6). Dümichen, basing his hypothesis on a passage where Pûanit is mentioned as "being on both sides of the sea" (Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, pl. 5, 2nd reg.), desired to apply the name to the Arabian as well as to the African coast, to Yemen and Hadhramaut as well as to Somali-land (*Gesch. des Alten Ægyptens*, pp. 119-122); this suggestion was adopted by Lieblein (*Handel und Schiffahrt*, etc., p. 52, et seq.), and subsequently by Ed. Meyer, who believed that its inhabitants were the ancestors of the Sabæans (*Gesch. des Alten Ægyptens*, p. 234). Since then Krall has endeavoured to shorten the distance between this country and Egypt, and he places the Pûanit of Hâtshopsîtû between Suakin and Massowah (*Studien zur Gesch. des Alten Ægyp.*, *IV. Das Land Punt*, pp. 21, 22). This was, indeed, the part of the country known under the XIIth dynasty (cf. *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 495, 496) at the time when it was believed that the Nile emptied itself thereabouts into the Red Sea, in the vicinity of the Island of the Serpent King (Maspero, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire et d'Hist.*, § v., in the *Rec. de Travaux*, vol. xvii. pp. 76-78), but I hold, with Mariette, that the Pûanit where the Egyptians of Hâtshopsîtû's time landed is the present Somali-land—a view which is also shared by Naville (*The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 21, 22, and *Egypt Expl. Fund*, *Archæological Report*, 1894-95, p. 34), but which Brugsch, in the latter years of his life, abandoned (Schweinfurth, *Über seine Reise nach dem glücklichen Arabien*, p. 3, et seq., from the *Verhandl. der Gesell. für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 1889, No. 7).

[4] For the roadsteads of Malao, Mundos, and Mosylon, cf. the information furnished in the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, §§ 8, 9, 10, in Müller-Didot, *Geographi Græci Minores*, vol. i. pp. 264, 265.

afford anchorage to several vessels of light draught, but to permit of their performing easily any evolutions required. During the Roman period, it was there, and there only, that the best kind of incense could be obtained, and it was probably at this point also that the Egyptians of Hâtshopsîtû's time landed. The Egyptian vessels sailed up the river till they reached a place beyond the influence of the tide, and then dropped anchor in front of a village scattered along a bank fringed with sycamores and palms.[1] The huts of the inhabitants were of circular shape, each being surmounted with a conical roof; some of them were made of closely plaited osiers, and there was no opening in any of them save the door. They were built upon piles, as a protection from the rise of the river and from wild animals, and access to them was gained by means of moveable ladders. Oxen chewing the cud rested beneath them. The natives belonged to a light-coloured race, and the portraits we possess of them resemble the Egyptian type in every particular. They were tall and thin, and of a colour which varied between brick-red and the darkest brown. Their beards were pointed, and the hair was cut short in some instances, while in others it was arranged in close rows of curls or in small plaits. The costume of the men consisted of a loin-cloth only, while the dress of the women was a yellow garment without sleeves, drawn in at the waist and falling halfway below the knee.



AN INHABITANT OF THE LAND OF PUANIT.[2]

The royal envoy landed under an escort of eight soldiers and an officer, but, to prove his pacific intentions, he spread out upon a low table a variety of

[1] I have shown, from a careful examination of the bas-reliefs, that the Egyptians must have landed, not on the coast itself, as was at first believed (Dümichen, *Die Flotte einer Ægyptischen Königin*, pp. 17, 18; Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiq. historique*, 2nd edit., pp. 152, 179; Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, Text, p. 11; Brugsch, *Gesch. Ægyp.*, p. 281, *et seq.*), but in the estuary of a river (*De quelques Navigations des Égyptiens*, pp. 20, 21), and this observation has been accepted as decisive by most Egyptologists (Krall, *Studien zur Geschichte, etc., IV. Das Land Punt*, p. 17; Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, p. 22); besides this, newly discovered fragments show the presence of a hippopotamus (Naville, *Egypt Expl. Fund, Archæol. Report*, 1894-95, p. 34). Since then I have sought to identify the landing-place of the Egyptians with the most important of the creeks mentioned by the Græco-Roman merchants as accessible for their vessels (*Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, § 10, in Müller-Didot, *Geographi Græci Minores*, vol. i. pp. 269, 260), viz. that which they called the Elephant River, near to the present Ras el-Fil.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Gayet; cf. Petrie, *Racial Types*, No. 165.

presents, consisting of five bracelets, two gold necklaces, a dagger with strap and sheath complete, a battle-axe, and eleven strings of glass beads. The inhabitants, dazzled by the display of so many valuable objects, ran to meet the new-comers, headed by their sheikh, and expressed a natural astonishment at the sight of the strangers. "How is it," they exclaimed, "that you have reached this country hitherto unknown to men? Have you come down by way of the sky, or have you sailed on the waters of the



A VILLAGE ON THE BANK OF THE RIVER, WITH LADDERS OF ACCESS.[1]

Tonûtir Sea? You have followed the path of the sun, for as for the king of the land of Egypt, it is not possible to elude him, and we live, yea, we ourselves, by the breath which he gives us."[2] The name of their chief was Parihû, who was distinguished from his subjects by the boomerang which he carried, and also by his dagger and necklace of beads; his right leg, moreover, appears to have been covered with a kind of sheath composed of rings of some yellow metal, probably gold.[3] He was accompanied by his wife Ati, riding on an ass, from which she alighted in order to gain a closer view of the strangers. She was endowed with a type of beauty much admired by the people of Central Africa, being so inordinately fat that the shape of her body was scarcely recognisable under the rolls of flesh which hung down from it. Her daughter, who appeared to be still young, gave promise of one day rivalling, if not exceeding, her mother in size.[4]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph; cf. Dümichen, *Die Flotte einer Ægyptischen Königin*, pl. xv., and Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, pl. 5. As to the houses, cf. the fragments recently discovered by Naville, *Egypt Expl. Fund, Arch. Report*, 1894-95.

[2] Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, vol. ii. pls. viii., x.; Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, pl. 5.

[3] Mariette compares this kind of armour to the "dangaboor" of the Congo tribes (*Deir el-Bahari*, p. 30), but the "dangaboor" is worn on the arm. Livingstone saw a woman, the sister of Sebituaneh, the highest lady of the Sesheke, who wore on each leg eighteen rings of solid brass as thick as the finger, and three rings of copper above the knee. The weight of these shining rings impeded her walking, and produced sores on her ankles; but it was the fashion, and the inconvenience became nothing. As to the pain, it was relieved by a bit of rag applied to the lower rings (*Exploration of the Zambesi*, p. 262 of the French translation).

[4] These are two instances of abnormal fat production—the earliest with which we are acquainted (Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité historique*, p. 151; Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, p. 30). Several similar instances are cited by Speke, *The Sources of the Nile*, p. 155, and in Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, p. 282.

After an exchange of compliments, the more serious business of the expedition was introduced. The Egyptians pitched a tent, in which they placed the objects of barter with which they were provided, and to prevent these from being too great a temptation to the natives, they surrounded the tent with a line of troops. The main conditions of the exchange were arranged at a banquet, in which they spread before the barbarians a sumptuous display of Egyptian delicacies, consisting of bread, beer, wine, meat, and carefully prepared and flavoured vegetables.[1] Payment for every object was to be made at the actual moment of purchase. For several days there was a constant stream of people, and asses groaned beneath their burdens. The Egyptian purchases comprised the most varied objects: ivory tusks, gold, ebony, cassia, myrrh, cynocephali and green monkeys, greyhounds, leopard skins, large oxen, slaves, and last, but not least, thirty-one incense trees, with their roots surrounded by a ball of earth and placed in large baskets. The lading of the ships was a long and tedious affair. All available space being at length exhausted, and as much cargo placed on board as was compatible with the navigation of the vessel, the squadron set sail and with all speed took its way northwards.[3]



PRINCE PARIHU AND THE PRINCESS OF PUANIT.[2]

The Egyptians touched at several places on the coast on their return journey, making friendly alliances with the inhabitants; the Ilîm added a quota to their freight, for which room was with difficulty found on board,—it consisted not only of the inevitable gold, ivory, and skins, but also of live leopards and a giraffe, together with plants and fruits unknown on the banks of the Nile.[4]

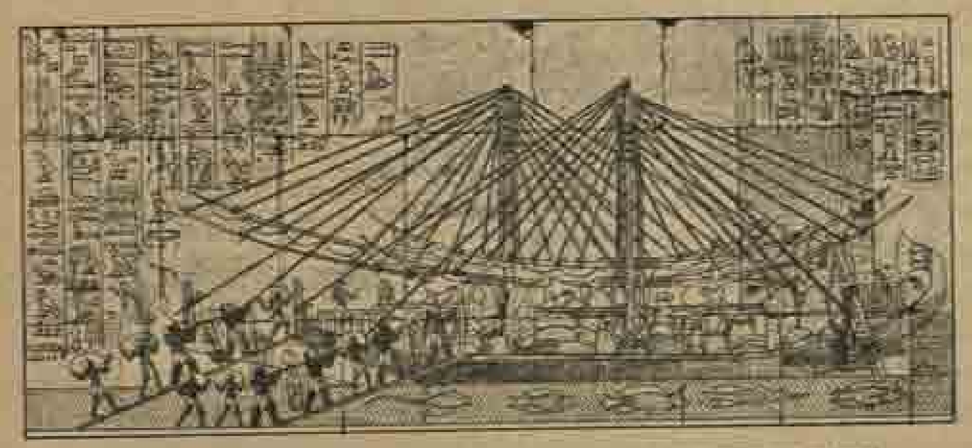
[1] Dümichen, *Hist. Inschriften*, vol. ii. pl. x.; Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, pl. 5.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey; cf. Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, pl. 42, and *Voyage de la Haute-Égypte*, vol. ii. pl. 62.

[3] Dümichen, *Die Flotte*, etc., pls. ii., xv., and *Hist. Inschriften*, vol. ii. pls. viii.–x., xiv., xv.; Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, pls. 5, 6.

[4] As to the country of the Ilîm, cf. Maspero, *Les Ilim*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. viii. p. 84; and G. Tomkins, *Remarks on Mr. Flinders Petrie's Collection of Ethnographic Types from the Monuments of Egypt*, p. 214. Lieblein thought that their country was explored, not by the sailors who voyaged to Puanit, but by a different body who proceeded by land (*Die Inschriften des Tempels von*

The fleet at length made its reappearance in Egyptian ports, having on board the chiefs of several tribes on whose coasts the sailors had landed, and "bringing back so much that the like had never been brought of the products of Pûanît to other kings, by the supreme favour of the venerable god, Amon Râ, lord of Karnak."[1] The chiefs mentioned were probably young men of superior



THE EMBARKATION OF THE INCENSE SYCAMORES ON BOARD THE EGYPTIAN FLEET.[2]

family, who had been confided to the officer in command of the squadron by local sheikhs, as pledges to the Pharaoh of good will or as commercial hostages. National vanity, no doubt, prompted the Egyptians to regard them as vassals coming to do homage, and their gifts as tributes denoting subjection. The Queen inaugurated a solemn festival in honour of the explorers. The Theban militia was ordered out to meet them, the royal flotilla escorting them as far as the temple landing-place, where a procession was formed to carry the spoil to the feet of the god. The good Theban folk, assembled to witness their arrival, beheld the march past of the native hostages, the incense sycamores, the precious gum itself, the wild animals, the giraffe, and the oxen, whose numbers were doubtless increased a hundredfold in the accounts given to posterity with the usual official exaggeration.[3] The trees were planted at Deir el-Bahari,

Dêr-el-Bahari, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1883, pp. 127-132), and this view was accepted by Ed. Meyer (*Geschichte des Alten Ægyptens*, pp. 226, 227). The completed text proves that there was but a single expedition, and that the explorers of Pûanît visited the Tim also. The chiefs and their tributes are represented in Dümichen, *Hist. Inschriften*, vol. ii. pls. xiv., xviii., as well as in Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, pls. 5, 7. The giraffe which they gave does not appear in the scenes of the vessels at Pûanît; the visit must, therefore, have been paid on the return voyage, and the giraffe was probably represented on the destroyed part of the walls where Naville found the image of this animal wandering at liberty among the woods (*Egypt. Expl. Fund, Arch. Report*, 1894-95, p. 33).

[1] Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, pl. 6, second panel, ll. 3, 4.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Beato: cf. Dümichen, *Die Flotte, etc.*, pl. ii., and Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, pl. 6.

[3] The representation of the scene is reproduced in part by Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 17 a, and completely by Dümichen, *Die Flotte*, etc., pls. iv.-viii., x.-xiv., and *Hist. Inschriften*, pls. xvi., xxi., xxii., as well as in Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, pls. 7, 9, 11, 12, and 13.

where a sacred garden was prepared for them, square trenches being cut in the rock and filled with earth, in which the sycamore, by frequent watering, came to flourish well.[1] The great heaps of fresh resin were next the objects of special attention. Hâtshopsîtû "gave a bushel made of electrum to gauge the mass of gum, it being the first time that they had the joy of measuring the perfumes for Amon, lord of Karnak, master of heaven, and of presenting to him the wonderful products of Pûanît. Thot, the lord of Hermopolis, noted the quantities in writing; Safkhitâbûi verified the list. Her Majesty herself prepared from it, with her own hands, a perfumed unguent for her limbs; she gave forth the smell of the divine dew, her perfume reached even to Pûanît, her skin became like wrought gold,[2] and her countenance shone like the stars in the great festival hall, in the sight of the whole earth."[3] Hâtshopsîtû commanded the history of the expedition to be carved on the wall of the colonnades which lay on the west side of the middle platform of her funerary chapel: we there see the little fleet with sails spread, winging its way to the unknown country, its safe arrival at its destination, the meeting with the natives, the animated palavering, the consent to exchange freely accorded; and thanks to the minuteness with which the smallest details have been portrayed, we can as it were witness, as if on the spot, all the phases of life on board ship, not only on Egyptian vessels, but, as we may infer, those of other Oriental nations generally. For we may be tolerably sure that when the Phœnicians ventured into the distant parts of the Mediterranean, it was after a similar fashion that they managed and armed their vessels. Although the natural features of the Asiatic or Greek coast on which they effected a landing differed widely from those of Pûanît, the Phœnician navigators were themselves provided with similar objects of exchange, and in their commercial dealings with the natives the methods of procedure of the European traders were doubtless similar to those of the Egyptians with the barbarians of the Red Sea.[4]

Hâtshopsîtû reigned for at least eight years after this memorable expedition and traces of her further activity are to be observed in every part of the Nile valley. She even turned her attention to the Delta, and began the task of

[1] Naville found these trenches still filled with vegetable mould, and in several of them roots, which gave every indication of the purpose to which the trenches were applied (*Egypt Expl. Fund, Arch. Report*, 1894–95, pp. 36, 37). A scene represents seven of the incense sycamores still growing in their pots, and offered by the queen to the Majesty "of this god Amonrâ of Karnak" (Dümichen, *Hist. Inschriften*, vol. ii. pl. xviii., where the draughtsman has by mistake drawn only five trees; cf. Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, pl. 8). The picture on the next page shows others planted in the ground, in the temple of Deir el-Bahari, and sufficiently grown to shelter from the sun the oxen brought from Pûanît.

[2] In order to understand the full force of the imagery here employed, one must remember that the Egyptian artists painted the flesh of women as light yellow; see *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 57.

[3] Dümichen, *Hist. Inschriften*, vol. ii. pl. xviii.; Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, pls. 7, 8.

[4] For remarks on the commerce of the Phœnicians, see pp. 194–197 of the present work.

reorganising this part of her kingdom, which had been much neglected by her predecessors. The wars between the Theban princes and the lords of Avaris had lasted over a century, and during that time no one had had either sufficient initiative or leisure to superintend the public works, which were more needed



SOME OF THE INCENSE TREES BROUGHT FROM PÛANÎT TO DEIR EL-BAHARI.[1]

here than in any other part of Egypt. The canals were silted up with mud, the marshes and the desert had encroached on the cultivated lands, the towns had become impoverished, and there were some provinces whose population consisted solely of shepherds and bandits. Hâtshopsîtû desired to remedy these evils, if only for the purpose of providing a practicable road for her armies marching to Zalû *en route* for Syria.[2] She also turned her attention to the mines of Sinai, which had not been worked by the Egyptian kings since the end of the XII[th] dynasty. In the year XVI. an officer of the queen's household was despatched to the Wady Magharah, the site of the ancient works, with orders to inspect the valleys, examine the veins, and restore there the

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Beato; cf. NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari, Introductory Memoir*, pl. ix.

[2] This follows from the great inscription at Stabl-Antar (GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Notice sur un texte hiéroglyphique de Stabl-Antar*, ll. 35–39, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. iii. pp. 2, 3, and vol. v. p. 20), which is commonly interpreted as proving that the Shepherd-kings still held sway in Egypt in the reign of Thûtmosis III., and that they were driven out by him and his aunt (NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, p. 26). It seems to me that the queen is simply boasting that she had repaired the monuments which had been injured by the Shepherds during the time they sojourned in Egypt, in the land of Avaris. Up to the present time no trace of these restorations has been found on the sites. The expedition to Pûanît being mentioned in lines 13, 14, they must be of later date than the year IX. of Hâtshopsîtû and Thûtmosis III.

temple of the goddess Hâthor; having accomplished his mission, he returned, bringing with him a consignment of those blue and green stones which were so highly esteemed by the Egyptians.[1]

Meanwhile, Thûtmosis III. was approaching manhood, and his aunt, the queen, instead of abdicating in his favour, associated him with herself more frequently in the external acts of government.[2] She was forced to yield him precedence in those religious ceremonies which could be performed by a man only, such as the dedication of one of the city gates of Ombos, and the foundation and marking out of a temple at Medinet-Habû;[3] but for the most part she obliged him to remain in the background and take a secondary place beside her. We are unable to determine the precise moment when this dual sovereignty came to an end. It was still existent in the XVIth year of the reign, but it had ceased before the XXIInd year.[4] Death alone could take the sceptre from the hands that held it, and Thûtmosis had to curb his impatience for many a long day before becoming the real master of Egypt.[5] He was about twenty-five years of age when this event took place, and he immediately revenged himself for the long repression he had undergone, by endeavouring to destroy the very remembrance of her whom he regarded as a usurper. Every portrait of her that he could deface without exposing himself to being accused of sacrilege was cut away, and he substituted for her name either that of Thûtmosis I. or of Thûtmosis II.[6] A complete political change was effected both at home and abroad from the first day of his accession to power. Hâtshopsîtû had been averse to war. During the whole of her reign there had not been a single campaign undertaken beyond the isthmus of Suez, and by the end of her life she had lost nearly all that her father had gained in Syria; the people of Kharû had

[1] Stele of the year XVI., in the Wady Magharah (Laborde, *Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée*, pl. 8, No. 1; Lottin de Laval, *La Péninsule Arabique*, pl. iv.; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 28, No. 3). For ruins of the temple of Hâthor here, see *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 474–476.

[2] The account of the youth of Thûtmosis III., such as Brugsch made it out to be from an inscription of this king (Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 16, ll. 47–49), the exile of the royal child at Buto, his long sojourn in the marshes, his triumphal return (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 288, 289, 365), must all be rejected. Brugsch accepted as actual history a poetical passage where the king identifies himself with Horus, son of Isis, and goes so far as to attribute to himself the adventures of the god (Maspero, in the *Revue Critique*, 1880, vol. i. p. 107, n. 1, and *Notes sur différents points de Grammaire*, § xxvii., in the *Zeitschrift*, 1882, p. 133; Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, p. 27).

[3] Dedication of the gate of Ombos by Thûtmosis III. and by his queen, in Champollion, *Mon. de l'Égypte, etc.*, vol. i. pp. 231, 232, and in Rosellini, *Monumenti del Culto*, pl. xxviii. and pp. 196–198; scenes in the dedication of the little temple of Medinet-Habu, in Champollion, *Mon. de l'Égypte, etc.*, pl. cxcv., and in Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 38 a, b.

[4] Stele from Sinai, engraved in the XVIth year of her joint reign with Thûtmosis III. (Laborde, *Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée*, pl. 8, No. 1; Lottin de Laval, *Voyage dans la Péninsule Arabique*, pl. iv.; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 28, No. 2). The earliest monument in which Thûtmosis III. appears as sole sovereign is the year XXI. (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 30 a, l. 20).

[5] Erman (*Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben*, p. 72) and Ed. Meyer (*Geschichte des Alten Ægyptens*, p. 238) were inclined to think, without pressing the conjecture, that she was deposed by Thûtmosis.

[6] Naville (*The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, *Introd. Memoir*, p. 28) thinks that we ought not to attribute the mutilation of Hâtshopsîtû's monuments to Thûtmosis III. only, for Amenôthes III. must take his responsibility for a good share in this work, as well as Amenôthes IV.

shaken off the yoke,[1] probably at the instigation of the king of the Amorites,[2] and nothing remained to Egypt of the Asiatic province but Gaza, Sharûhana[3]



THÛTMOSIS III., FROM HIS STATUE IN THE TURIN MUSEUM.[4]

and the neighbouring villages. The young king set out with his army in the latter days of the year XXII. He reached Gaza on the 3rd of the

[1] E. de Rougé (*Étude des Monuments du Massif de Karnak*, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne*, vol. i. p. 50) thought that he had discovered, in a slightly damaged inscription bearing upon the Pûanît expedition (Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, vol. ii. pl. 14; Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, pl. 6), the mention of a tribute paid by the Lotanû (cf. Brugsch, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 289; Wiedemann, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 334). There is nothing in the passage cited but the mention of the usual annual dues paid by the chiefs of Pûanît and of the Haû (Lieblein, *Schiffsfahrt und Handel*, p. 30; Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alten Ægyptens*, p. 232, n. 4).

[2] This is at least what may be inferred from the account of the campaign, where the Prince of Qodshû, a town of the Amurru (Amorites), figures at the head of the coalition formed against Thûtmosis III. (Maspero, *Le Récit de la Campagne contre Mageddo*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ii. pp. 51, 52).

[3] This is the conclusion to be adopted from the beginning of the inscription of Thûtmosis III.: "Now, during the duration of these same years, the country of the Lotanû was in discord until other times succeeded them, when the people who were in the town of Sharûhana, from the town of Yaraza, to the most distant regions of the earth, succeeded in making a revolt against his Majesty" (Maspero, *Récit de la campagne, etc.*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ii. pp. 49, 50).

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Petrie; cf. Orcurti, *Catalogo illustrato dei Monumenti Egizi*, vol. i. p. 58, No. 2.

month of Pakhons, in time to keep the anniversary of his coronation in that town, and to inaugurate the 24th year of his reign by festivals in honour of his father Amon.[1] They lasted the usual length of time, and all the departments of State took part in them, but it was not a propitious moment for lengthy ceremonies. The king left Gaza the following day, the 5th of Pakhons: he marched but slowly at first, following the usual caravan route, and despatching troops right and left to levy contributions on the cities of the Plain—Migdol, Yapu (Jaffa), Lotanu, Ono—and those within reach on the mountain spurs, or situated within the easily accessible wadys, such as Sauka (Socho), Hadid, and Harilu.[2] On the 16th day he had not proceeded further than Yahmu, where he received information which caused him to push quickly forward. The lord of Qodshû had formed an alliance with the Syrian princes on the borders of Naharaim, and had extorted from them promises of help; he had already gone so far as to summon contingents from the Upper Orontes, the Litâny, and the Upper Jordan, and was concentrating them at Megiddo, where he proposed to stop the way of the invading army. Thûtmosis called together his principal officers, and having imparted the news to them, took counsel with them as to a plan of attack. Three alternative routes were open to him. The most direct approached the enemy's position on the front, crossing Mount Carmel by the saddle now known as the Umm el-Fahm; but the great drawback attached to this route was its being so restricted that the troops would be forced to advance in too thin a file; and the head of the column would reach the plain and come into actual conflict with the enemy while the rear-guard would only be entering the defiles in the neighbourhood of Aluna. The second route bore a little to the east, crossing the mountains beyond Dutina and reaching the plain near Taânach; but it offered the same disadvantages as the other. The third road ran north of Zafiti, to meet the great highway which cuts the hill-district of Nablûs, skirting the foot of Tabor near Jenin, a little to the north of Megiddo. It was not so direct as the other two, but it was easier for troops, and the king's

[1] The account of this campaign has been preserved to us on a wall adjoining the granite sanctuary at Karnak, and the fragments of it were examined by CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., vol. ii. pp. 154–158, and afterwards published in their entirety by LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 31 b, 32. It had been drawn up by one of the officials of Thûtmosis III., the scribe Zannini (cf. WIEDEMANN, *Geschichte der achtzehnten Ægyptischen Dynastie*, p. 42; MASPERO, *Rapport sur une mission en Italie*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ii. p. 130): it was completely translated by BIRCH, *The Annals of Thothmes the Third, as derived from the Hieroglyphical Inscriptions*, 1853, pp. 5–10; by OSBURN, *The Monumental History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 233–252; by BRUGSCH, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 295–305; and by MASPERO, *Le Récit de la campagne contre Mageddo sous Thoutmos III.*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ii. pp. 48–56, 139–150; critically examined by E. DE ROUGÉ, *Notices de quelques fragments de l'Inscription de Karnak*, pp. 27, 28, and *Étude sur divers Monuments du règne de Thoutmès III.*, pp. 35–40; afterwards by WIEDEMANN, *Geschichte der achtzehnten Ægyptischen Dynastie*, pp. 44–49, and *Ægyptische Geschichte*, pp. 346–349.

[2] MASPERO, *Sur les noms de la liste de Thoutmos III qu'on peut rapporter à la Judée*, pp. 21, 22.

generals advised that it should be followed. The king was so incensed that he was tempted to attribute their prudence to cowardice. "By my life! by the love that Râ hath for me, by the favour that I enjoy from my master Amon, by the perpetual youth of my nostril in life and power, My Majesty will go by the way of Âluna, and let him that will go by the roads of which ye have spoken, and let him that will follow My Majesty. What will be said among the vile enemies detested of Râ: 'Doth not His Majesty go by another way? For fear of us he gives us a wide berth,' they will cry." The king's counsellors did not insist further. "May thy father Amon of Thebes protect thee!" they exclaimed; "as for us, we will follow Thy Majesty whithersoever thou goest, as it befitteth a servant to follow his master." The word of command was given to the men; Thûtmosis himself led the vanguard, and the whole army, horsemen and foot-soldiers, followed in single file, wending their way through the thickets which covered the southern slopes of Mount Carmel.[1]

They pitched their camp on the evening of the 19th near Âluna, and on the morning of the 20th they entered the wild defiles through which it was necessary to pass in order to reach the enemy. The king had taken precautionary measures against any possible attempt of the natives to cut the main column during this crossing of the mountains. His position might at any moment have become a critical one, had the allies taken advantage of it and attacked each battalion as it issued on to the plain before it could re-form. But the Prince of Qodshû, either from ignorance of his adversary's movements, or confident of victory in the open, declined to take the initiative. Towards one o'clock in the afternoon, the Egyptians found themselves once more united on the farther side of the range, close to a torrent called the Qina, a little to the south of Megiddo. When the camp was pitched, Thûtmosis announced his intention of engaging the enemy on the morrow. A council of war was held to decide on the position that each corps should occupy, after which the officers returned to their men to see that a liberal supply of rations was served out, and to organise an efficient system of patrols. They passed round the camp to the cry:

[1] The position of the towns mentioned and of the three roads has been discussed by E. de Rougé (*Étude sur divers monuments de Thoutmès III.*, pp. 37–39), also by F. de Saulcy (*Lettre à M. Chabas sur quelques points de la Géographie antique de la Syrie, etc.*, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne*, vol. i. pp. 120–127), who fixed the position of Yahmu at El-Kheimeh, and showed that the Egyptian army must have passed through the defiles of Umm el-Fahm. Conder disagreed with this opinion in certain respects, and identified Âluna, Âruna, at first with Arrabeh, and afterwards with Arraneh; he thought that Thûtmosis came out upon Megiddo from the south-east, and he placed Megiddo at Mujeddah, near Beisan (*Palestine before Joshua*, in the *Quarterly Statements*, 1876, pp. 90, 91, and *Megiddo*, *ibid.*, 1877, pp. 13–20), while Tomkins placed Aruna in the Wady el-Arrian (*The Karnak Tribute-Lists of Thothmes III.*, in the *Proceedings* Bibl. Arch. Soc., 1877, vol. ix. pp. 162–164, and *Transactions*, vol. ix. pp. 261, 262). W. Max Müller seems to place Yahmu too much to the north, in the neighbourhood of Jett (*Asien und Europa*, pp. 157–160).

"Keep a good heart: courage! Watch well, watch well! Keep alive in the camp!" The king refused to retire to rest until he had been assured that "the country was quiet, and also the host, both to south and north." By dawn the next day the whole army was in motion. It was formed into a single line, the right wing protected by the torrent, the left extended into the plain, stretching beyond Megiddo towards the north-west. Thûtmosis and his guards occupied the centre, standing "armed in his chariot of electrum like unto Horus brandishing his pike, and like Montû the Theban god." The Syrians, who had not expected such an early attack, were seized with panic, and fled in the direction of the town, leaving their horses and chariots on the field; but the citizens, fearing lest in the confusion the Egyptians should effect an entrance with the fugitives, had closed their gates and refused to open them. Some of the townspeople, however, let down ropes to the leaders of the allied party, and drew them up to the top of the ramparts: "and would to heaven that the soldiers of His Majesty had not so far forgotten themselves as to gather up the spoil left by the vile enemy! They would then have entered Megiddo forthwith; for while the men of the garrison were drawing up the Lord of Qodshû and their own prince, the fear of His Majesty was upon their limbs, and their hands failed them by reason of the carnage which the royal uræus carried into their ranks." The victorious soldiery were dispersed over the fields, gathering together the gilded and silvered chariots of the Syrian chiefs, collecting the scattered weapons and the hands of the slain, and securing the prisoners; then rallying about the king, they greeted him with acclamations and filed past to deliver up the spoil. He reproached them for having allowed themselves to be drawn away from the heat of pursuit. "Had you carried Megiddo, it would have been a favour granted to me by Râ my father this day; for all the kings of the country being shut up within it, it would have been as the taking of a thousand towns to have seized Megiddo." The Egyptians had made little progress in the art of besieging a stronghold since the times of the XII[th] dynasty. When scaling failed, they had no other resource than a blockade, and even the most stubborn of the Pharaohs would naturally shrink from the tedium of such an undertaking. Thûtmosis, however, was not inclined to lose the opportunity of closing the campaign by a decisive blow, and began the investment of the town according to the prescribed modes. His men were placed under canvas, and working under the protection of immense shields, supported on posts, they made a ditch around the walls, strengthening it with a palisade. The king constructed also on the east side a fort which he called "Manakhpirrî-holds-the-Asiatics." Famine soon told on the demoralised citizens, and their surrender brought about the submission of the entire country. Most of the countries situated between the Jordan and the sea—Shunem, Cana, Kinnereth, Hazor, Ecdippa,

Laish, Merom, and Acre—besides the cities of the Hauran—Hamath, Magato, Ashtaroth, Ono-rapha, and even Damascus itself—recognised the suzerainty of Egypt, and their lords came in to the camp to do homage.[1] The Syrian losses did not amount to more than 83 killed and 400 prisoners, showing how



AN EGYPTIAN ENCAMPMENT BEFORE A BESIEGED TOWN.[2]

easily they had been routed; but they had abandoned considerable supplies, all of which had fallen into the hands of the victors. Some 724 chariots, 2041 mares, 200 suits of armour, 502 bows, the tent of the Prince of Qodshû with its poles of cypress inlaid with gold, besides oxen, cows, goats, and more than 20,000 sheep, were among the spoil. Before quitting the plain of Esdraelon, the king caused an official survey of it to be made, and had the harvest reaped. It yielded 208,000 bushels of wheat, not taking into account what had been looted or damaged by the marauding soldiery. The return homewards of the Egyptians must have resembled the exodus of some emigrating tribe rather than the progress of a regular army.[3]

Thûtmosis caused a long list of the vanquished to be engraved on the walls of the temple which he was building at Karnak, thus affording the good people of Thebes an opportunity for the first time of reading on the monuments the titles of the king's Syrian subjects written in hieroglyphics. One hundred and nineteen names follow each other in unbroken succession, some of them representing mere villages, while others denoted powerful nations;

[1] The names of these towns are inscribed on the lists of Karnak published by MARIETTE, *Karnak*, pls. 17-20; cf., for their identification, MASPERO, *Sur les noms de la liste de Thoutmos III. qu'on peut attribuer à la Galilée*, Tomkins, *Records of the Past*, new series, vol. v., and W. MAX MÜLLER, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 161, 162, 181-196.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Beato of the representation of the siege of Dapur under Ramses II.

[3] MASPERO, *Le récit de la campagne de Thoutmosis III.*, in the *Recueil*, vol. ii. pp. 48-56, 139-150.

the catalogue, however, was not to end even here. Having once set out on a career of conquest, the Pharaoh had no inclination to lay aside his arms. From the XXIIIrd year of his reign to that of his death, we have a record of twelve military expeditions, all of which he led in person. Southern Syria was conquered at the outset—the whole of Kharû as far as the Lake of Gennesareth, and the Amorite power was broken at one blow. The three succeeding campaigns consolidated the rule of Egypt in the country of the Negeb, which lay to the south-west of the Dead Sea, in Phœnicia, which prudently resigned itself to its fate, and in that part of Lotanû occupying the northern part of the



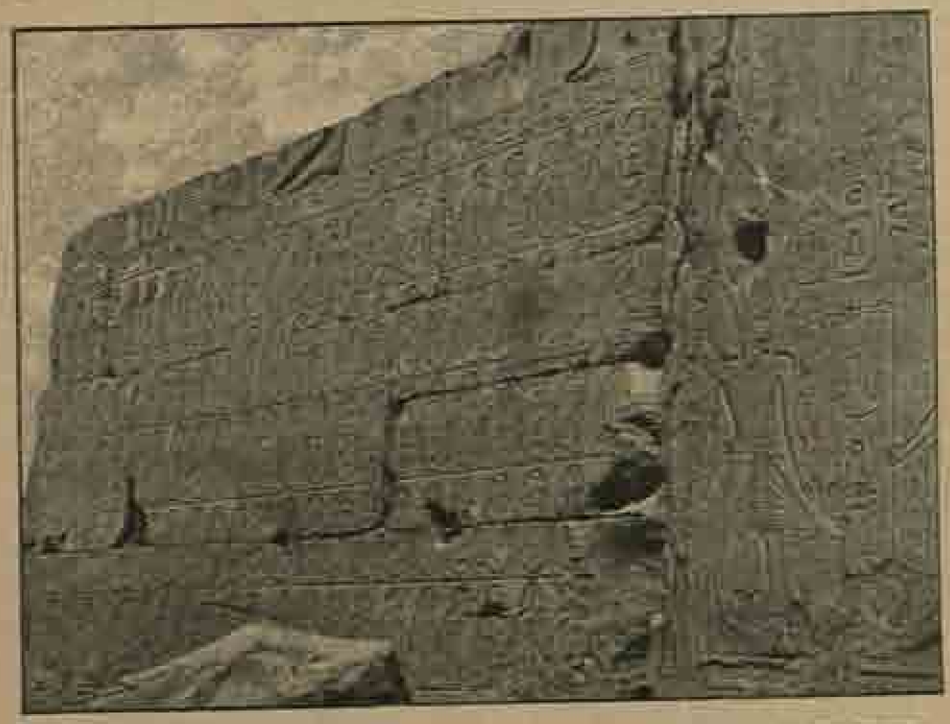
SOME OF THE PLANTS AND ANIMALS BROUGHT BACK FROM PÛANÎT.[1]

basin of the Orontes.[2] None of these expeditions appear to have been marked by any successes comparable to the victory at Megiddo, for the coalition of the Syrian chiefs did not survive the blow which they then sustained; but Qodshû long remained the centre of resistance, and the successive defeats which its inhabitants suffered never disarmed for more than a short interval the hatred which they felt for the Egyptian. During these years of glorious activity considerable tribute poured in to both Memphis and Thebes, not only ingots of gold and silver, bars and blocks of copper and lead, blocks of lapis-lazuli and valuable vases, but horses, oxen, sheep, goats, and useful animals of every kind, in addition to all of which we find, as in Hâtshopsîtû's reign, the mention of rare plants and shrubs brought back from countries traversed by the armies in their various expeditions. The Theban priests and *savants* exhibited much interest in such curiosities, and their royal pupil gave orders to his generals to collect for their benefit all that appeared either rare or novel. They

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph; cf. MARIETTE, *Karnak*, pl. 31.

[2] We know of these three campaigns from the indirect testimony of the *Annals*, which end in the year XXIX. with the mention of the fifth campaign (LEPSIUS, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, pl. xii. l. 1). The only dated one is referred to the year XXV. (MARIETTE, *Karnak*, pl. 31), and we know of that of the Negeb only by the *Inscription of Amenemhabî*, ll. 3–5; the campaign began in the Negeb of Judah, but the king carried it to Naharaim the same year.

endeavoured to acclimatise the species or the varieties likely to be useful, and in order to preserve a record of these experiments, they caused a representation of the strange plants or animals to be drawn on the walls of one of the chapels which they were then building to one of their gods. These pictures may still be seen there in interminable lines, portraying the specimens brought from the Upper Lotanû in the XXV[th] year of Thûtmosis, and we are able to distinguish,



PART OF THE TRIUMPHAL LISTS OF THÛTMOSIS III. ON ONE OF THE PYLONS OF THE TEMPLE AT KARNAK.[1]

side by side with many plants peculiar to the regions of the Euphrates, others having their habitat in the mountains and valleys of tropical Africa.[2]

This return to an aggressive policy on the part of the Egyptians, after the weakness they had exhibited during the later period of Hâtshopsîtû's regency, seriously disconcerted the Asiatic sovereigns. They had vainly flattered themselves that the invasion of Thûtmosis I. was merely the caprice of an adventurous prince, and they hoped that when his love of enterprise had expended itself, Egypt would permanently withdraw within her traditional boundaries, and that the relations of Elam with Babylon, Carchemish with Qodshu, and the barbarians of the Persian Gulf with the inhabitants of the Iranian table-land would resume

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey.

[2] Mariette, *Karnak*, pls. 28–31: some of the figures have not been reproduced by Mariette, and they are still awaiting publication. Neither the plants nor the animals have been seriously studied; we have no certain knowledge as to which species belong to Asia and which to Africa.

their former course. This vain delusion was dispelled by the advent of a new Thûtmosis, who showed clearly by his actions that he intended to establish and maintain the sovereignty of Egypt over the western dependencies, at least, of the ancient Chaldæan empire, that is to say, over the countries which bordered the middle course of the Euphrates and the coasts of the Mediterranean. The audacity of his marches, the valour of his men, the facility with which in a few hours he had crushed the assembled forces of half Syria, left no room to doubt that he was possessed of personal qualities and material resources sufficient to carry out projects of the most ambitious character. Babylon, enfeebled by the perpetual dissensions of its Cossæan princes, was no longer in a position to contest with him the little authority she still retained over the peoples of Naharaim or of Cœle-Syria; protected by the distance which separated her from the Nile valley, she preserved a sullen neutrality, while Assyria hastened to form a peaceful alliance with the invading power. Again and again its kings sent to Thutmosis presents in proportion to their resources, and the Pharaoh naturally treated their advances as undeniable proofs of their voluntary vassalage. Each time that he received from them a gift of metal or lapis-lazuli, he proudly recorded their tribute in the annals of his reign; and if, in exchange, he sent them some Egyptian product, it was in smaller quantities, as might be expected from a lord to his vassal.[1] Sometimes there would accompany the convoy, surrounded by an escort of slaves and women, some princess, whom the king would place in his harem or graciously pass on to one of his children; but when, on the other hand, an even distant relative of the Pharaoh was asked in marriage for some king on the banks of the Tigris or Euphrates, the request was met with a disdainful negative; the daughters of the Sun were of too noble a race to stoop to such alliances, and they would count it a humiliation to be sent in marriage to a foreign court.[2]

Free transit on the main road which ran diagonally through Kharû was ensured by fortresses constructed at strategic points,[3] and from this time forward Thûtmosis was able to bring the whole force of his army to bear

[1] The "tribute of Assur" is mentioned in this way under the years XXIII. and XXIV. (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 32, ll. 22, 26). The presents sent by the Pharaoh in return are not mentioned in any Egyptian text, but there is frequent reference to them in the Tel el-Amarna tablets (Bezold-Budge, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, pp. xxx.–xxxii.). It may be mentioned here that the name of Nineveh does not occur on the Egyptian monuments, but only that of the town Nii, in which Champollion (*Grammaire Égyptienne*, p. 150) wrongly recognised the later capital of Assyria.

[2] On the subject of these complaints of King Kallimmasin of Babylon to Amenôthes III., see Bezold-Budge, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, pp. xxviii., xxix.; Tiele, *Western Asia according to the most recent Discoveries*, pp. 12–14.

[3] The castle, for instance, near Megiddo, previously referred to, which, after having contributed to the siege of the town, probably served to keep it in subjection; see p. 258 of the present work.

upon both Cœle-Syria and Naharaim.[1] He encamped, in the year XXVII., on the table-land separating the Afrîn and the Orontes from the Euphrates, and from that centre devastated the district of Uânu,[2] which lay to the west



SOME OF THE OBJECTS CARRIED IN TRIBUTE BY THE SYRIANS[3]

of Aleppo; then crossing "the water of Naharaim" in the neighbourhood of Carchemish, he penetrated into the heart of Mitanni.[4] The following year he reappeared in the same region. Tunipa, which had made an obstinate resistance, was taken, together with its king, and 329 of his nobles were forced

[1] The accounts of the campaigns of Thûtmosis III. have been preserved in the *Annals* in a very mutilated condition, the fragments of which, discovered at different times, were published by Young, *Hieroglyphics*, pls. xli., xlii.; Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, pl. xii., and *Denkm.*, iii. 30 a, 31 a; by Mariette, *Lettre à M. le vicomte de Rougé sur les résultats des fouilles entreprises par ordre du vice-roi d'Égypte*, pp. 17, 23, and *Karnak*, pl. 13. They were translated by Birch, *Observations on the Statistical Tablet of Karnak*, and *The Annals of Thotmes III.*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. ii. pp. 20-28; by Osburn, *The Monumental Hist. of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 234-288; by E. de Rougé, *Notice de quelques fragments de l'Inscription de Karnak contenant les Annales de Thoutmès III.*; and by Brugsch, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 291-328. The information they give has been completed in part by the *Inscription of Amenemhâbi*, discovered, translated, and published by Ebers, *Thaten und Zeit Thutmes III., nach einer Inschrift im Grab des Amen-em-heb zu Abd El-Qurnah*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1873, pp. 1-9; *Das Grab und die Biographie des Feldhauptmanns Amen-em-heb*, in the *Zeitschrift der D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, vol. xxx. pp. 391-416, vol. xxxi. pp. 439, et seq.; by Chabas, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 3rd series, vol. ii. pp. 279-306 (cf. *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1873, pp. 155, et seq.); by Birch, *Inscription of Amen-em-heb*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. ii. pp. 57-64; and lastly, by Brugsch, *Gesch. Ægyptens*, pp. 335-338. The *Annals* are nothing but extracts from an official account, made for Amon and his priests.

[2] The province of the Tree Uânu; cf. with this designation the epithet "Shad Erini," "mountain of the cedar tree," which the Assyrians bestowed on the Amanus (Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 101, 103).

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, after Champollion, *Mon. de l'Égypte*, etc., pl. cxci. bis, and vol. i. p. 843; cf. Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. lviii., cf. 218.

[4] *Inscription of Amenemhâbi*, ll. 6-8, where perhaps two campaigns are to be distinguished.

to yield themselves prisoners. Thûtmosis "with a joyous heart" was carrying them away captive, when it occurred to him that the district of Zahi, which lay away for the most part from the great military high-roads, was a tempting prey teeming with spoil. The barns were stored with wheat and barley, the cellars were filled with wine, the harvest was not yet gathered in, and the trees bent under the weight of their fruit. Having pillaged Senzaûrû on the Orontes,[1] he made his way to the westwards through the ravine formed by the Nahr el-Kebir, and descended suddenly on the territory of Arvad. The towns once more escaped pillage, but Thûtmosis destroyed the harvests, plundered the orchards, carried off the cattle, and pitilessly wasted the whole of the maritime plain. There was such abundance within the camp that the men were continually getting drunk, and spent their time in anointing themselves with oil, which they could do only in Egypt at the most solemn festivals.[2] They returned to Syria in the year XXX., and their good fortune again favoured them. The stubborn Qodshû was harshly dealt with; Simyra and Arvad, which hitherto had held their own, now opened their gates to him; the lords of Upper Lotanû poured in their contributions without delay, and gave up their sons and brothers as hostages.[3] In the year XXXI., the city of Anamut in Tikhisa, on the shores of Lake Nisrana, yielded in its turn;[4] on the 3rd of Pakhons, the anniversary of his coronation, the Lotanû renewed their homage to him in person. The return of the expedition was a sort of triumphal procession. At every halting-place the troops found quarters and provisions prepared for them, bread and cakes, perfumes, oil, wine, and honey being provided in such quantities that they were obliged on their departure to leave the greater part behind them. The scribes took advantage of this peaceful state of affairs to draw up minute accounts of the products of Lotanû—corn, barley, millet, fruits, and various kinds of oil—prompted doubtless by the desire to arrive at a fairly just apportionment of the tribute. Indeed, the results of the expedition were considered so satisfactory that they were recorded on a special monument dedicated in the palace at Thebes.[5] The names of the towns and peoples might change with

[1] Senzaurû was thought by Ebers, *Thaten und Zeit Thutmes III.*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1873, p. 4, to be "the double Tyre." Brugsch considered it to be Tyre itself (*Der Tag der Thronbesteigung des dritten Thutmes*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1874, pp. 144, 145; cf. W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 185, note 2). It is, I believe, the Sizara of classical writers, the Shaizar of the Arabs, and is mentioned in one of the Tel el-Amarna tablets in connection with Nii.

[2] The account of this campaign is taken from the *Annals of Thûtmosis III.*, ll. 1–7, except the mention of Sinzaûrû, which occurs only in the *Inscription of Amenemhabî*, ll. 11–13.

[3] *Annals of Thûtmosis III.*, ll. 7–9; *Inscription of Amenemhabî*, ll. 13–16. For the meaning of the geographical term Arvad, see p. 171, note 3, of the present volume.

[4] The site of the Tikhisa country is imperfectly defined (Brugsch, *Geogr. Insch.*, vol. i. p. 56; ii. pp. 45, 46; W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 258, 259). Nisrana was seemingly applied to the marshy lake into which the Kowaik flows, and it is perhaps to be found in the name Kin-nesrin (Kan-nishrayâ in Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, p. 30). In this case Tikhisa would be the country near the lake; the district of the *Gynaeo-Ronnu Chalkis* is situated on the right of the military road.

[5] *Annals of Thûtmosis III.*, ll. 9–15; cf. the *Inscription of Amenemhabî*, ll. 15–21.

every war, but the spoils suffered no diminution. In the year XXXIII., the kingdoms situated to the west of the Euphrates were so far pacified that Thûtmosis was able without risk to carry his arms into Mesopotamia. He entered the country by the fords of Carchemish, near to the spot where his grandfather, Thûtmosis I., had erected his stele half a century previously. He placed another beside this, and a third to the eastward to mark the point to which he had extended the frontier of his empire. The Mitanni, who exercised a sort of hegemony over the whole of Naharaim, were this time the objects of his attack. Thirty-two of their towns fell one after another, their kings were taken captive and the walls of their cities were razed, without any serious resistance. The battalions of the enemy were dispersed at the first shock, and Pharaoh "pursued them for the space of a mile, without one of them daring to look behind him, for they thought only of escape, and fled before him like a flock of goats." Thûtmosis pushed forward as far certainly as the Balikh, and perhaps on to the Khabur or even to the Hermus; and as he approached the frontier, the king of Singar, a vassal of Assyria, sent him presents of lapis-lazuli. When this prince had retired, another chief, the lord of the Great Khâti, whose territory had not even been threatened by the invaders, deemed it prudent to follow the example of the petty princes of the plain of the Euphrates, and despatched envoys to the Pharaoh bearing presents of no great value, but testifying to his desire to live on good terms with Egypt. Still further on, the inhabitants of Nii begged the king's acceptance of a troop of slaves and two hundred and sixty mares; he remained among them long enough to erect a stele commemorating his triumph, and to indulge in one of those extensive hunts which were the delight of Oriental monarchs. The country abounded in elephants. The soldiers were employed as beaters, and the king and his court succeeded in killing one hundred and twenty head of big game, whose tusks were added to the spoils. These numbers indicate how the extinction of such animals in these parts was brought about. Beyond these regions, again, the sheikhs of the Lamnanîi came to meet the Pharaoh. They were a poor people, and had but little to offer, but among their gifts were some birds of a species unknown to the Egyptians, and two geese, with which, however, His Majesty deigned to be satisfied.[1]

[1] The campaign of the year XXXIII. is mentioned in the *Annals of Thûtmosis III.*, ll. 17-27; the reference to the elephant-hunt occurs only in the *Inscription of Amenemhabi*, ll. 22, 23; an allusion to the defeat of the kings of Mitanni is found in a mutilated inscription from the tomb of Manakhpirrîsonbû (VIREY, *Le Tombeau de Ramenkhepersenb*, in the *Mém. de la Miss. franç.*, vol. v. p. 203). It was probably on his return from this campaign that Thûtmosis caused the great list to be engraved which, while it includes a certain number of names assigned to places beyond the Euphrates (TOMKINS, *On the Topog. of N. Syria*, in *Trans. Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. ix. pp. 227-254; W. M. MÜLLER, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 281-292), ought necessarily to contain the cities of the Mitanni (MARIETTE, *Karnak*, pls. 20, 21). As to the site of Nii and of the Lamnanîi-Labnana, see p. 142, note 6, and p. 189 of this vol.

In the year XXXIV. the Egyptians reappeared in Zahi. The people of Anaugasa having revolted, two of their towns were taken, a third surrendered, while the chiefs of the Lotanû hastened to meet their lord with their usual tribute. Advantage was taken of the encampment being at the foot of the Lebanon to procure wood for building purposes, such as beams and planks, masts and yards for vessels, which were all shipped by the Kefâtiu at Byblos for exportation to the Delta.[1] This expedition was, indeed, little more than a military march through the country. It would appear that the Syrians soon accustomed themselves to the presence of the Egyptians in their midst, and their obedience henceforward could be fairly relied on. We are unable to ascertain what were the circumstances or the intrigues which, in the year XXXV., led to a sudden outbreak among the tribes settled on the Euphrates and the Orontes. The King of Mitanni rallied round him the princes of Naharaim, and awaited the attack of the Egyptians near Aruna. Thûtmosis displayed great personal courage, and the victory was at once decisive. We find mention of only ten prisoners, one hundred and eighty mares, and sixty chariots in the lists of the spoil.[2] Anaugasa again revolted, and was subdued afresh in the year XXXVIII.; the Shaûsû rebelled in the year XXXIX., and the Lotanû or some of the tribes connected with them two years later.[3] The campaign of the year XLII. proved more serious. Troubles had arisen in the neighbourhood of Arvad. Thûtmosis, instead of following the usual caravan route, marched along the coast-road by way of Phœnicia. He destroyed Arka in the Lebanon and the surrounding strongholds, which were the haunts of robbers who lurked in the mountains; then turning to the north-east, he took Tunipa and extorted the usual tribute from the inhabitants of Naharaim. On the other hand, the Prince of Qodshû, trusting to the strength of his walled city, refused to do homage to the Pharaoh, and a deadly struggle took place under the ramparts, in which each side availed themselves of all the artifices which the strategic warfare of the times allowed. On a day when the assailants and besieged were about to come to close quarters, the Amorites let loose a mare among the chariotry of Thûtmosis. The Egyptian horses threatened to become unmanageable, and had begun to break through the ranks, when Amenemhabî, an officer of the guard, leaped to the ground, and, running up to the creature, disembowelled it with a thrust of his sword; this done, he cut off its tail and presented it to the king. The besieged were eventually obliged to shut themselves within their newly built walls, hoping by this means to tire out the patience of their assailants; but a picked body of men, led by the same brave

[1] *Annals of Thûtmosis III.*, ll. 22–33; on the boats of Byblos, see pp. 172, 187 of the present work.
[2] *Annals of Thûtmosis III.*, ll. 37–41.
[3] *Annals of Thûtmosis III.*, ll. 43–62; the fragments of this part of the inscription are so few, that it is hardly possible to do more than give a general view of the progress of the narrative.

Amenemhabi who had killed the mare, succeeded in making a breach and forcing an entrance into the town.[1] Even the numerous successful campaigns we have mentioned, form but a part, though indeed an important part, of the wars undertaken by Thûtmosis to "fix his frontiers in the ends of the earth." Scarcely a year elapsed without the viceroy of Ethiopia having a conflict with one or other of the tribes of the Upper Nile;[2] little merit as he might gain in triumphing over such foes, the spoil taken from them formed a considerable adjunct to the treasure collected in Syria, while the tributes from the people of Kûsh and the Uauaît were paid with as great regularity as the taxes levied on the Egyptians themselves. It comprised gold both from the mines and from the rivers, feathers, oxen with curiously trained horns, giraffes, lions, leopards, and slaves of all ages. The distant regions explored by Hâtshopsîtû continued to pay a tribute at intervals. A fleet went to Pûanit to fetch large cargoes of incense,[3] and from time to time some Ilim chief would feel himself honoured by having one of his daughters accepted as an inmate of the harem of the great king.[4] After the year XLII. we have no further records of the reign, but there is no reason to suppose that its closing years were less eventful or less prosperous than the earlier. Thûtmosis III., when conscious of failing powers, may have delegated the direction of his armies to his sons or to his generals, but it is also quite possible that he kept the supreme command in his own hands to the end of his days. Even when old age approached and threatened to abate his vigour, he was upheld by the belief that his father Amon was ever at hand to guide him with his counsel and assist him in battle. "I give to thee, declared the god,[5] the rebels that they may fall beneath thy sandals, that thou mayest crush the rebellious, for I grant to thee by decree the earth in its length and breadth.

[1] *Annals of Thûtmosis III.*, ll. 66–72; these lines are almost as much mutilated as the account of the preceding campaigns. The siege of Qodshu, and the military exploits which rendered it famous, are known to us only at present from the *Inscription of Amenemhabi*, ll. 25–32; for Amenemhabi's exploit in regard to the mare, see Borchardt, *Zu Amen-em-heb*, ll. 25–27, in *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxi. pp. 62, 63.

[2] The tribute was divided, as I have already said (see p. 232, n. 2, of the present work), into that of Kûsh and that of Uauaît. They are both given for the year XXXI. (*Annals of Thûtmosis III.*, ll. 15, 16), for the years XXXIII. (ll. 27, 28), XXXIV. (ll. 35, 36), as well as for the years XXXVI., XXXVIII., XXXIX., and XLI.

[3] Expedition to the land of Puanit in the year XXXIII. (*Annals of Thûtmosis III.*, l. 27) and in the year XXXVIII. (ll. 8, 9 of the fragment published in Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 31 *a*).

[4] *Annals of Thûtmosis III.*, l. 33, in the year XXXIV.; the passage is mutilated, and Brugsch thought that a son, and not a daughter, of the Prince of the Ilim was mentioned (*Gesch. Ægyptens*, p. 317).

[5] The stele containing this text was discovered by Mariette, and it was reproduced in the *Album photographique du Musée de Boulaq*, pl. 32, and in *Karnak*, pl. 11. The text was translated and annotated by Birch, *On a Historical Tablet of the Reign of Thothmes III.* (extracted from *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii. p. 373, et seq.; cf. *Tablet of Thothmes III.*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. ii. pp. 19–34), afterwards by E. de Rougé, *Étude sur divers monuments du règne de Toutmès III.*, pp. 5–23; by Maspero, *Du Genre Épistolaire*, pp. 85–89, and *Guide du Visiteur*, pp. 72–84; by Brugsch, *Gesch. Ægyptens*, pp. 332–336; by Wiedemann, *Gesch. der achtzehnten Ægyptischen Dynastie*, pp. 74–75; some interesting corrections have been made in these translations by Piehl, *Notes de Philologie Égyptienne*, in the *Proceedings of Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, 1892–93, vol. xv. pp. 259–264.

The tribes of the West and those of the East are under the place of thy countenance, and when thou goest up into all the strange lands with a joyous heart, there is none who will withstand Thy Majesty, for I am thy guide when thou treadest them underfoot. Thou hast crossed the water of the great curve of Naharaim[1] in thy strength and in thy power, and I have commanded thee to let them hear thy roaring which shall enter their dens. I have deprived their nostrils of the breath of life, I have granted to thee that thy deeds shall sink into their hearts, that my uræus which is upon thy head[2] may burn them, that it may bring prisoners in long files from the peoples of Qodi, that it may consume with its flame those who are in the marshes,[3] that it may cut off the heads of the Asiatics without one of them being able to escape from its clutch. I grant to thee that thy conquests may embrace all lands, that the uræus which shines upon my forehead may be thy vassal, so that in all the compass of the heaven there may not be one to rise against thee, but that the people may come bearing their tribute on their backs and bending before Thy Majesty according to my behest; I ordain that all aggressors arising in thy time shall fail before thee, their heart burning within them, their limbs trembling!

"I.—I am come that I may grant unto thee to crush the great ones of Zahi, I throw them under thy feet across their mountains,—I grant to thee that they shall see Thy Majesty as a lord of shining splendour when thou shinest before them in my likeness!

"II.—I am come, to grant thee that thou mayest crush those of the country of Asia, to break the heads of the people of Lotanû,—I grant thee that they may see Thy Majesty, clothed in thy panoply, when thou seizest thy arms, in thy war-chariot.

"III.—I am come, to grant thee that thou mayest crush the land of the East, and invade those who dwell in the provinces of Tonûtir,—I grant that they may see Thy Majesty as the comet which rains down the heat of its flame and sheds its dew.

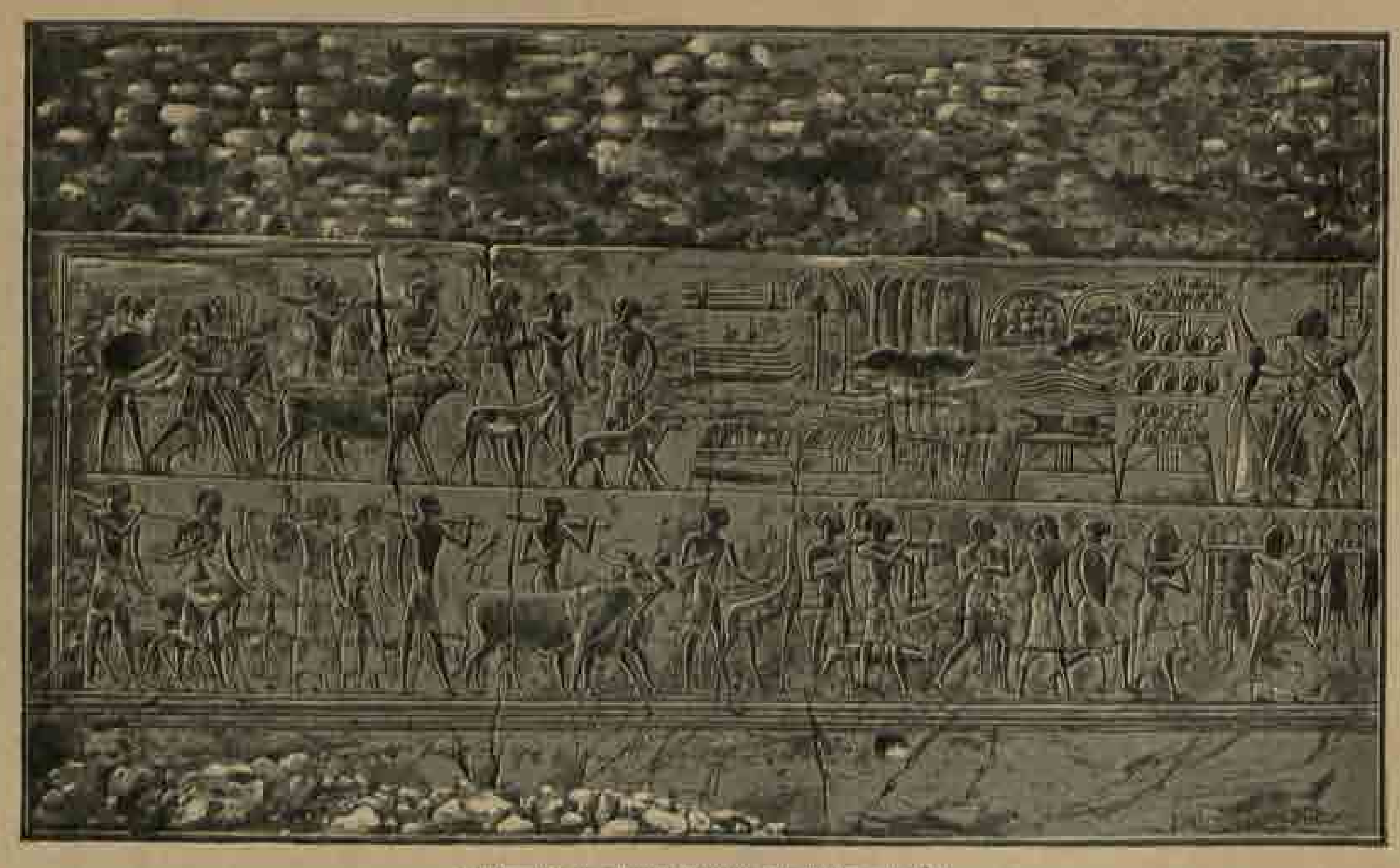
"IV.—I am come, to grant thee that thou mayest crush the land of the West, so that Kaftî and Cyprus shall be in fear of thee,—I grant that they may see Thy Majesty like the young bull, stout of heart, armed with horns which none may resist.

"V.—I am come, to grant thee that thou mayest crush those who are in their marshes, so that the countries of Mitanni may tremble for fear of thee,—

[1] The Euphrates, in the great curve described by it across Naharaim after issuing from the mountains of Cilicia. For the impression made upon the Egyptians by this river, see p. 211 of the present work.

[2] On the nature and fire-breathing character of the uræus which decorated the forehead of the kings, see *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 265.

[3] The meaning is doubtful. The word signifies pools, marshes, the provinces situated beyond Egyptian territory, and consequently the distant parts of the world—those which are nearest the ocean which encircles the earth, and which was considered as fed by the stagnant waters of the celestial Nile, just as the extremities of Egypt were watered by those of the terrestrial Nile. Cf. W. MAX MÜLLER, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 281–283.



A PROCESSION OF NEGROES BRINGING THE TRIBUTE OF KÛSH.

Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from photographs taken at Beit-Wally by Insinger.

I grant that they may see Thy Majesty like the crocodile, lord of terrors, in the midst of the water, which none can approach.

"VI.—I am come, to grant thee that thou mayest crush those who are in the isles, so that the people who live in the midst of the Very-Green may be reached by thy roaring,—I grant that they may see Thy Majesty like an avenger who stands on the back of his victim.

"VII.—I am come, to grant that thou mayest crush the Tihonu, so that the isles of the Ûtanâtiû may be in the power of thy souls,—I grant that they may see Thy Majesty like a spell-weaving lion, and that thou mayest make corpses of them in the midst of their own valleys.[1]

"VIII.—I am come, to grant thee that thou mayest crush the ends of the earth, so that the circle which surrounds the ocean may be grasped in thy fist,—I grant that they may see Thy Majesty as the sparrow-hawk, lord of the wing, who sees at a glance all that he desires.

"IX.—I am come, to grant thee that thou mayest crush the peoples who are in their "duars," so that thou mayest bring the Hirû-shâitû into captivity,[2]—I grant that they may see Thy Majesty like the jackal of the south, lord of swiftness, the runner who prowls through the two lands.

"X.—I am come, to grant thee that thou mayest crush the nomads, so that the Nubians as far as the land of Pidit are in thy grasp,—I grant that they may see Thy Majesty like unto thy two brothers Horus and Sit, whose arms I have joined in order to establish thy power."

The poem became celebrated. When Seti I., two centuries later, commanded the Poet Laureates of his court to celebrate his victories in verse, the latter, despairing of producing anything better, borrowed the finest strophes from this hymn to Thûtmosis III., merely changing the name of the hero.[3] The composition, unlike so many other triumphal inscriptions, is not a mere piece of official rhetoric, in which the poverty of the subject is concealed by a multitude of common-places whether historical or mythological. Egypt indeed ruled the world, either directly or through her vassals, and from the mountains of Abyssinia to those of Cilicia her armies held the nations in awe with the threat of the Pharaoh.

[1] For the translation of the last stanza of the poem, see PIEHL, *Varia*, § xxii., in the *Zeitschrift*, 1886, p. 19. The name of the people associated with the Tihonu was read at first Tanau, and identified with the *Danai* of the Greeks (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Étude sur divers monuments du règne de Thoutmès III.*, p. 29). Chabas was inclined to read Utens (*Études sur l'Antiq. Historique*, 2nd edit., pp. 181, 182), and Brugsch, Uthent (*Gesch. Ægyptens*, p. 335), more correctly Ûtanâtiû, Ûtanâti, the people of Ûtanit. The juxtaposition of this name with that of the Libyans compels us to look towards the west for the site of this people: may we assign to them the Ionian Islands, or even those in the western Mediterranean?

[2] With regard to the Hirushâitû and their "duars," see *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 350–352.

[3] The text of Seti I. was published in CHAMPOLLION, *Mon. de l'Égypte*, etc., vol. ii. p. 96; cf. MASPERO, *Du Genre Épistolaire chez les Anciens Égyptiens*, p. 90, note 1. WIEDEMANN, *Gesch. der achtzehnten Ægyptischen Dynastie*, p. 74, note 3, has pointed out in DÜMICHEN, *Historische Inschriften*, vol. i. pls. xi., xii., l. 18, some expressions which recall those of our text.

The conqueror, as a rule, did not retain any part of their territory. He confined himself to the appropriation of the revenue of certain domains for the benefit of his gods.[1] Amon of Karnak thus became possessor of seven Syrian towns which he owed to the generosity of the victorious Pharaohs.[2] Certain cities, like Tunipa, even begged for statues of Thûtmosis for which they built a temple and instituted a cultus. Amon and his fellow-gods too were adored there, side by side with the sovereign the inhabitants had chosen to represent them here below.[3] These rites were at once a sign of servitude, and a proof of gratitude for services rendered, or privileges which had been confirmed. The princes of neighbouring regions repaired annually to these temples to renew their oaths of allegiance, and to bring their tributes "before the face of the king."[4] Taking everything into account, the condition of the Pharaoh's subjects might have been a pleasant one, had they been able to accept their lot without any mental reservation. They retained their own laws, their dynasties, and their frontiers, and paid a tax only in proportion to their resources, while the hostages given were answerable for their obedience. These hostages were as a rule taken by Thûtmosis from among the sons or the brothers of the enemy's chief. They were carried to Thebes, where a suitable establishment was assigned to them,[5] the younger members receiving an education which practically made them Egyptians. As soon as a vacancy occurred in the succession either in Syria or in Ethiopia, the Pharaoh would choose from among the members of the family whom he held in reserve, that prince on whose loyalty he could best count, and placed him upon the throne.[6] The

[1] The seven towns which Amon possessed in Syria are mentioned, in the time of Ramses III., in the list of the domains and revenues of the god (*The Great Harris Papyrus*, Birch, pl. 68 a, l. 4).

[2] In the year XXIII., on his return from his first campaign, Thûtmosis III. provided offerings, guaranteed from the three towns Anaûgasa, Inûâmû, and Hûrnikaru, for his father Amonrâ (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 30, ll. 8-10; Brugsch, *Recueil de Monuments*, vol. i. pl. xliii. ll. 8-10).

[3] The statues of Thûtmosis III. and of the gods of Egypt erected at Tunipa are mentioned in a letter from the inhabitants of that town to Amenôthes III. (Bezold-Budge, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 41, pp. lxx., lxxi.; Halévy, *Notes Géographiques*, § 1, in the *Revue Sémitique*, vol. i. pp. 370-372, and *Correspondance d'Aménophis III. et d'Aménophis IV.*, *ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 15, 16; Delattre, *Lettres de Tell el-Amarna*, in the *Proceedings* of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., 1892-93, vol. xv. pp. 16-20). Later, Ramses II., speaking of the two towns in the country of the Khâti in which were two statues of His Majesty, mentions Tunipa as one of them (Brugsch, *Recueil de Monuments*, vol. ii. pl. liv. 2, and *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 514).

[4] This is the expression used in the time of Ramses III. in the *Great Harris Papyrus*, pl. ix. ll. 1-3; cf. Brugsch, *Gesch. Ægyptens*, pp. 608, 609, and W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 271.

[5] The various titles of the lists of Thûtmosis III. at Thebes show us "the children of the Syrian chiefs conducted as prisoners" into the town of Sûhenû (Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 17), which is elsewhere mentioned as the depôt, the prison of the temple of Amon (*Id.*, pl. 19). W. Max Müller was the first to remark the historical value of this indication (*Asien und Europa*, p. 268), but without sufficiently insisting on it; the name indicates, perhaps, as he says, a great prison, but a prison like those where the princes of the family of the Ottoman sultans were confined by the reigning monarch—a palace usually provided with all the comforts of Oriental life.

[6] *Annals of Thûtmosis III.*, l. 8. Among the Tel el-Amarna tablets there is a letter of a petty Syrian king, Addunirari, whose father was enthroned after a fashion in Nukhassi by Thûtmosis III. (Winckler-Abel, *Der Thontafelfund von el-Amarna*, No. 30, p. 37; Winckler, *Verzeichnes*, etc., in the *Zeitschrift*, pp. 32, 38, where the prince in question is wrongly given as a son of Thûtmosis III.

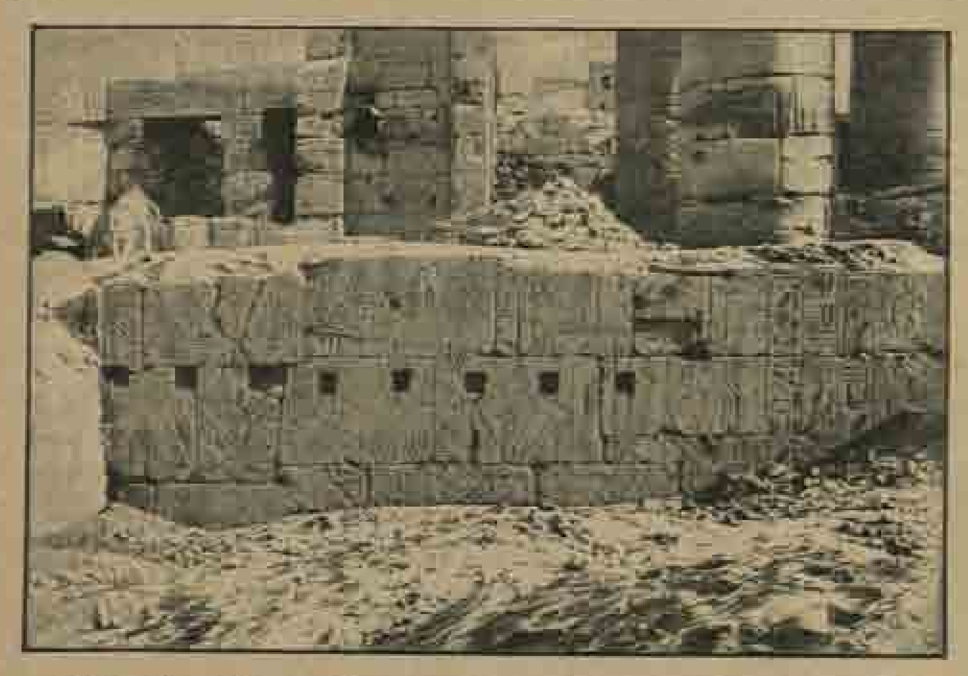
method of procedure was not always successful, since these princes, whom one would have supposed from their training to have been the least likely to have asserted themselves against the man to whom they owed their elevation, often gave more trouble than others. The sense of the supreme power of Egypt, which had been inculcated in them during their exile, seemed to be weakened after their return to their native country, and to give place to a sense of their own importance. Their hearts misgave them as the time approached for them to send their own children as pledges to their suzerain, and also when called upon to transfer a considerable part of their revenue to his treasury. They found, moreover, among their own cities and kinsfolk, those who were adverse to the foreign yoke, and secretly urged their country-men to revolt, or else competitors for the throne who took advantage of the popular discontent to pose as champions of national independence, and it was difficult for the vassal prince to counteract the intrigues of these adversaries without openly declaring himself hostile to his foreign master.[1] A time quickly came when a vestige of fear alone constrained them to conceal their wish for liberty; the most trivial incident then sufficed to give them the necessary encouragement, and decided them to throw off the mask,—a repulse or the report of a repulse suffered by the Egyptians, the news of a popular rising in some neighbouring state, the passing visit of a Chaldæan emissary who left behind him the hope of support and perhaps of subsidies from Babylon, and the unexpected arrival of a troop of mercenaries whose services might be hired for the occasion.[2] A rising of this sort usually brought about the most disastrous results. The native prince or the town itself could keep back the tribute and own allegiance to no one during the few months required to convince Pharaoh of their defection and to allow him to prepare the necessary means of

Boscawen, *Some Letters to Amenophis III.*, in the *Babylonian Oriental Record*, vol. v. pp. 175–177; Delattre, *Lettres de Tell el-Amarna*, in the *Proceedings*, 1892–93, vol. xv. pp. 30, 31). Cf. the letter of Iabitiri (Bezold-Budge, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 37, pp. lxxvii., lxxviii., and Delattre, *Lettres de Tell el-Amarna*, in the *Proceedings*, 1892–93, vol. xv. pp. 503–505), where this individual recalls the fact that he had passed his infancy in Egypt.

[1] Thus, in the Tel el-Amarna correspondence, Zimrida, governor of Sidon, gives information to Amenôthes III. on the intrigues which the notables of the town were concocting against Egyptian authority (Winckler-Abel, *Der Thontafelfund von el-Amarna*, No. 90, p. 93; cf. Delattre, *Lettres de Tell el-Amarna*, in the *Proceedings* of Bibl. Arch. Soc., 1890–91, vol. xiii. pp. 317, 318); cf. certain letters of Azira (Winckler-Abel, op. cit., No. 38, p. 43). Ribaddi relates in one of these despatches that the notables of Byblos and the women of his harem were urging him to revolt (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 10, pp. xlix., l.); later, a letter of Aminira to the King of Egypt informs us that Ribaddi had been driven from Byblos by his own brother (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 27, p. lvi.; cf. Delattre, *Lettres de Tell el-Amarna*, in the *Proceedings* Bibl. Arch. Soc., 1892–93, vol. xv. pp. 367, 368).

[2] Burnaburiash, King of Babylon, speaks of Syrian agents who had come to ask for support from his father, Kurigalzu, and adds that the latter had counselled submission (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 2, pp. xxxi., xxxii.; cf. Zimmern, *Briefe aus dem Funde von el-Amarna*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. v. pp. 152, 153, and Delattre, *Lettres*, etc., in the *Proceedings*, 1890–91, vol. xiii. p. 541). In one of the letters preserved in the British Museum, Azira defends himself for having received an emissary of the King of the Khâti (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 35, p. 73, ll. 47–50).

vengeance; the advent of the Egyptians followed, and the work of repression was systematically set in hand. They destroyed the harvests, whether green or ready for the sickle, they cut down the palms and olive trees, they tore up the vines, seized on the flocks, dismantled the strongholds, and took the inhabitants prisoners.[1] The rebellious prince had to deliver up his silver and gold, the contents of his palace, even his children,[2] and when he had finally



A SYRIAN TOWN AND ITS OUTSKIRTS AFTER AN EGYPTIAN ARMY HAD PASSED THROUGH IT.[3]

obtained peace by means of endless sacrifices, he found himself a vassal as before, but with an empty treasury, a wasted country, and a decimated people. In spite of all this, some headstrong native princes never relinquished the hope of freedom, and no sooner had they made good the breaches in their walls as far as they were able, than they entered once more on this unequal contest, though at the risk of bringing irreparable disaster on their country. The majority of them, after one such struggle, resigned themselves to the inevitable, and fulfilled their feudal obligations regularly. They paid their fixed contribution, furnished rations and stores

[1] Cf. the razzias, for instance, of the regions of Arvad and of the Zahi by Thûtmosis III., described in the *Annals*, ll. 4, 5; see also what is said on this subject on pp. 263, 264 of the present work. We are still in possession of the threats which the messenger Khâni made against the rebellious chief of a province of the Zahi—possibly Aziru (WINCKLER-ABEL, *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna*, No. 92, pl. 95 *a*, *recto*, ll. 30-32; cf. DELATTRE, *Aziru*, in *Proc. of Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, 1890-91, vol. xiii. p. 223).

[2] See, in the accounts of the campaigns of Thûtmosis, the record of the spoils, as well as the mention of the children of the chiefs brought as prisoners into Egypt (*Annals*, l. 8).

[3] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Gayet. It is a bas-relief of the time of Ramses II. at Luxor, which was brought to light in the excavations of 1886.

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to the army when passing through their territory, and informed the ministers at Thebes of any intrigues among their neighbours.[1] Years elapsed before they could so far forget the failure of their first attempt to regain independence, as to venture to make a second, and expose themselves to fresh reverses.

The administration of so vast an empire entailed but a small expenditure on the Egyptians, and required the offices of merely a few functionaries.[2] The garrisons which they kept up in foreign provinces lived on the country, and were composed mainly of light troops, archers, a certain proportion of heavy infantry, and a few minor detachments of chariotry dispersed among the principal fortresses.[3] The officers in command had orders to interfere as little as possible in local affairs, and to leave the natives to dispute or even to fight among themselves unhindered, so long as their quarrels did not threaten the security of the Pharaoh.[4] It was never part of the policy of Egypt to insist on her foreign subjects keeping an unbroken peace among themselves. If, theoretically, she did not recognise the right of private warfare, she at all events tolerated its practice. It mattered little to her whether some particular province passed out of the possession of a certain Ribaddû into that of a certain Aziru, or *vice versâ*, so long as both Ribaddû and Aziru remained her faithful slaves.[5] She never sought to repress their incessant quarrelling until such time as it threatened to take the form of an insurrection against her own power. Then alone did she throw off her neutrality; taking the side of one or other of

[1] We find in the *Annals*, ll. 12-14, 23, 24, 34, in addition to the enumeration of the tributes, the mention of the foraging arrangements which the chiefs were compelled to make for the army on its passage; cf. the letter of Akizzi in Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 36, ll. 10-15, and Boscawen, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. vi. p. 34. We find among the tablets letters from Aziru denouncing the intrigues of the Khâti (Winckler-Abel, *Der Thontafelfund*, Nos. 31-38, pls. 38-43; cf. Delattre, *Aziru*, in the *Proceedings*, 1890-91, vol. xiii. p. 215, et seq.); letters also of Ribaddu pointing out the misdeeds of Abdashirti (Winckler-Abel, *Der Thontafelfund*, No. 72, pl. 76, and Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 12, pp. xliv., xlv.; cf. Delattre, *Lettres de Tell el-Amarna*, in the *Proceedings*, 1892-93, vol. xiv. pp. 345, 346, 349-352), and other communications of the same nature, which demonstrate the supervision exercised by the petty Syrian princes over each other.

[2] Under Thûtmosis III. we have among others "Mâït," or "Nasi situ suhîtiu," "governors of the northern countries," the Thutii who became afterwards a hero of romance (Devéria, *Œuvres*, vol. i. p. 35, et seq.); cf. p. 277 of the present work. The individuals who bore this title held a middle rank in the Egyptian hierarchy (Maspero, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 9, 49). On the administration of the Syrian provinces, see W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 273-275.

[3] The archers—*pidâti*, *pidâti*, *pidâte*—and the chariotry quartered in Syria are often mentioned in the Tel el-Amarna correspondence. Steindorff has recognised the term *sâa*, *saiti*, meaning infantry (see p. 213, note 4, of the present volume), in the word *sâa*, *sâa*, of the Tel el-Amarna tablets (Zimmern, *Die Keilschriftbriefe aus Jerusalem*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. vi. pp. 254, n. 4).

[4] A half at least of the Tel el-Amarna correspondence treats of provincial wars between the kings of towns and countries subject to Egypt—wars of Abdashirti and his son Aziru against the cities of the Phœnician coast (Delattre, *Aziru*, in the *Proceedings*, 1890-91, vol. xiii. pp. 215-234, and *Lettres de Tell el-Amarna*, *ibid.*, 1892-93, vol. xv. pp. 345-373, 501-520), wars of Abdikhiba, or Abdi-Tabba, King of Jerusalem, against the chiefs of the neighbouring cities (Zimmern, *Die Keilschriftbriefe aus Jerusalem*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. vi. pp. 245-263, and *Palestina um das Jahr 1400 vor Christi nach neuen Quellen*, in the *Zeitschrift des Palästina-Vereins*, vol. xiii. p. 142, et seq.).

[5] See in Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 12, pp. xlvi., xlvii., 30, 31, the letter in which Ribaddu denounces Aziru as a rebel, whilst Aziru elsewhere professes his fidelity.

the dissentients, she would grant him, as a pledge of help, ten, twenty, thirty, or even more archers.[1] No doubt the discipline and personal courage of these veterans exercised a certain influence on the turn of events, but they were after all a mere handful of men, and their individual action in the combat would scarcely ever have been sufficient to decide the result; the actual importance of their support, in spite of their numerical inferiority, lay in the moral weight they brought to the side on which they fought, since they represented the whole army of the Pharaoh which lay behind them, and their presence in a camp always ensured final success. The vanquished party had the right of appeal to the sovereign, through whom he might obtain a mitigation of the lot which his successful adversary had prepared for him; it was to the interest of Egypt to keep the balance of power as evenly as possible between the various states which looked to her, and when she prevented one or other of the princes from completely crushing his rivals, she was minimising the danger which might soon arise from the vassal whom she had allowed to extend his territory at the expense of others.

These relations gave rise to a perpetual exchange of letters and petitions between the court of Thebes and the northern and southern provinces, in which all the petty kings of Africa and Asia, of whatever colour or race, set forth, either openly or covertly, their ambitions and their fears, imploring a favour or begging for a subsidy, revealing the real or suspected intrigues of their fellow-chiefs, and while loudly proclaiming their own loyalty, denouncing the perfidy and the secret projects of their neighbours. As the Ethiopian peoples did not, apparently, possess an alphabet of their own, half of the correspondence which concerned them was carried on in Egyptian, and written on papyrus. In Syria, however, where Babylonian civilisation maintained itself in spite of its conquest by Thûtmosis, cuneiform writing was still employed, and tablets of dried clay.[2] It had, therefore, been found necessary to establish in the Pharaoh's palace a department for this service, in which the scribes should be competent to decipher the Chaldæan character. Dictionaries and easy mythological texts had been procured for their instruction, by means of

[1] Abimilki (Abimilki) demands on one occasion from the King of Egypt ten men to defend Tyre (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 30, *recto*, ll. 14–16, p. 64); on another occasion twenty (Ib., *ibid.*, No. 28, *verso*, ll. 17, 18, p. 58); the town of Gula requisitioned thirty or forty to guard it (Ib., *ibid.*, No. 45, *verso*, ll. 30–32, p. 93; cf. Halévy, *Correspondance d'Aménophis III*, etc., in the *Revue Sémitique*, vol. ii. p. 20). Delattre thinks that these are rhetorical expressions answering to a general word, just as if we should say "a handful of men" (*Lettres de Tell el-Amarna*, in the *Proceedings*, 1892-93, vol. xv. p. 508); the difference of value in the figures is to me a proof of their reality.

[2] A discovery made by the fellahîn, in 1887, at Tell el-Amarna, in the ruins of the palace of Khuniatonu (Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, pp. 23, 24), brought to light a portion of the correspondence between Asiatic monarchs, whether vassals or independent of Egypt, with the officers of Amenôthes III. and IV., and with these Pharaohs themselves. The bibliography of the principal publications called forth by the discovery is to be found in Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, pp. lxxxvii.–xcii.

which they had learned the meaning of words and the construction of sentences.[1] Having once mastered the mechanism of the syllabary, they set to work to translate the despatches, marking on the back of each the date and the place from whence it came, and if necessary making a draft of the reply.[2] In these the Pharaoh does not appear, as a rule, to have insisted on the endless titles which we find so lavishly used in his inscriptions, but the shortened protocol employed shows that the theory of his divinity was as fully acknowledged by strangers as it was by his own subjects. They greet him as their sun, the god before whom they prostrate themselves seven times seven, while they are his slaves, his dogs, and the dust beneath his feet.[3] The runners to whom these documents were entrusted, and who delivered them with their own hand, were not, as a rule, persons of any consideration; but for missions of grave importance "the king's messengers" were employed, whose functions in time became extended to a remarkable degree. Those who were restricted to a limited sphere of activity were called "the king's messengers for the regions of the south," or "the king's messengers for the regions of the north," according to their proficiency in the idiom and customs of Africa or of Asia. Others were deemed capable of undertaking missions wherever they might be required, and were, therefore, designated by the bold title of "the king's messengers for all lands."[4] In this case extended powers were conferred upon them, and they were permitted to cut short the disputes between two cities in some province they had to inspect, to excuse from tribute, to receive presents and hostages, and even princesses destined for the harem of the Pharaoh, and also to grant the support of troops to such as could give adequate reason for seeking it.[5] Their tasks were always of a delicate and not infrequently of a perilous nature, and constantly exposed them to the danger of being robbed by highwaymen or

[1] DELATTRE, *La Trouvaille de Tell el-Amarna*, pp. 16–18; cf. BOSCAWEN, *Syllabaries from Tel el-Amarna*, in *Babyl. and Oriental Record*, vol. vi. p. 120, and SAYCE in PETRIE, *Tell el-Amarna*, pp. 34–36.

[2] Several of these registrations are still to be read on the backs of the tablets at Berlin, London, and Gizeh (ERMAN-WINCKLER, *Verzeichniss der aus dem Funde herrührenden Thontafeln*, in *Zeitschrift*, 1889, vol. xxvii. pp. 62–64, and WINCKLER-ABEL, *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna*, pls. 5 *b*, 11, 19; SCHEIL, *Tablettes de Tell el-Amarna*, in the *Mém. de la Mission Française du Caire*, vol. vi. pp. 297–312).

[3] The protocols of the letters of Abdashirti may be taken as an example (WINCKLER-ABEL, *Der Thontafelfund*, No. 97, p. 99), or those of Abimilki (BEZOLD-BUDGE, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 30, p. lxi.) to Pharaoh (DELATTRE, *Lettres de Tell el-Amarna*, in *Proc. Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, 1892–93, vol. xv. pp. 501, 502, 505–508); sometimes there is a development of the protocol which assumes panegyrical features similar to those met with in Egypt (BEZOLD-BUDGE, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 28, p. 62, ll. 4–15).

[4] As to the fiscal functions of the messengers, see MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 38, 39; their political functions were brought to light in the Tel el-Amarna correspondence.

[5] The Tel el-Amarna correspondence shows the messengers in the time of Amenôthes III. and IV. as receiving tribute (*Letter from Asîrû*, in BEZOLD-BUDGE, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 35, p. 73, ll. 54–55), as bringing an army to the succour of a chief in difficulties (ID., *ibid.*, No. 29, p. 60, ll. 38–47), as threatening with the anger of the Pharaoh the princes of doubtful loyalty (WINCKLER-ABEL, *Der Thontafelfund*, etc., p. 85 *a*, *b*), as giving to a faithful vassal compliments and honours from his suzerain (*Letter of Abimilki*, in BEZOLD-BUDGE, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 29, pp. 62, 63), as charged with the conveyance of a gift of slaves (WINCKLER-ABEL, *Der Thontafelfund*, p. 30, verso, ll. 6, 7), or of escorting a princess to the harem of the Pharaoh (ID., *ibid.*, p. 18 *a*, recto, ll. 8–27).

maltreated by some insubordinate vassal, at times even running the risk of mutilation or assassination by the way.[1] They were obliged to brave the dangers of the forests of Lebanon and of the Taurus, the solitudes of Mesopotamia, the marshes of Chaldæa, the voyages to Pûanît and Asia Minor. Some took their way towards Assyria and Babylon, while others embarked at Tyre or Sidon for the islands of the Ægean Archipelago.[2] The endurance of all these officers, whether governors or messengers, their courage, their tact, the ready wit they were obliged to summon to help them out of the difficulties into which their calling frequently brought them, all tended to enlist the public sympathy in their favour.[3] Many of them achieved a reputation, and were made the heroes of popular romance. More than three centuries after it was still related how one of them, by name Thûtii, had reduced and humbled Jaffa, whose chief had refused to come to terms. Thûtii set about his task by feigning to throw off his allegiance to Thûtmosis III., and withdrew from the Egyptian service, having first stolen the great magic wand of his lord; he then invited the rebellious chief into his camp, under pretence of showing him this formidable talisman, and killed him after they had drunk together. The cunning envoy then packed five hundred of his soldiers into jars, and caused them to be carried on the backs of asses before the gates of the town, where he made the herald of the murdered prince proclaim that the Egyptians had been defeated, and that the pack train which accompanied him contained the spoil, among which was Thûtii himself. The officer in charge of the city gate was deceived by this harangue, the asses were admitted within the walls, where the soldiers quitted their jars, massacred the garrison, and made themselves masters of the town. The tale is, in the main, the story of Ali Baba and the forty thieves.[4]

The frontier was continually shifting, and Thûtmosis III., like Thûtmosis I.,

[1] A letter of Ribaddu, in the time of Amenôthes III., represents a royal messenger as blockaded in Byblos by the rebels (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 13, pp. 30, 31, ll. 34–42).

[2] We hear from the tablets of several messengers to Babylon, and the Mitanni, Rasi (Winckler-Abel, *Der Thontafelfund*, p. 1, ll. 16, 17), Mani (Id., *ibid.*, p. 18 *a*, *b*; Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, pp. 18–21), Khamassi (Winckler-Abel, *Der Thontafelfund*, p. 20, *recto*, l. 37). The royal messenger Thutii, who governed the countries of the north, speaks of having satisfied the heart of the king in "the isles which are in the midst of the sea" (Birch-Chabas, *Mémoire sur une Patère Égyptienne du Musée du Louvre*, pp. 4, 18, et seq.). This was not, as some think, a case of hyperbole (W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 368, note 1), for the messengers could embark on Phœnician vessels; they had a less distance to cover in order to reach the Ægean than the royal messenger of Queen Hâtshopsîtû had before arriving at the country of the Somalis and the "Ladders of Incense" (see p. 246, et seq., of the present work).

[3] The hero of the *Anastasi Papyrus*, No. 1, with whom Chabas made us acquainted in his *Voyage d'un Égyptien*, is probably a type of the "messenger" of the time of Ramses II.; in any case, his itinerary and adventures are natural to a "royal messenger" compelled to traverse Syria alone.

[4] The story of Thûtii was discovered and published by Goodwin, *Translation of a Fragment of an Historical Narrative relating to the Reign of Thotmes III.*, in the *Transactions* of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. iii. p. 340, et seq., afterwards translated and annotated by Maspero, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 49–72; cf. *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte antique*, 2nd edit., pp. 147–160, and Prof. F. Petrie, *Egyptian Tales*, 2nd series, pp. 1–12. The resemblance to Ali Baba and the forty thieves was pointed out by Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, pp. 103, 104.

vainly endeavoured to give it a fixed character by erecting stelæ along the banks of the Euphrates, at those points where he contended it had run formerly.[1] While Kharu and Phœnicia were completely in the hands of the conqueror, his suzerainty became more uncertain as it extended northwards in the direction of the Taurus. Beyond Qodshû, it could only be maintained by means of constant supervision, and in Naharaim its duration was coextensive with the sojourn of the conqueror in the locality during his campaign, for it vanished of itself as soon as he had set out on his return to Africa. It will be thus seen that, on the continent of Asia, Egypt possessed a nucleus of territories, so far securely under her rule that they might be actually reckoned as provinces; beyond this immediate domain there was a zone of waning influence, whose area varied with each reign, and even under one king depended largely on the activity which he personally displayed. This was always the case when the rulers of Egypt attempted to carry their supremacy beyond the Isthmus; whether under the Ptolemies or the native kings, the distance to which her influence extended was always practically the same, and the teaching of history enables us to note its limits on the map with relative accuracy.[2] The coast towns which were in maritime communication with the ports of the Delta, submitted to the Egyptian yoke more readily than those of the interior. But this submission could not be reckoned on beyond Berytus, on the banks of the Lykos, though occasionally it stretched a little further north as far as Byblos and Arvad; even then it did not extend inland, and the curve marking its limits traverses Cœle-Syria from north-west to south-east, terminating at Mount Hermon. Damascus, securely entrenched behind Anti-Lebanon, almost always lay outside this limit. The rulers of Egypt generally succeeded without much difficulty in keeping possession of the countries lying to the south of this line; it demanded merely a slight effort, and this could be furnished for several centuries without encroaching seriously on the resources of the country, or endangering its prosperity. When, however, some province ventured to break away from the control of Egypt, the whole mechanism of the government was put into operation to provide soldiers and the necessary means for an expedition. Each stage of the advance beyond the frontier demanded a greater expenditure of energy, which, with prolonged distances, would naturally become exhausted. The expedition would scarcely

[1] See the mention of these stelæ at pp. 210, 265 of the present work. None of those which were erected in Naharaim exist now, but we still have some others at the mouth of the Nahr el-Kelb, which were put up in the time of Ramses II. (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 197).

[2] The development of the Egyptian navy enabled the Ptolemies to exercise authority over the coasts of Asia Minor and of Thrace, but this extension of their power beyond the indicated limits only hastened the exhaustion of their empire (Droysen, *Geschichte des Epigonen*, 2nd edit., vol. ii. pp. 101–103). This instance, like that of Mahomet Ali, thus confirms the position taken up in the text.

have reached the Taurus or the Euphrates, before the force of circumstances would bring about its recall homewards, leaving but a slight bond of vassalage between the recently subdued countries and the conqueror, which would speedily be cast off or give place to relations dictated by interest or courtesy. Thûtmosis III. had to submit to this sort of necessary law; a further extension of territory had hardly been gained when his dominion began to shrink within the frontiers that appeared to have been prescribed by nature for an empire like that of Egypt. Kharû and Phœnicia proper paid him their tithes with due regularity; the cities of the Amurru and of Zahi, of Damascus, Qodshû, Hamath, and even of Tunipa, lying on the outskirts of these two subject nations, formed an ill-defined borderland, kept in a state of perpetual disturbance by the secret intrigues or open rebellions of the native princes. The kings of Alasia, Naharaim, and Mitanni preserved their independence in spite of repeated reverses, and they treated with the conqueror on equal terms.[1] The tone of their letters to the Pharaoh, the polite formulas with which they addressed him, the special protocol which the Egyptian ministry had drawn up for their reply, all differ widely from those which we see in the despatches coming from commanders of garrisons or actual vassals. In the former it is no longer a slave or a feudatory addressing his master and awaiting his orders, but equals holding courteous communication with each other, the brother of Alasia or of Mitanni with his brother of Egypt. They inform him of their good health, and then, before entering on business, they express their good wishes for himself, his wives, his sons, the lords of his court, his brave soldiers, and for his horses. They were careful never to forget that with a single word their correspondent could let loose upon them a whirlwind of chariots and archers without number, but the respect they felt for his formidable power never degenerated into a fear which would humiliate them before him with their faces in the dust.

This interchange of diplomatic compliments was called for by a variety of exigencies, such as incidents arising on the frontier, secret intrigues, personal alliances, and questions of general politics. The kings of Mesopotamia and of Northern Syria, even those of Assyria and Chaldæa, who were preserved by distance from the dangers of a direct invasion, were in constant fear of an unexpected war, and heartily desired the downfall of Egypt; they endeavoured meanwhile to occupy the Pharaoh so fully at home that he had no leisure to attack them. Even if they did not venture to give open encouragement to the disposition in his subjects to revolt, they at least experienced no scruple in hiring emissaries who secretly fanned the flame of discontent. The Pharaoh,

[1] The difference of tone between the letters of these kings and those of the other princes, as well as the consequences arising from it, has been clearly defined by DELATTRE, *La Correspondance Asiatique d'Aménôthès III. et d'Aménôthès IV.*, in the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, vol. li. pp. 354–361.

aroused to indignation by such plotting, reminded them of their former oaths and treaties. The king in question would thereupon deny everything, would speak of his tried friendship, and recall the fact that he had refused to help a rebel against his beloved brother.[1] These protestations of innocence were usually accompanied by presents, and produced a twofold effect. They soothed the anger of the offended party, and suggested not only a courteous answer, but the sending of still more valuable gifts. Oriental etiquette, even in those early times, demanded that the present of a less rich or powerful friend should place the recipient under the obligation of sending back a gift of still greater worth. Every one, therefore, whether great or little, was obliged to regulate his liberality according to the estimation in which he held himself, or to the opinion which others formed of him, and a personage of such opulence as the King of Egypt was constrained by the laws of common civility to display an almost boundless generosity: was he not free to work the mines of the Divine Land or the diggings of the Upper Nile; and as for gold, "was it not as the dust of his country"?[2] He would have desired nothing better than to exhibit such liberality, had not the repeated calls on his purse at last constrained him to parsimony; he would have been ruined, and Egypt with him, had he given all that was expected of him.[3] Except in a few extraordinary cases, the gifts sent never realised the expectations of the recipients; for instance, when twenty or thirty pounds of precious metal were looked for, the amount despatched would be merely two or three. The indignation of these disappointed beggars and their recriminations were then most amusing: "From the time when my father and thine entered into friendly relations, they loaded each other with presents, and never waited to be asked to exchange amenities;[4] and now my brother sends me two minas of gold as a gift! Send me abundance of gold, as much as thy father sent, and even, for so it must be, more than

[1] See the letter of Amenôthes III. to Kallimmasin of Babylon, where the King of Egypt complains of the criminal designs which the Babylonian messengers had planned against him, and of the intrigues they had concocted on their return to their own country (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 1, verso, pp. 2, 3, l. 66, et seq.; cf. Delattre, *Lettres de Tell el-Amarna*, in the *Proceedings*, 1892-93, vol. xv. pp. 27, 28); see also the letter from Burnaburiash to Amenôthes IV., in which he defends himself from the accusation of having plotted against the King of Egypt at any time, and recalls the circumstance that his father Kurigalzu had refused to encourage the rebellion of one of the Syrian tribes, subjects of Amenôthes III. (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 2, pp. 6, 7, ll. 19-30).

[2] See the letter of Dushratta, King of Mitanni, to the Pharaoh Amenôthes IV. (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 28, pp. 20, 21, verso, ll. 61, 62).

[3] See Delattre, *Mariages princiers en Égypte*, in the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, vol. li. p. 228, et seq., and *Correspondance Asiatique d'Aménophis III., etc.*, ibid., vol. liv. pp. 360, 361, 380-382.

[4] Burnaburiash complains that the king's messengers had only brought him on one occasion two minas of gold (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 3, p. 6, l. 14), on another occasion twenty minas; moreover, that the quality of the metal was so bad that hardly five minas of pure gold could be extracted from it (Id., *ibid.*, p. 8, verso, ll. 18-21; cf. Halévy, *La Correspondance d'Aménophis III., etc.*, in the *Revue Sémitique*, vol. i. pp. 50-52).

thy father."[1] Pretexts were never wanting to give reasonable weight to such demands: one correspondent had begun to build a temple or a palace in one of his capitals,[2] another was reserving his fairest daughter for the Pharaoh, and he gave him to understand that anything he might receive would help to complete the bride's trousseau.[3] The princesses thus sent from Babylon or Mitanni to the court of Thebes enjoyed on their arrival a more honourable welcome, and were assigned a more exalted rank than those who came from Kharû and Phœnicia. As a matter of fact, they were not hostages given over to the conqueror to be disposed of at will, but queens who were united in legal marriage to an ally.[4] Once admitted to the Pharaoh's court, they retained their full rights as his wife, as well as their own fortune and mode of life. Some would bring to their betrothed chests of jewels, utensils, and stuffs, the enumeration of which would cover both sides of a large tablet;[5] others would arrive escorted by several hundred slaves or matrons as personal attendants.[6] A few of them preserved their original name,[7] many assumed an Egyptian designation,[8] and so far adapted themselves to the costumes, manners, and language of their adopted country, that they dropped all intercourse with their native land, and became regular Egyptians. When, after

[1] Literally, "and they would never make each other a fair request." The meaning I propose is doubtful, but it appears to be required by the context. The letter from which this passage was taken is from Burnaburiash, King of Babylon, to Amenôthes IV. (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 2, *recto*, p. 6, ll. 7-13).

[2] This is the pretext advanced by Burnaburiash in the letter just cited, ll. 15, 16.

[3] This seems to have been the motive in a somewhat embarrassing letter which Dushratta, King of Mitanni, wrote to the Pharaoh Amenôthes III. on the occasion of his fixing the dowry of his daughter (Winckler-Abel, *Der Thontafelfund*, p. 18 a, b; cf. Delattre, *Lettres de Tell el-Amarna*, in the *Proceedings Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, 1890-91, vol. xiii. pp. 552, 553).

[4] For the condition of these women, see Delattre, *Mariages princiers en Égypte, d'après les lettres de Tell el-Amarna*, in the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, vol. li. pp. 222-235, and *La Correspondance Asiatique d'Aménophis III., etc.*, *ibid.*, vol. liv. pp. 362-379. The daughter of the King of the Khâti, wife of Ramses II., was treated, as we see from the monuments, with as much honour as would have been accorded to Egyptian princesses of pure blood (Mariette, *Fragments relatifs aux fouilles de Sân*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ix. pp. 10, 13).

[5] Winckler-Abel, *Der Thontafelfund*, pp. 23, 26, where the objects belonging to the dowry of the sister of King Dushratta of Mitanni, are enumerated on the occasion of her marriage with Amenôthes IV.

[6] Gilukhîpa, who was sent to Egypt to become the wife of Amenôthes III., took with her a company of three hundred and seventy women for her service (Brugsch, *Ueber ein merkwürdiges historisches Denkmal aus der Zeiten Amenophis III.*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1880, pp. 81-87; Birch, *Scarabæi of Amenophis III.*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. xii. pp. 39, 40). She was a daughter of Sutarna, King of Mitanni, and is mentioned several times in the Tel el-Amarna correspondence (Erman, *Noten aus den Tafeln von El-Amarna*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxviii. p. 112; Krall, *Tatûm-hipa und Gilu-hipa*, *ibid.*, p. 113; Winckler, *Sutarna, König von Naharina*, *ibid.*, pp. 114, 115).

[7] For example, Gilukhîpa, whose name is transcribed Kilagipa in Egyptian, and another princess of Mitanni, niece of Gilukhîpa, called Tadukhîpa, daughter of Dushratta and wife of Amenôthes IV. (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 9, p. 22, ll. 5, 6).

[8] The prince of the Khâti's daughter who married Ramses II. is an example; we know her only by her Egyptian name Maâûnofirûrî (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 196 *a*; Mariette, *Fragments et documents relatifs aux fouilles de Sân*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ix. pp. 10, 13). The wife of Ramses III. (Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, Nos. 490, 491) added to the Egyptian name of Isis her original name, Hamazarati.

several years, an ambassador arrived with greetings from their father or brother, he would be puzzled by the changed appearance of these ladies, and would almost doubt their identity; indeed, those only who had been about them in childhood were in such cases able to recognise them.[1] These princesses all adopted the gods of their husbands,[2] though without necessarily renouncing their own. From time to time their parents would send them, with much pomp, a statue of one of their national divinities—Ishtar, for example—which, accompanied by native priests, would remain for some months at the court.[3] The children of these queens ranked next in order to those whose mothers belonged to the solar race, but nothing prevented them marrying their brothers or sisters of pure descent, and being eventually raised to the throne. The members of their families who remained in Asia were naturally proud of these bonds of close affinity with the Pharaoh, and they rarely missed an opportunity of reminding him in their letters that they stood to him in the relationship of brother-in-law, or one of his fathers-in-law; their vanity stood them in good stead, since it afforded them another claim on the favours which they were perpetually asking of him.[4]

These foreign wives had often to interfere in some of the contentions which were bound to arise between two States whose subjects were in constant intercourse with one another. Invasions or provincial wars may have affected or even temporarily suspended the passage to and fro of caravans between the countries of the Tigris and those of the Nile; but as soon as peace was re-established, even though it were the insecure peace of those distant ages, the desert traffic was again resumed and carried on with renewed vigour. The Egyptian traders who penetrated into regions beyond the Euphrates, carried with them, and almost unconsciously disseminated along the whole extent of their route, the numberless products of Egyptian industry, hitherto but little known outside their own country, and rendered expensive owing to the difficulty of transmission or the greed of the merchants. The Syrians now saw for the first time in great quantities, objects which had been known to them hitherto merely through the few rare specimens which made

[1] This was the case with the daughter of Kallimmasin, King of Babylon, married to Amenôthes III. (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 1, pp. 2-4, ll. 22-32, and pp. xxvi., xxvii.; cf. Delattre, *Lettres de Tell el-Amarna*, in the *Proceedings*, 1892-93, vol. xv. pp. 26, 27; Halévy, *La Correspondance d'Aménophis III.*, etc., in the *Revue Sémitique*, vol. i. p. 51): her father's ambassador did not recognise her.

[2] The daughter of the King of the Khâti, wife of Ramses II., is represented in an attitude of worship before her deified husband and two Egyptian gods (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 196 *a*).

[3] Dushratta of Mitanni, sending a statue of Ishtar to his daughter, wife of Amenôthes III., reminds her that the same statue had already made the voyage to Egypt in the time of his father Sutarna (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 10, pp. 24, 25, ll. 13-32, and pp. xlii., xliii.).

[4] Dushratta of Mitanni never loses an opportunity of calling Amenôthes III., husband of his sister Gilukhipa, and of one of his daughters, "akhiya," my brother, and "khatani-ya," my son-in-law (Winckler-Abel, *Der Thontafelfund*, p. 17, ll. 1-8).



THE LOTANU AND THE [illegible] CONTRIBUTING THEIR TRIBUTE.[1]

their way across the frontier: arms, stuffs, metal implements, household utensils—in fine, all the objects which ministered to daily needs or to luxury. These were now offered to them at reasonable prices, either by the hawkers who accompanied the army or by the soldiers themselves, always ready, as soldiers are, to part with their possessions in order to procure a few extra pleasures in the intervals of fighting. On the other hand, whole convoys of spoil were despatched to Egypt after every successful campaign, and their contents were distributed in varying proportions among all classes of society, from the militiaman belonging to some feudal contingent, who received, as a reward of his valour, some half-dozen necklaces or bracelets, to the great lord of ancient family or the Crown Prince, who carried off waggon-loads of booty in their train. These distributions must have stimulated a passion for all Syrian goods, and as the spoil was insufficient to satisfy the increasing demands of

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Insinger. The scene here reproduced occurs in most of the Theban tombs of the XVIIIth dynasty.

the consumer, the waning commerce which had been carried on from early times was once more revived and extended, till every route, whether by land or water, between Thebes, Memphis, and the Asiatic cities, was thronged by those engaged in its pursuit. It would take too long to enumerate the various objects of merchandise brought in almost daily to the marts on the Nile by Phœnician vessels or the owners of caravans.[1] They comprised slaves destined for the workshop or the harem,[2] Hittite bulls and stallions, horses from Singar, oxen from Alasia,[3] rare and curious animals such as elephants from Nii, and brown bears from the Lebanon,[4] smoked and salted fish, live birds of many-coloured plumage,[5] goldsmiths' work[6] and precious stones, of which lapis-lazuli was the chief, wood for building or for ornamental work—pine, cypress, yew, cedar, and oak,[7] musical instruments,[8] helmets, leathern jerkins covered with metal scales, weapons of bronze and iron,[9]

[1] A partial list has been drawn up by Brugsch, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 312–315; by Erman, *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben*, pp. 681, 682; by Bondi, *Dem Hebräisch-Phönizischen Sprachzweige angehörige Lehnwörter*, p. 24, et seq.; and by W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 305–309.

[2] Syrian slaves are mentioned along with Ethiopian in the *Anastasi Papyrus*, No. 1, pl. xvi. ll. 3–5; and there is mention in the Tel el-Amarna correspondence of Hittite slaves whom Dushratta of Mitanni brought to Amenôthes III. (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 9, p. 23, ll. 26–38), and of other presents of the same kind made by the King of Alasia as a testimony of his grateful homage.

[3] *Anastasi Papyrus*, No. 1, pl. xvii. ll. 8, 9; cf. as to the horses, p. 215 of the present work.

[4] The elephant and the bear are represented on the tomb of Rakhmiri among the articles of tribute brought into Egypt (Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., pl. clxxvi. 1, 2; Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. xxii. 3, 5; Virey, *Le Tombeau de Rekhmara*, pl. vii., in the *Mémoires de la Mission*, vol. v.; Hamy, *Études sur les peintures ethniques d'un tombeau thébain*, pp. 14–16).

[5] *Annals of Thûtmosis III.*, ll. 24, 25; Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 13, l. 24.

[6] The *Annals of Thûtmosis III.* make a record in each campaign of the importation of gold and silver vases, objects in lapis-lazuli and crystal, or of blocks of the same materials (ll. 3, 5, 6, 14, 15, 22, 25, 26, 31, 32, 33, 35); the Theban tombs of this period afford examples of the vases and blocks brought by the Syrians (Virey, *Le Tombeau de Rekhmara*, pls. v., vii., viii., in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. v.; *Le Tombeau de Ramenkhopersenb*, *ibid.*, p. 202, et seq.). The Tell el-Amarna letters also mention vessels of gold or blocks of precious stone sent as presents or as objects of exchange to the Pharaoh by the King of Babylon (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 2, p. 7, l. 36, No. 3, p. 9, ll. 40–44), by the King of Mitanni (Id., *ibid.*, No. 9, p. 23, ll. 41–43), by the King of the Hittites (Winckler-Abel, *Der Thontafelfund*, p. 14, ll. 11–35), and by other princes. The lapis-lazuli of Babylon, which probably came from Persia, was that which was most prized by the Egyptians on account of the golden specks in it, which enlivened the blue colour; this is, perhaps, the Uknu of the cuneiform inscriptions, which has been read for a long time as "crystal" (Lyon, *On a Lapis-lazuli Disc bearing a Cuneiform Inscription*, in the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, 1889, pp. cxxiv.–cxxvii.; Steindorff, *Uqnû Stein = Lapis-Lazuli*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. viii. pp. 194–197).

[7] Building and ornamental woods are often mentioned in the inscriptions of Thûtmosis III. (*Annals*, ll. 26, 31, 32, 34). A scene at Karnak represents Seti I. causing building-wood to be cut in the region of the Lebanon (Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., pl. ccxcxiv., and vol. ii. pp. 87, 88; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. xlvi. 1). A letter of the King of Alasia speaks of contributions of wood which several of his subjects had to make to the King of Egypt (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 5, p. 12, ll. 27–29, and p. xxxv.).

[8] Some stringed instruments of music, and two or three kinds of flutes and flageolets, are designated in Egyptian by names borrowed from some Semitic tongue—a fact which proves that they were imported (*Anastasi Papyrus*, No. 4, pl. xii. l. 1, et seq.); the wooden framework of the harp, decorated with sculptured heads of Astarté, figures among the objects coming from Syria in the temple of the Theban Amon (Prisse, *Hist. de l'Art Égyptien*, vol. ii. pl. 97); cf. the cut on p. 285 of the present work.

[9] Several names of arms borrowed from some Semitic dialect have been noticed in the texts of this period. The objects as well as the words must have been imported into Egypt, e.g. the quiver (*Anastasi Papyrus*, No. 1, pl. xxv. l. 7; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, vol. i. pl. ix. l. 25), the



THE BEAR AND ELEPHANT BROUGHT AS TRIBUTE IN THE TOMB OF RAKHMIRI.[1]

chariots,[2] dyed and embroidered stuffs,[3] perfumes,[4] dried cakes, oil, wines of Kharu, liqueurs from Alasia, Khâti, Singar, Naharaim, Amurru, and beer from Qodi.[5] On arriving at the frontier, whether by sea or by land, the majority

sword and javelins used by the charioteers (*Anastasi Papyrus*, No. 1, pl. xvii. l. 7). Cuirasses and leathern jerkins are mentioned in the inscriptions of Thûtmosis III. (*Annals*, ll. 11, 41; Maspero, *Le récit de la campagne contre Megiddo*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ii. p. 47).

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph of Prisse d'Avennes' sketch.

[2] Chariots plated with gold and silver figure frequently among the spoils of Thûtmosis III. (Maspero, *Récit de la campagne*, etc., in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ii. pp. 142-144, 146, 147, 149, 150; *Annals*, ll. 8-11, 34-42). The *Anastasi Papyrus*, No. 1, contains a detailed description of Syrian chariots—Markabûti—with a reference to the localities where certain parts of them were made:—the country of the Amurru, that of Aûpa, the town of Pahura (pl. xvi. l. 6, et seq.). The Tel el-Amarna correspondence mentions very frequently chariots sent to the Pharaoh by the King of Babylon, either as presents (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 2, p. 7, ll. 37, 38) or to be sold in Egypt (Id., *ibid.*, No. 1, p. 3, ll. 88-95); others sent by the King of Alasia (Id., *ibid.*, No. 6, p. 14, ll. 21, 22) and by the King of Mitanni (Id., *ibid.*, No. 9, p. 23, ll. 36-40).

[3] Some linen, cotton, or woollen stuffs are mentioned in the *Anastasi Papyrus*, No. 4, pl. xvii. l. 2, et seq., and elsewhere as coming from Syria. The Egyptian love of white linen always prevented their estimating highly the coloured and brocaded stuffs of Asia, and one sees nowhere, in the representations, any examples of stuffs of such origin, except on furniture or in ships equipped with something of the kind in the form of sails.

[4] The perfumed oils of Syria are mentioned in a general way in the *Anastasi Papyrus*, No. 1, pl. xv. ll. 4, 5, pl. xvi. l. 3; the King of Alasia speaks of essences which he is sending to Amenôthes III. (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 6, pp. 14, 15, ll. 23, 50-53); the King of Mitanni refers to bottles of oil which he is forwarding to Gilukhipa (Id., *ibid.*, No. 9, p. 22, l. 44) and to Tii (No. 11, p. 27, ll. 56-58).

[5] A list of cakes of Syrian origin is found in the *Anastasi Papyrus* (No. 4, pl. xvii. ll. 5, 6); also a reference to balsamic oils from Naharaim, and to various oils which had arrived in the ports of the Delta (pl. xv. ll. 4, 5), to the wines of Syria (pl. xvi. l. 1), to palm wine and various liqueurs manufactured in Alasia, in Singar, among the Khati, Amorites, and the people of Tikhisa (pl. xv. ll. 2-4); finally, to the beer of Qodi (pl. xvi. ll. 1, 4).

of these objects had to pay the custom dues which were rigorously collected by the officers of the Pharaoh. This, no doubt, was a reprisal tariff, since independent sovereigns, such as those of Mitanni, Assyria, and Babylon, were accustomed to impose a similar duty on all the products of Egypt.[1] The latter, indeed, supplied more than she received, for many articles which reached her in their raw condition were, by means of native industry, worked up and exported as ornaments, vases, and highly decorated weapons, which, in the course of international traffic, were dispersed to all four corners of the earth. The merchants of Babylon and Assyria had little to fear as long as they kept within the domains of their own sovereign or in those of the Pharaoh; but no sooner did they venture within the borders of those turbulent states which separated the two great powers, than they were exposed to dangers at every turn. Safe-conducts were of little use if they had not taken the additional precaution of providing a strong escort and carefully guarding their caravan, for the Shausû concealed in the depths of the Lebanon or the needy sheikhs of Kharû could never resist the temptation to rob the passing traveller.[2] The victims complained to their king, who felt no hesitation in passing on their woes to the sovereign under whose rule the pillagers were supposed to live. He demanded their punishment, but his request was not always granted, owing to the difficulties of finding out and seizing the offenders. An indemnity, however, could be obtained which would nearly compensate the merchants for the loss sustained. In many cases justice had but little to do with the negotiations, in which self-interest was the chief motive; but repeated refusals would have discouraged traders, and by lessening the facilities of transit, have diminished the revenue which the state drew from its foreign commerce.

The question became a more delicate one when it concerned the rights of subjects residing out of their native country. Foreigners, as a rule, were well received in Egypt; the whole country was open to them; they could marry, they could acquire houses and lands, they enjoyed permission to follow their own religion unhindered, they were eligible for public honours, and more than one of the officers of the crown whose tombs we see at Thebes were themselves

[1] See SAYCE, *Patriarchal Palestine*, pp. 84, 85; cf. MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 47–50; and see BRUGSCH, *Die Ægyptologie*, pp. 217, 255, for the mention of the maritime custom-house.

[2] The scribe who in the reign of Ramses II. composed the *Travels of an Egyptian*, speaks in several places of marauding tribes and robbers, who infested the roads followed by the hero (*Anastasi Papyrus*, No. I, pl. xx. ll. 1–6; pl. xxiii. ll. 6, 7; pl. xxiv. l. 8; pl. xxv. l. 7, et seq.). The Tel el-Amarna correspondence contains a letter from the King of Alasia, who exculpates himself from being implicated in the harsh treatment certain Egyptians had received in passing through his territory (WINCKLER-ABEL, *Der Thontafelfund*, p. 10, ll. 7–22); and another letter in which the King of Babylon complains that Chaldæan merchants had been robbed at Khinnatun, in Galilee, by the Prince of Akku (Acre) and his accomplices: one of them had his feet cut off, and the other was still a prisoner in Akku, and Burnaburiash demands from Amenôthes IV. the death of the guilty persons (WINCKLER-ABEL, *Der Thontafelfund*, p. 7, l. 8, et seq.).

Syrians, or born of Syrian parents on the banks of the Nile.[1] Hence, those who settled in Egypt without any intention of returning to their own country enjoyed all the advantages possessed by the natives, whereas those who took up a merely temporary abode there were more limited in their privileges. They were granted the permission to hold property in the country, and also the right to buy and sell there, but they were not allowed to transmit their possessions at will, and if by chance they died on Egyptian soil, their goods lapsed as a forfeit to the crown. The heirs remaining in the native country of the dead man, who were ruined by this confiscation, sometimes petitioned the king to interfere in their favour with a view of obtaining restitution. If the Pharaoh consented to waive his right of forfeiture, and made over the confiscated objects or their equivalent to the relatives of the deceased, it was solely by an act of mercy, and as an example to foreign governments to treat Egyptians with a like clemency should they chance to proffer a similar request.[2] It is also not improbable that the sovereigns themselves had a personal interest in more than one commercial undertaking, and that they were the partners, or, at any rate, interested in the enterprises, of many of their subjects, so that any loss sustained by one of the latter would eventually fall upon themselves. They had, in fact, reserved to themselves the privilege of carrying on several lucrative industries, and of disposing of the products to foreign buyers, either to those who purchased them out and out, or else through the medium of agents, to whom they intrusted certain quantities of the goods for warehousing. The King of Babylon, taking advantage of the fashion which prompted the Egyptians to acquire objects of Chaldæan goldsmiths' and cabinet-makers' art, caused ingots of gold to be sent to him by the Pharaoh, which he returned worked up into vases, ornaments, household utensils, and plated chariots. He further fixed the value of all such objects, and took a considerable commission for having acted as intermediary in the transaction.[3] In Alasia, which was the land of metals, the king appears to have held a monopoly of the bronze. Whether he smelted it in the country, or received it from more distant regions ready prepared, we cannot say, but he claimed and retained for himself the payment for all that the Pharaoh deigned to order of him.[4]

[1] See letter from the King of Alasia (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 5, p. 13, ll. 30–34), where there is question of a merchant who had died in Egypt. Among other monuments proving the presence of Syrians about the Pharaoh, is the stele of Ben-Azana, of the town of Zairabizana (cf. Sayce, *Correspondence between Palestine and Egypt*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. v. p. 90, note 1), surnamed Ramses-Empiri (Mariette, *Abydos*, vol. ii. pl. 50, and *Cat. Générale des Monuments d'Abydos*, No. 1136, pp. 422, 423): he was surrounded with Semites like himself.

[2] All this seems to result from a letter in which the King of Alasia demands from Amenôthes III. the restitution of the goods of one of his subjects who had died in Egypt (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 5, p. 13, ll. 30–34, and p. xxxv.; cf. Boscawen, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, in *Babyl. and Oriental Record*, vol. vi. pp. 30, 31); the tone of the letter is that of one asking a favour, and on the supposition that the King of Egypt had a right to keep the property of a foreigner dying on his territory.

[3] Letter of Burnaburiash to Amenôthes IV. (cf. Delattre, *La Correspondance Asiatique d'Aménophis III.*, etc., in the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, vol. liv. pp. 382–387).

[4] Letter from the King of Alasia to Amenôthes III. (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 5,

From such instances we can well understand the jealous watch which these sovereigns exercised, lest any individual connected with corporations of workmen should leave the kingdom and establish himself in another country without special permission. Any emigrant who opened a workshop and initiated his new compatriots in the technique or professional secrets of his craft, was regarded by the authorities as the most dangerous of all evil-doers. By thus introducing his trade into a rival state, he deprived his own people of a good customer, and thus rendered himself liable to the penalties inflicted on those who were guilty of treason. His savings were confiscated, his house razed to the ground, and his whole family—parents, wives, and children—treated as partakers in his crime. As for himself, if justice succeeded in overtaking him, he was punished with death, or at least with mutilation, such as the loss of eyes and ears, or amputation of the feet.[1] This severity did not prevent the frequent occurrence of such cases, and it was found necessary to deal with them by the insertion of a special extradition clause in treaties of peace and other alliances. The two contracting parties decided against conceding the right of habitation to skilled workmen who should take refuge with either party on the territory of the other, and they agreed to seize such workmen forthwith, and mutually restore them, but under the express condition that neither they nor any of their belongings should incur any penalty for the desertion of their country. It would be curious to know if all the arrangements agreed to by the kings of those times were sanctioned, as in the above instance, by properly drawn up agreements. Certain expressions occur in their correspondence which seem to prove that this was the case, and that the relations between them, of which we can catch traces, resulted not merely from a state of things which, according to their ideas, did not necessitate any diplomatic sanction, but from conventions agreed to after some war, or entered on without any previous struggle, when there was no question at issue between the two states.[2] When once the Syrian conquest had been effected, Egypt gave permanency to its results by means of a series of international decrees, which officially established the constitution of her empire, and brought about her concerted action with the Asiatic powers.

p. 12, ll. 10–22), where, whilst pretending to have nothing else in view than making a present to his royal brother, he proposes to make an exchange of some bronze for the products of Egypt, especially for gold.

[1] *Treaty of Ramses II. with the King of the Khâti*, §§ xii.–xvi., xx., xxi.; cf. E. de Rougé, *Traité entre Ramsès II. et le prince de Chéta*, in Egger, *Études sur les traités publics*, pp. 248–251, and Chabas, *Voyage d'un Égyptien*, pp. 337–339.

[2] The treaty of Ramses II. with the King of the Khâti, the only one which has come down to us, was a renewal of other treaties effected one after the other between the fathers and grandfathers of the two contracting sovereigns (§ viii.; cf. E. de Rougé, *Traité entre Ramsès II. et le prince de Chéta*, p. 247, and Chabas, *Voyage d'un Égyptien*, p. 336). Some of the Tel el-Amarna letters probably refer to treaties of this kind; e.g. that of Burnaburiash of Babylon, who says that since the time of Karaindash there had been an exchange of ambassadors and friendship between the sovereigns of Chaldæa and of Egypt (Budge-Bezold, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 3, p. 8, ll. 8–10), and also that of Dushratta of Mitanni, who reminds Queen Tîi of the secret negotiations which had taken place between him and Amenôthes III. (Id., *ibid.*, No. 11, p. 29, ll. 17, 18).

She already occupied an important position among them, when Thûtmosis III. died, on the last day of Phamenoth, in the LV[th] year of his reign.[1] He was buried, probably, at Deir el-Bahari, in the family tomb wherein the most illustrious members of his house had been laid to rest since the time of Thûtmosis I. His mummy was not securely hidden away, for towards the close of the XX[th] dynasty it was torn out of the coffin by robbers, who stripped it and rifled it of the jewels with which it was covered, injuring it in their haste to carry away the spoil. It was subsequently re-interred, and has remained undisturbed until the present day; but before re-burial some renovation of the wrappings was necessary, and as portions of the body had become loose, the restorers, in order to give the mummy the necessary firmness, compressed it between four oar-shaped slips of wood, painted white, and placed, three inside the wrappings and one outside, under the bands which confined the winding-sheet. Happily the face, which had been plastered over with pitch at the time of embalming, did not suffer at all from this rough treatment, and appeared intact when the protecting mask was removed. Its appearance does not answer to our ideal of the conqueror. His statues, though not representing him as a type of manly beauty, yet give him refined, intelligent features, but a comparison with the mummy shows that the artists have idealised their model. The forehead is abnormally low, the eyes deeply sunk, the jaw heavy, the lips thick, and the cheek-bones extremely prominent, the whole recalling the physiognomy of Thûtmosis II., though with a greater show of energy. Thûtmosis III. is a fellah of the old stock, squat, thickset, vulgar in character and expression, but not lacking in firmness and vigour.[3] Amenôthes II., who succeeded him, must have closely



THE MUMMY OF THÛTMOSIS III.[2]

[1] *Inscription of Amenemhabi*, ll. 35-37; cf. Ebers, *Thaten und Zeit Tutmes III.*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1873, p. 7, and Chabas, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 3rd series, vol. i. pp. 288, 302-304. Dr. Mahler (*König Thutmosis III.*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1889, pp. 97-105) has, with great precision, fixed the date of the accession of Thûtmosis III. as the 20th of March, 1503, and that of his death as the 14th of February, 1449 B.C. I have mentioned (*Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 209, 210) the reasons which seem to me to make the application of astronomical calculations to Egyptian dates difficult. I do not think that the data furnished to Dr. Mahler by Brugsch will admit of such exact conclusions being drawn from them, and I should fix the fifty-four years of the reign of Thûtmosis III. in a less detailed manner, between 1550 and 1490 B.C., allowing, as I have said before, for an error of half a century more or less in the dates which go back to the time of the second Theban empire.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the photograph taken by Emil Brugsch-Bey in 1881; cf. Maspero, *Les Momies royales de Deir el-Bahari*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pl. vi. A.

[3] Id., *ibid.*, in the *Mémoires*, vol. i. pp. 547, 548. The restored remains allow us to estimate the height at about 5 ft. 3 in. By the orders of Mons. Grébaut, the head has been freed from the mask of bitumen which covered it.



HEAD OF THE MUMMY OF THÛTMOSIS III.[3]

resembled him, if we may trust his official portraits. He was the son of a princess of the blood, Hâtshopsîtû II., daughter of the great Hâtshopsîtû,[1] and consequently he came into his inheritance with stronger claims to it than any other Pharaoh since the time of Amenôthes I. Possibly his father may have associated him with himself on the throne as soon as the young prince attained his majority;[2] at any rate, his accession aroused no appreciable opposition in the country, and if any difficulties were made, they must have come from outside. It is always a dangerous moment in the existence of a newly formed empire when its founder having passed away, and the conquered people not having yet become accustomed to a subject condition, they are called upon to submit to a successor of whom they know little or nothing. It is always problematical whether the new sovereign will display as great activity and be as successful as the old one; whether he will be capable of turning to good account the armies which his predecessor commanded with such skill, and led so bravely against the enemy; whether, again, he will have sufficient tact to estimate correctly the burden of taxation which each province is capable of bearing, and to lighten it when there is a risk of its becoming too heavy. If he does not show from the first that it is his purpose to maintain his patrimony intact at all costs, or if his officers, no longer controlled by a strong hand, betray any indecision in command, his subjects will become unruly, and the change of monarch will soon furnish a pretext for widespread rebellion. The beginning of the reign of Amenôthes II. was marked by a revolt of the Libyans inhabiting the Theban Oasis, but this rising was soon put down by that Amenemhabi who had so distinguished himself under Thûtmosis.[4]

[1] His parentage is proved by the pictures preserved in the tomb of his foster-father, where he is represented in company with the *royal mother*, Marîtrî Hâtshopsîtû (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, pl. clx. 2; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 62 b, c; cf. pl. 64 a).

[2] It is thus that Wiedemann (*Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 375) explains his presence by the side of Thûtmosis III. on certain bas-reliefs in the temple of Amada (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, pls. lv.–lvii., lix., and vol. i. pp. 101–105; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 65 b, c).

[3] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph lent by M. Grébaut, and taken in 1890 by Emil Brugsch-Bey; cf. the statue of the king on p. 253 of the present volume.

[4] *Inscription of Amenemhabi*, ll. 39–42. Brugsch (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 388) and Wiedemann (*Ægyp. Gesch.*, p. 374) place this expedition at the time when Amenôthes II. was either hereditary prince or associated with his father; the inscription of Amenemhabi places it explicitly after the death of Thûtmosis III., and this evidence outweighs every other consideration until further discoveries are made.

Soon after, fresh troubles broke out in different parts of Syria, in Galilee, in the country of the Amurru, and among the peoples of Naharaim. The king's prompt action, however, prevented their resulting in a general war.[1] He marched in person against the malcontents, reduced the town of Shamshiadunu, fell upon the Lamnanin, and attacked their chief, slaying him with his own hand, and carrying off numbers of captives. He crossed the Orontes on the 26th of Pachons in the year II., and seeing some mounted troops in the distance, rushed upon them and overthrew them; they proved to be the advanced guard of the enemy's force, which he encountered shortly afterwards and routed, collecting in the pursuit considerable booty. He finally reached Naharaim, where he experienced in the main but a feeble resistance.



AMENÔTHES II., FROM THE STATUE AT TURIN.[2]

Nii surrendered without resistance on the 10th of Epiphi, and its inhabitants, both men and women, with censers in their hands, assembled on the walls and prostrated themselves before the conqueror. At Akaiti, where

[1] The campaigns of Amenôthes II. were related on a granite stele, which was placed against the second of the southern pylons at Karnak; its inscription has been published by CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, vol. ii. p. 185; by E. and J. DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques recueillies en Égypte*, pls. clxxv., clxxvi.; by BOURIANT, *Notes de voyage*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiii. pp. 160, 161; and in part by WIEDEMANN, *Texts of the Second Part of the XVIIIth Dynasty*, in the *Proceedings* of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., 1888-89, vol. xi. pp. 422, 423. It has been translated and commented on by MASPERO, *Notes sur quelques points, etc.*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1879, pp. 56-58, and later by ERMAN, *Der Syrische Feldzug Amenophis II.*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1887, vol. xxix. pp. 39-41, who has suggested several important corrections in the text. The date of this monument is almost certainly the year II.; there is strong evidence in favour of this, if it is compared with the inscription of Amada, where Amenôthes II. relates that in the year III. he sacrificed the prisoners whom he had taken in the country of Tikhisa.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin; see the entire statue in the vignette on p. 289 of the present volume.

the partisans of the Egyptian government had suffered persecution from a considerable section of the natives, order was at once re-established as soon as the king's approach was made known. No doubt the rapidity of his marches and the vigour of his attacks, while putting an end to the hostile attitude of the smaller vassal states, were effectual in inducing the sovereigns of Alasia, of Mitanni,[1] and of the Hittites to renew with Amenôthes the friendly relations which they had established with his father.[2] This one campaign, which lasted three or four months, secured a lasting peace in the north, but in the south a disturbance again broke out among the Barbarians of the Upper Nile. Amenôthes suppressed it,[3] and, in order to prevent a repetition of it, was guilty of an act of cruel severity quite in accordance with the manners of the time. He had taken prisoner seven chiefs in the country of Tikhisa, and had brought them, chained, in triumph to Thebes, on the forecastle of his ship. He sacrificed six of them himself before Amon, and exposed their heads and hands on the façade of the temple of Karnak; the seventh was subjected to a similar fate at Napata at the beginning of his third year, and thenceforth the sheikhs of Kûsh thought twice before defying the authority of the Pharaoh.[4]

Amenôthes' reign was a short one, lasting ten years at most,[5] and the end of it seems to have been darkened by the open or secret rivalries which the question of the succession usually stirred up among the kings' sons. The king had daughters only by his marriage with one of his full sisters, who like himself possessed all the rights of sovereignty; those of his sons who did not die young were the children of princesses of inferior rank or of concubines, and it was a subject of anxiety among these princes which of them would be chosen to inherit the crown and be united in marriage with the king's heiresses, Khûit and Mûtemuîâ. One of his sons, named

[1] Amenôthes II. mentions tribute from Mitanni on one of the columns which he decorated at Karnak, in the Hall of the Caryatides, close to the pillars finished by his predecessors (E. and J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, pl. clxxxii. l. 1; Piehl, *Sur l'Origine des colonnes de la Salle des Caryatides au Grand Temple de Karnak*, in the *Actes du Congrès de Leyden*, 4th part, pp. 213, 216).

[2] The enclosures on the pedestal of the throne of Amenôthes II., in the tomb of one of his officers at Sheikh-Abd-el-Qurneh, represent—together with the inhabitants of the Oasis, Libya, and Kush—the Kefatiu, the people of Naharaim, and the Upper Lotanû, that is to say, the entire dominion of Thûtmosis III., besides the people of Maûna, probably Mallus, in the Cilician plain (Ebers, *Ægypten und die Bücher Mose's*, p. 130; W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 240, 244, 245; cf. Champollion, *Monuments*, pl. clx. 3, and vol. i. p. 500; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 63 a).

[3] From the remains of a stele at Ibrim, where Amenôthes II. related the suppression of this revolt (Champollion, *Monuments*, vol. i. p. 83).

[4] Inscription in the temple of Amada, published by Champollion, *Monuments*, vol. i. pp. 105–107, and more fully by Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 65 a, ll. 16–20. It is there said that the king offered this sacrifice on his return from his first expedition into Asia, and for this reason I have connected the facts thus related with those known to us through the stele of Karnak. For the interpretation of the last lines of the Inscription of Amada, cf. Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, pp. 110, 111, and *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 389–391; Chabas, *Les Inscriptions des Mines d'or*, pp. 19–21.

[5] The last known date of his reign is that of the year V., which has been preserved in one of the papyri in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Pleyte, *Les Papyrus Rollin de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, pl. xv. pp. 23, 24).



THE GREAT SPHINX, AND THE CHAPEL OF THÛTMOSIS IV.

Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the photograph taken in 1887 by Emil Brugsch-Bey.

Thûtmosis, who resided at the "White Wall," was in the habit of betaking himself frequently to the Libyan desert to practise with the javelin, or to pursue the hunt of lions and gazelles in his chariot. On these occasions it was his pleasure to preserve the strictest incognito, and he was accompanied by two discreet servants only. One day, when chance had brought him into the neighbourhood of the Great Pyramid, he lay down for his accustomed siesta in the shade cast by the Sphinx, the miraculous image of Khopri the most powerful, the god to whom all men in Memphis and the neighbouring towns raised adoring hands filled with offerings. The gigantic statue was at that time more than half buried, and its head alone was seen above the sand. As soon as the prince was asleep it spoke gently to him, as a father to his son: "Behold me, gaze on me, O my son Thûtmosis, for I, thy father Harmakhis-Khopri-Tûmû, grant thee sovereignty over the two countries, in both the South and the North, and thou shalt wear both the white and the red crown on the throne of Sibû, the sovereign, possessing the earth in its length and breadth; the flashing eye of the lord of all shall cause to rain on thee the possessions of Egypt, vast tribute from all foreign countries, and a long life for many years as one chosen by the Sun, for my countenance is thine, my heart is thine, no other than thyself is mine! Now am I covered by the sand of the mountain on which I rest, and have given thee this prize that thou mayest do for me what my heart desires, for I know that thou art my son, my defender; draw nigh, I am with thee, I am thy well-beloved father." The prince understood that the god promised him the kingdom on condition of his swearing to clear the sand from the statue. He was, in fact, chosen to be the husband of the queens, and immediately after his accession he fulfilled his oath; he removed the sand, built a chapel between the paws, and erected against the breast of the statue a stele of red granite, on which he related his adventure.[1] His reign was as short as that of Amenôthes, and his campaigns both in Asia and Ethiopia were unimportant.[2] He had succeeded to an empire so firmly established from Naharaim to Kari,[3] that,

[1] Stele of the Sphinx, discovered by Caviglia in 1818, and published in Young, *Hieroglyphics*, pl. 80; in Perring-Vyse, *Operations carried on at the Pyramids of Gizeh*, vol. iii. pl. vi., and p. 107, et seq., and in Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 68. It was translated by Brugsch, *Der Traum Königs Thutmes IV. bei dem Sphinx* (in the *Zeitschrift*, 1876, pp. 89-95), and *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 394-398; afterwards by Birch, *Dream of Thothmes IV.*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. xii. pp. 43-49; and by Mallet, *The Stele of Thothmes IV. of the XVIIIth Dynasty*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. ii. pp. 45-56. The importance of this text in determining the position of Thûtmosis IV. in the family of Amenôthes II. has not been generally recognised.

[2] The latest date of his reign at present known is that of the year VII., on the rocks of Konosso (Champollion, *Monuments*, vol. i. p. 164; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 69 e), and on a stele of Sarbût el-Khâdim (in the *Survey of Sinai, Text*, p. 186). There is an allusion to his wars against the Ethiopians in an inscription of Amada (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 69 f), and to his campaigns against the peoples of the North and South on the stele of Nofirhait (Mariette, *Abydos*, vol. ii. pl. 47; and *Catalogue Général*, No. 1060, p. 383).

[3] The peoples of Naharaim and of Northern Syria are represented bringing him tribute, in a tomb



THE STELE OF THE SPHINX OF GIZEH.[1]

apparently, no rebellion could disturb its peace. One of the two heiress-princesses, Khûit, the daughter, sister, and wife of a king, had no living male offspring, but her companion Mûtemûaû had at least one son, named Amenôthes. In his case, again, the noble birth of the mother atoned for the defects of the paternal origin. Moreover, according to tradition, Amon-Râ himself had intervened to renew the blood of his descendants: he appeared in the person of Thûtmosis IV., and under this guise became the father of the heir of the Pharaohs.[2] Like Queen Âhmasis in the bas-reliefs of Deir el-Bahari, Mûtemûaû is shown on those of Luxor in the arms of her divine lover, and subsequently greeted by

at Sheikh-Abd-el-Qurneh (Champollion, *Monuments*, vol. i. pp. 499, 839, 840, and pl. clx. 1). The inscription published by Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 33, l. 4, speaks of the first expedition of Thûtmosis IV to the land of [Naharai]na, and of the gifts which he lavished on this occasion on the temple of Amon.

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph taken in 1883 by Emil Brugsch-Bey.

[2] The bas-reliefs relating to this incarnation of Amon are published in Champollion, *Monuments*, pls. cxcix. 3, cclxx. 1, cccxxxix.-cccxli.; Rosellini, *Monumenti Reali*, pls. xxxviii.-xli.; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 74 c, 75 a–d; Gayet, *Le Temple de Louxor*, pls. lxii.-lxviii. It was at first thought that Mutemuâ was an Ethiopian (Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. i. p. 42; Birch, *On a Remarkable Object of the Reign of Amenophis III.*, p. 3, and *History of Egypt*, p. 107; G. Rawlinson, *History of Ancient Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 261), afterwards that she was a Syrian (Jensen, *Aus dem Briefe im Mitanni Sprache*), who had changed her name on arriving at the court of her husband (Erman, *Neues aus den Tafeln von El-Amarna*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxvii. pp. 112, 114). The manner in which she is represented at Luxor, and in all the texts where she figures, proves not only that she was of Egyptian race, but that she was the daughter of Amenôthes II., and born of the marriage of that prince with one of his sisters, who was herself an hereditary princess.

him with the title of mother; in another bas-relief we see the queen led to her couch by the goddesses who preside over the birth of children; her son Amenôthes, on coming into the world with his double, is placed in the hands of the two Niles, to receive the nourishment and the education meet for the children of the gods. He profited fully by them, for he remained in power forty years, and his reign was one of the most prosperous ever witnessed by Egypt during the Theban dynasties.



QUEEN MÛTEMÛAÏ.[2]

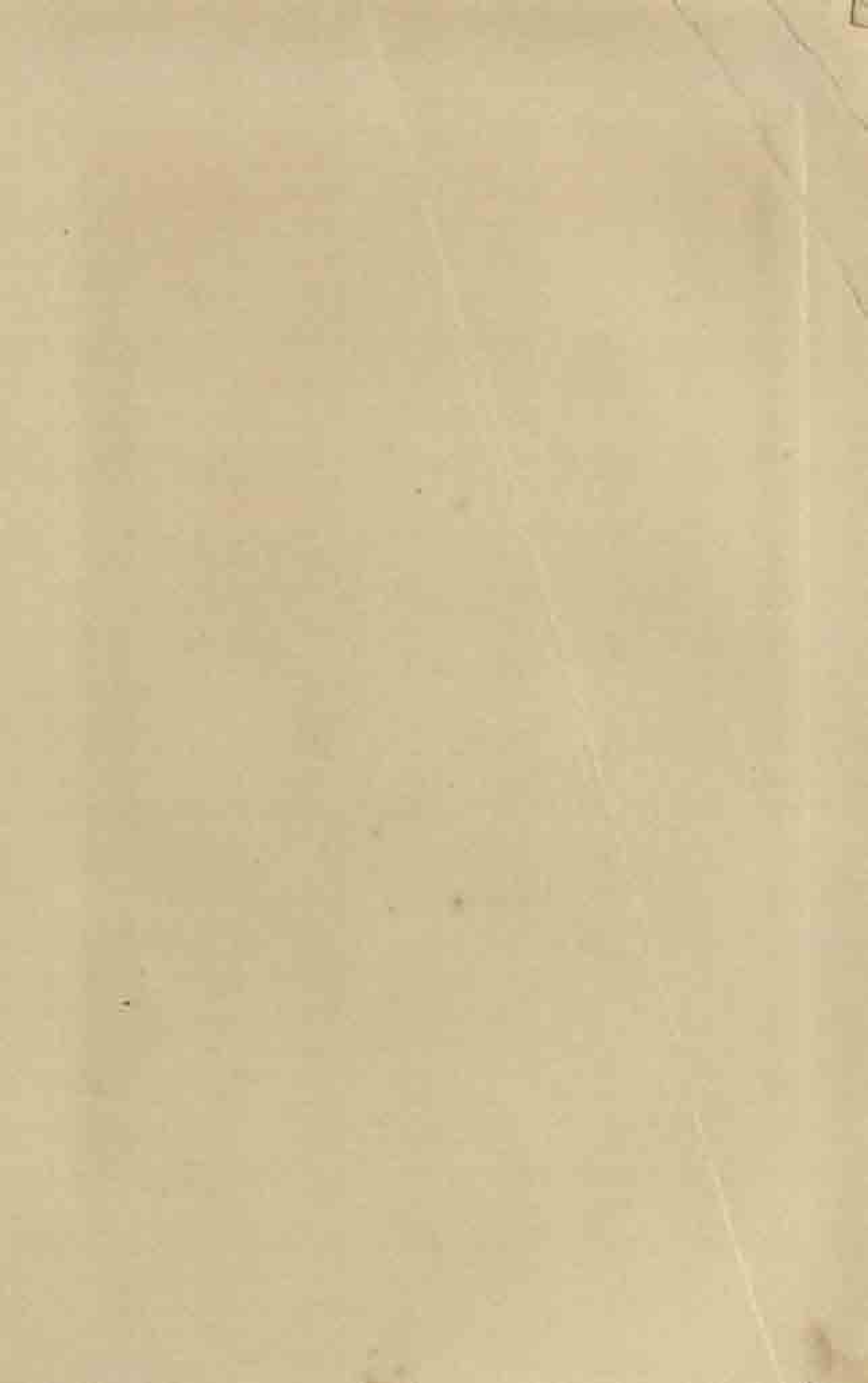
Amenôthes III. had spent but little of his time in war. He had undertaken the usual raids in the South against the negroes and the tribes of the Upper Nile. In his fifth year, a general defection of the sheikhs obliged him to invade the province of Abhait, near Semneh, which he devastated at the head of the troops collected by Marimosû, the Prince of Kûsh; the punishment was salutary, the booty considerable, and a lengthy peace was re-established.[1] The object of his rare expeditions into Naharaim was not so much to add new provinces to his empire, as to prevent disturbances in the old ones. The kings of Alasia, of the Khâti, of Mitanni, of Singar,[3] of Assyria, and of Babylon did not dare to provoke so powerful a neighbour.[4] The remembrance of the victories of Thûtmosis III. was still fresh in their memories, and, even had their hands been free, would have made them cautious in dealing with his great-grandson; but they were incessantly engaged in internecine quarrels, and had recourse to

[1] Stele of the year V., in the island of Konosso (Champollion, *Monuments*, vol. i. pp. 164, 165; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 82 a), and between Assuan and Philæ (Id., *ibid.*, iii. 81 g); stele of Assuan (Id., *ibid.*, iii. 81 h) and of Semneh (Birch, *On a Remarkable Egyptian Object of the Reign of Amenophis III.*, pp. 5, 6). The long list of names of African peoples, engraved on the base of the colossus *A 18 in the Louvre*, belonged to the Pharaoh of the XII^th^ dynasty, who erected the statue (cf. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 491); Amenôthes III. usurped it, probably because his campaigns had led him into the countries inhabited by the same peoples. The tribute paid by the people of Uauaît is mentioned in the tomb of Hûi at Sheikh-Abd-el-Qurneh (Champollion, *Monuments*, vol. i. p. 478).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the photograph, taken in 1881 by Daniel Héron, of one of the bas-reliefs in the temple of Luxor.

[3] Amenôthes entitles himself on a scarabæus "he who takes prisoner the country of Singar" (Petrie, *Historical Scarabs*, pl. 40, No. 1266); no other document has yet been discovered to show whether this is hyperbole, or whether he really reached this distant region.

[4] The lists of the time of Amenôthes III. contain the names of Phœnicia, Naharaim, Singar, Qodshu, Tunipa, Pattina, Carchemish, and Assur; that is to say, of all the subject or allied nations mentioned in the correspondence of Tel el-Amarna (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 87 a-88, Tel el Soleb). Certain episodes of these expeditions had been engraved on the exterior face of the pylon constructed by the king for the temple of Amon at Karnak; at the present time they are concealed by the wall at the lower end of the Hypostyle Hall (Mariette, *Karnak, Texte*, p. 20). The tribute of the Lotanu was represented on the tomb of Hûi at Sheikh-Abd-el-Qurneh (Champollion, *Monuments*, vol. i. pp. 479, 480).





Amenôthes III

(Colossal Head in the British Museum.)

Pharaoh merely to enlist his support, or at any rate make sure of his neutrality, and prevent him from joining their adversaries. Whatever might have been the nature of their private sentiments, they professed to be anxious to maintain, for their mutual interests, the relations with Egypt entered on half a century before, and as the surest method of attaining their object was by a good marriage, they would each seek an Egyptian wife for himself, or would offer Amenôthes a princess of one of their own royal families. The Egyptian king was, however, firm in refusing to bestow a princess of the solar blood even on the most powerful of the foreign kings;[2] his pride rebelled at the thought that she might one day be consigned to a place among the inferior wives or concubines, but he gladly accepted, and even sought for wives for himself, from among the Syrian and Chaldæan princesses.[3] Kallimmasin of Babylon gave Amenôthes first his sister, and when age had deprived this princess of her beauty, then his daughter Irtabi in marriage.[3] Sutarna of Mitanni had in the same way given the Pharaoh his daughter Gilukhipa;[4] indeed, most of the kings of that period had one or two relations in the harem at Thebes. This connexion usually proved a support to the Asiatic sovereigns, such alliances being a safeguard



AMENÔTHES III. FROM THE TOMB OF KHÂMHÂÎT.[1]

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph taken in 1881 by Daniel Héron.

[2] Letter from Burnaburiash, to whom Amenôthes III. refused an Egyptian princess (Winckler-Abel, *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna*, p. 3, ll. 4-22; cf. Delattre, *Mariages princiers quinze siècles avant l'Ère chrétienne*, in the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, Jan. 1892, vol. li. pp. 232, 233).

[3] Letter from Amenôthes III. to Kallimmasin, concerning a sister of the latter, who was married to the King of Egypt, but of whom there are no further records remaining at Babylon, and also one of his daughters whom Amenôthes had demanded in marriage (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 1, pp. 1-4, ll. 10-68, 97); and letters from Kallimmasin, consenting to bestow his daughter Irtabi on the Pharaoh (Winckler-Abel, *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna*, p. 1, ll. 7, 20, and proposing to give to Amenôthes whichever one he might choose of the daughters of his house (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 3, p. 8, ll. 22-32).

[4] On the marriages with the princesses of Mitanni, cf. the notes of Erman, Ebers, and Winckler in the *Zeitschrift für Ægyptische Sprache*, vol. xxviii. pp. 112-115.

against the rivalries of their brothers or cousins. At times, however, they were the means of exposing them to serious dangers. When Sutarna died he was succeeded by his son Dushratta, but a numerous party put forward another prince, named Artassumara, who was probably Gilukhipa's brother, on the mother's side;[1] a Hittite king of the name of Pirkhi espoused the cause of the pretender, and a civil war broke out. Dushratta was victorious, and caused his brother to be strangled, but was not without anxiety as to the consequences which might follow this execution should Gilukhipa desire to avenge the victim, and to this end stir up the anger of the suzerain against him. Dushratta, therefore, wrote a humble epistle, showing that he had received provocation, and that he had found it necessary to strike a decisive blow to save his own life; the tablet was accompanied by various presents to the royal pair, comprising horses, slaves, jewels, and perfumes.[2] Gilukhipa, however, bore Dushratta no ill-will, and the latter's anxieties were allayed. The so-called expeditions of Amenôthes to the Syrian provinces must constantly have been merely visits of inspection, during which amusements, and especially the chase, occupied nearly as important a place as war and politics. Amenôthes III. took to heart that pre-eminently royal duty of ridding the country of wild beasts, and fulfilled it more conscientiously than any of his predecessors. He had killed 112 lions during the first ten years of his reign, and as it was an exploit of which he was remarkably proud, he perpetuated the memory of it in a special inscription, which he caused to be engraved on numbers of large scarabs of fine green enamel.[4] Egypt prospered under his peaceable government, and if the king made no great efforts to extend her frontiers, he spared no pains to enrich the country by developing industry and agriculture, and also


SCARAB OF THE HUNT.[3]

[1] Her exact relationship is not explicitly expressed, but is implied in the facts, for there seems no reason why Gilukhipa should have taken the part of one brother rather than another, unless Artassumara had been nearer to her than Dushratta: that is to say, her brother on the mother's side as well as on the father's.

[2] Letter from Dushratta to the Pharaoh Amenôthes III., in WINCKLER-ABEL, *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna*, No. 9, pp. 22, 23; DELATTRE, *Lettres de Tell el-Amarna*, in the *Proceedings* of the Soc. Bibl. Arch., 1892-93, vol. xv. pp. 118-122.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the photograph published in MARIETTE, *Album photographique du Musée de Boulaq*, pl. 38, No. 583.

[4] Scarabs of this type are very numerous; most of them will be found catalogued in WIEDEMANN, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 381, note 6. The text has been translated by BIRCH, *Scarabs of Amenophis III.*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. xii. p. 40.

endeavoured to perfect the military organisation which had rendered the conquest of the East so easy a matter. A census, undertaken by his minister Amenôthes, the son of Hâpi, ensured a more correct assessment of the taxes, and a regular scheme of recruiting for the army. Whole tribes of slaves were brought into the country by means of the border raids which were always taking place, and their opportune arrival helped to fill up the vacancies which repeated wars had caused among the rural and urban population; such a strong impetus to agriculture was also given by this importation, that when, towards the middle of the reign, the minister Khâmhâît presented the tax-gatherers at court, he was able to boast that he had stored in the State granaries a larger quantity of corn than had been gathered in for thirty years.[1] The traffic carried on between Asia and the Delta by means of both Egyptian and foreign ships was controlled by custom-houses erected at the mouths of the Nile, the coast being protected by cruising vessels against the attacks of pirates. The fortresses of the isthmus and of the Libyan border, having been restored or rebuilt, constituted a check on the turbulence of the nomad tribes, while garrisons posted at intervals at the entrance to the Wadys leading to the desert restrained the plunderers scattered between the Nile and the Red Sea, and between the chain of Oases and the unexplored regions of the Sahara.[2] Egypt was at once the most powerful as well as the most prosperous kingdom in the world, being able to command more labour and more precious metals for the embellishment of her towns and the construction of her monuments than any other.

Public works had been carried on briskly under Thûtmosis III. and his successors. The taste for building, thwarted at first by the necessity of financial reforms, and then by that of defraying the heavy expenses incurred through the expulsion of the Hyksos and the earlier foreign wars, had free scope as soon as spoil from the Syrian victories began to pour in year by year. While the treasure seized from the enemy provided the money, the majority of the prisoners were used as workmen, so that temples, palaces, and citadels began to rise as if by magic from one end of the valley to the other.[3] Nubia, divided into provinces, formed merely an extension of the ancient feudal Egypt

[1] Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 76 *b*, 77 *e*.

[2] All this information is gathered from the inscription on the statue of Amenôthes, the son of Hâpi, which was discovered and published by Mariette, *Karnak*, pls. 36, 37; cf. E. and J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques recueillies en Égypte*, pls. xxiii.–xxviii. The importance of it was pointed out, and the text translated by Brugsch, *Noch einmal Amenhotep der Sohn des Hapu*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1876, pp. 96–101, and *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 402–406.

[3] For this use of prisoners of war, cf. the picture from the tomb of Rakhmiri on p. 300 of the present work, in which most of the earlier Egyptologists believed they recognised the Hebrews, condemned by Pharaoh to build the cities of Ramses and Pithom in the Delta (Champollion, *Monuments*, pl. clxv. 1–2; Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pls. xlvii., xlix. 1; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 40, 41; Virey, *Le Tombeau de Rekhmara*, pls. xiii., xii., in the *Mémoires de la Mission française*, vol. v.).

—at any rate as far as the neighbourhood of the Tacazzeh—though the Egyptian religion had here assumed a peculiar character. The conquest of Nubia having been almost entirely the work of the Theban dynasties, the Theban triad, Amon, Maût, and Montû, and their immediate followers were paramount in this region, while in the north, in witness of the ancient Elephantinite colonisation, we find Khnûmû of the cataract being worshipped, in connexion with Didûn, father of the indigenous Nubians.[1] The worship of Amon had been the means of introducing that of Râ and of Horus, and Osiris as lord of the dead, while Phtah, Sokhit, Atûmû, and the Memphite and Heliopolitan gods



A GANG OF SYRIAN PRISONERS MAKING BRICK FOR THE TEMPLE OF AMON.[2]

were worshipped only in isolated parts of the province. A being, however, of less exalted rank shared with the lords of heaven the favour of the people. This was the Pharaoh, who as the son of Amon was foreordained to receive divine honours, sometimes figuring, as at Bohani, as the third member of a triad, at other times as head of the Ennead. Ûsirtasen III. had had his chapels at Semneh and at Kûmmeh,[3] they were restored by Thûtmosis III., who claimed a share of the worship offered in them, and whose son, Amenôthes II., also assumed the symbols and functions of divinity. Amenôthes I. was venerated in the province of Kari,[4] and Amenôthes III., when founding the fortress Hâît-Khâmmâît[5] in the neighbourhood of a Nubian village, on a

[1] On the introduction of the god Amon into Nubia, see the principal article of LEPSIUS, *Ueber die Widderköpfigen Götter Ammon und Khnûmû, in Beziehung auf die Ammons-Oase und die gehörnten Köpfe griechischer Münzen*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1877, pp. 14-22; on the Elephantinite conquest in the time of the Memphite kings, cf. MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 478.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the chromolithograph in LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 40.

[3] On the cultus of the kings of the XIIth dynasty, see MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 479; cf. CRUM, *Stela from Wady Halfa*, in the *Proceedings*, 1893-94, vol. xvi. pp. 16, 17.

[4] BERGMANN, *Inschriftliche Denkmäler*, in the *Recueil*, vol. ix. p. 30; cf. on the same subject, p. 100, note 2, of the present volume.

[5] The name signifies literally "the Citadel of Khâmmâît," and it is formed, as Lepsius recognised from the first, from the name of the Sparrow-hawk Khâmmâît, "Mait rising as Goddess," which Amenôthes had assumed on his accession (*Briefe aus Ægypten*, etc., p. 413).

spot now known as Soleb, built a temple there, of which he himself was the protecting genius.[1] The edifice was of considerable size, and the columns and walls remaining reveal an art as perfect as that shown in the best monuments at Thebes. It was approached by an avenue of ram-headed sphinxes, while colossal statues of lions and hawks, the sacred animals of the district, adorned the building. The sovereign condescended to preside in person at its dedication on one of his journeys to the southern part of his empire, and the mutilated pictures still visible on the façade show the order and detail of the ceremony observed on this occasion. The king, with the crown upon his head, stood before the centre gate, accompanied by the queen and his minister Amenôthes, the son of Hâpi, who was better acquainted than any other man of his time with the mysteries of the ritual.[2] The king then struck the door twelve times with his mace of white stone, and when the approach to the first hall was opened, he repeated the operation at the threshold of the sanctuary previous to entering and placing his statue there. He deposited it on the painted and gilded



ONE OF THE RAMS OF AMENÔTHES III.[3]

wooden platform on which the gods were exhibited on feast-days, and enthroned beside it the other images which were thenceforth to constitute the local Ennead, after which he kindled the sacred fire before them. The queen, with the priests and nobles, all bearing torches, then passed through the halls, stopping from time to time to perform acts of purification, or to recite formulas to dispel evil spirits and pernicious influences; finally, a triumphal procession was formed, and the whole *cortège* returned to the

[1] Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 83–88. Lepsius had recognised the nature of the divinity worshipped in this temple (*Briefe aus Ægypten und Æthiopien*, pp. 256, 415); the deified statue of the king, "his living statue on earth," which represented the god of the temple, is there named "Nibmârî, lord of Nubia" (Id., *Denkm.*, iii. pl. 87 *a–c*). Thûtmosis III. had already worked at Soleb.

[2] On Amenôthes, the son of Hâpu, see pp. 298, 299 of the present volume; it will be seen in the following chapter, in connection with the Egyptian accounts of the Exodus, what tradition made of him.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Mons. de Mertens; the original was carried away from Soleb by Lepsius, and is at the present time in the Berlin Museum (Erman, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss*, 1894, pp. 23, 24, No. 7262).

palace, where a banquet brought the day's festivities to a close.[1] It was Amenôthes III. himself, or rather one of his statues animated by his double, who occupied the chief place in the new building. Indeed, wherever we come across a temple in Nubia dedicated to a king, we find the homage of the inhabitants always offered to the image of the founder, which spoke to them in oracles.[2] All the southern part of the country beyond the second cataract is full of traces of Amenôthes, and the evidence of the veneration shown to him would lead us to conclude that he played an important part in the organisation of the country. Sedeinga possessed a small temple under the patronage of his wife Tîi.[3] The ruins of a sanctuary which he dedicated to Amon, the Sun-god, have been discovered at Gebel-Barkal; Amenôthes seems to have been the first to perceive the advantages offered by the site, and to have endeavoured to transform the barbarian village of Napata into a large Egyptian city. Some of the monuments with which he adorned Soleb were transported, in later times, to Gebel-Barkal, among them some rams and lions of rare beauty. They lie at rest with their paws crossed, the head erect, and their expression suggesting both power and repose.[4] As we descend the Nile, traces of the work of this king are less frequent, and their place is taken by those of his predecessors, as at Sai,[5] at Semneh,[6] at Wady Halfa,[7] at Amada,[8] at Ibrim,[9] and at Dakkeh.[10] Distinct traces of Amenôthes again

[1] Thus the small temple of Sarrah, to the north of Wady Halfa, is dedicated to "the living statue of Ramses II. in the land of Nubia," a statue to which his Majesty gave the name of "Usirmari Zosir-Shâîtî" (Sayce, *Gleanings from the Land of Egypt*, in the *Recueil*, vol. xvii. p. 163).

[2] These scenes and legends are reproduced in Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 83, et seq.; they were first studied by Lefébure, *Rites Égyptiens, Construction et protection des édifices*, pp. 38–41, who was also the first to recognise their value in the history of religions.

[3] Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 82 e–f; cf. *Briefe aus Ægypten und Æthiopien*, p. 257.

[4] Cailliaud, *Voyage à Méroé*, vol. iii. p. 216; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, i. 120, iii. 88, 90 a–b. One of the rams was removed from Gebel Barkal by Lepsius (*Briefe aus Ægypten*, pp. 239, 240), and is now in the Berlin Museum, as well as the pedestal of one of the hawks (Erman, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss*, 1894, Nos. 7262 and 1622, pp. 23, 24, 27). Prisse has shown (*Notice sur les Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée Britannique*, pp. 10, 11) that these two monuments originally adorned the temple of Soleb, and that they were afterwards transported to Napata by an Ethiopian king, who engraved his name on the pedestal of one of them (cf. Lepsius, *Briefe aus Ægypten*, p. 415, and *Denkm.*, iii. 89 b).

[5] Buildings of Thûtmosis III. and Amenôthes II. at Sai (Lepsius, *Briefe*, etc., p. 257, and *Denkm.*, iii. 37, b, c).

[6] Buildings of Thûtmosis III. at Semneh and at Kummeh (Cailliaud, *Voyage à Méroé, Atlas*, vol. ii. pls. 27–29; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 47–56 a, 64–66).

[7] Buildings or donations of Thûtmosis III. at Wady Halfa (Champollion, *Monuments*, vol. i. p. 37; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 18; Wiedemann, *Varia*, in the *Recueil*, vol. xvii. p. 6), of Amenôthes II. (Champollion, *Monuments*, vol. i. p. 36), and of Thûtmosis IV. (Crum, *Stela from Wady Halfa*, in the *Proceedings* Bibl. Arch. Soc., 1893–94, vol. xvi. pp. 17–19).

[8] Buildings of Thûtmosis III. at Amada (Champollion, *Monuments*, pls. xliv., xlv., xlvii., xlviii., and vol. i. pp. 96–107; Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.*, pls. xxxv., xxxvi.; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 45), finished by Amenôthes II. (Champollion, *Monuments*, pls. xlv.–xlix., and vol. i. pp. 100–107; Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.*, vol. iii. pt. 1, pp. 191–193; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 65) and by Thûtmosis IV. (Champollion, *Monuments*, vol. i. pp. 98–100).

[9] Small chapels of Thûtmosis III. at Ibrim (Id., *ibid.*, vol. i. pp. 79–84; Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.*, vol. iii. pt. 1, p. 171), and of Amenôthes II. (Champollion, *Monuments*, pl. xxxix. 1, 2, and vol. i. pp. 84–86).

[10] Remains bearing the name of Thûtmosis III. at Dakkeh (Wiedemann, *Ægyptische Gesch.*, p. 304).

appear in the neighbourhood of the first cataract, and in the island of Elephantinê, which he endeavoured to restore to its ancient splendour. Two of the small buildings which he there dedicated to Khnûmû, the local god, were still in existence at the beginning of the present century. That least damaged, on the south side of the island, consisted of a single chamber nearly forty feet in length. The sandstone walls, terminating in a curved cornice,



ONE OF THE LIONS OF GEBEL BARKAL.[1]

rested on a hollow substructure raised rather more than six feet above the ground, and surrounded by a breast-high parapet. A portico ran round the building, having seven square pillars on each of its two sides, while at each end stood two columns having lotus-shaped capitals; a flight of ten or twelve steps between two walls of the same height as the basement, projected in front, and afforded access to the cella. The two columns of the façade were further apart than those at the opposite end of the building, and showed a glimpse of a richly decorated door, while a second door opened under the peristyle at the further extremity. The walls were covered with the half-brutish profile of the good Khnûmû, and those of his two companions, Anûkit and Satit, the spirits of stormy waters. The treatment of these figures was broad and simple, the style free, light, and graceful, the colouring soft; and the harmonious beauty of the whole is unsurpassed by anything at Thebes itself. It was, in fact, a kind of oratory, built on a scale to suit the capacities of a decaying town, but the design was so delicately conceived in its miniature proportions that nothing more graceful can be imagined.[2]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from one of the two lions of Gebel Barkal in the British Museum. The cartouches on its chest are those of the Ethiopian king Ankhkanofiribri Amon-Mianou, who appropriated these lions about the Persian period; those of Amenôthes III. can still be read on the base.

[2] Amenôthes II. erected some small obelisks at Elephantinê, one of which is at present in England (Prisse, *Collections d'Antiquités Égyptiennes au Caire*, pp. 4, 5). The two buildings of Amenôthes III. at Elephantinê were still in existence at the beginning of the present century. They have been described and drawn by French scholars (Jomard, *Description de l'île d'Éléphantine*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. i. pp. 180–197, and *Antiquités*, vol. i. pls. 33–38); between 1822 and 1825 they were destroyed, and the materials used for building barracks and magazines at Syene (Champollion, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, 2nd edit., pp. 111, 171, 122, 382, 458, and *Monuments*, vol. i. pp. 213, 221; Gliddon, *An Appeal to the Antiquaries of Europe on the Destruction of the Monuments of Egypt*, pp. 38–41).

Ancient Egypt and its feudal cities, Ombos,[1] Edfû,[2] Nekhabît,[3] Esneh,[4] Medamôt,[5] Coptos,[6] Denderah,[7] Abydos,[8] Memphis,[9] and Heliopolis,[10] profited largely by the generosity of the Pharaohs. Since the close of the XIIth dynasty these cities had depended entirely on their own resources, and their public buildings were either in ruins, or quite inadequate to the needs of the population, but now gold from Syria and Kûsh furnished them with the means of restoration. The Delta itself shared in this architectural revival, but it had suffered too severely under the struggle between the Theban kings and the Shepherds to recover itself as quickly as the remainder of the country. All effort was concentrated on those of its nomes which lay on the Eastern frontier, or which were crossed by the Pharaohs in their journeys into Asia, such as the Bubastite[11] and Athribite[12] nomes; the rest remained sunk in their

[1] Buildings of Thûtmosis III. at Ombos (Champollion, *Monuments*, vol. i. pp. 231, 232, 247; Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.*, vol. iii. pt. 1, p. 190, and *Monumenti del Culto*, pl. xxxiii., and pp. 196–199; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 28; Maspero, *Notes sur quelques points*, etc., § xiv., in the *Zeitschrift*, 1883, pp. 78, 79).

[2] The works undertaken by Thûtmosis III. in the temple of Edfû are mentioned in an inscription of the Ptolemaic period (Dümichen, *Bauurkunde der Tempelanlagen von Edfu*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1871, pp. 97, 98); some portions are still to be seen among the ruins of the town (Champollion, *Lettres écrites*, etc., 2nd edit., p. 202; Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.*, vol. iii. pt. 1, p. 181).

[3] Buildings of Thûtmosis III. and Amenôthes III. at El-Kab (Champollion, *Lettres*, 2nd edit., p. 194, and *Monuments*, vol. i. pp. 166, 265, 266, 271; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 80).

[4] An inscription of the Roman period attributes the rebuilding of the great temple of Esneh to Thûtmosis III. (Champollion, *Monuments*, vol. i. p. 728; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, vi. 77 *d*, 78 *a*). Grébaut discovered some fragments of it in the quay of the modern town.

[5] Amenôthes II. appears to have built the existing temple (Champollion, *Monuments*, vol. i. p. 291; Bouriant, *Petits Monuments et Petits Textes*, in the *Recueil*, vol. vii. p. 129).

[6] Remains of the temple of Thûtmosis III. at Coptos (Wilkinson, *Modern Egypt and Thebes*, p. 411; cf. Petrie, *Catalogue of a Collection of Antiquities from the Temple of Coptos, discovered 1894*, pp. 5, 9, 11). One of the pillars was overturned by treasure-seekers in 1883.

[7] Rebuilding of the temple of Hâthor by Thûtmosis III., from an inscription published by Dümichen, *Bauurkunde der Tempelanlagen von Denderah*, pls. xiv., xvi., and *Baugeschichte des Denderatempels*, p. 14, et seq.; Mariette, *Denderah*, vol. iii. pl. 78. Some fragments found in the Ptolemaic masonry bear the cartouche of Thûtmosis IV. (Id., *ibid.*, *Supplément*, pl. H, *c*, *d*).

[8] Works of Thûtmosis I. and Thûtmosis III. in the temple of Osiris (E. and J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, etc., pls. xix.–xxii.; Mariette, *Abydos*, vol. ii. pl. 31, and *Catalogue Général des Monuments d'Abydos*, No. 1, p. 6, No. 1048, p. 376).

[9] Amenôthes II. certainly carried on works at Memphis, for he opened a new quarry at Tûrah, in the year IV. (Perring-Vyse, *Operations carried on at the Pyramids*, vol. iii. pl. on p. 94); on the clearing of the Sphinx of Gîzeh by Thûtmosis IV., see p. 294 of the present volume. Amenôthes III. also worked limestone quarries (Perring-Vyse, *Operations*, vol. iii. pp. 96–98; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 71 *a*, *b*), and built at Saqqârah the earliest chapels of the Serapeum which are at present known to us (Mariette, *Renseignements sur les soixante-quatre Apis*, in the *Bulletin Archéologique de l'Athénæum Français*, 1855, p. 53).

[10] Stela of the year XLVII., where Thûtmosis III. relates the building of a wall in the temple of Râ (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 29 *b*); also remains of bas-reliefs representing that prince (Brugsch, *Recueil de Monuments*, vol. i. pl. x. 25 *a*, *b*, and pp. 20, 21).

[11] Remains of a building of Amenôthes II. discovered by Naville, *Bubastis*, pl. xxxv. *b*, and pp. 30, 31; monuments of Amenôthes III. at Bubastis (Id., *ibid.*, pls. xiii., xxv. *a*, xxxv. *c–d*, and pp. 31–34). It was perhaps from thence that the columns named after Amenôthes II. and Thûtmosis IV. were brought, which were carried to Alexandria in Roman times, and recently presented to the Vienna Museum (E. von Bergmann, *Inschriftliche Denkmäler*, in the *Recueil*, vol. vii. pp. 187–189).

[12] Monuments of Amenôthes III. at Athribis, from whence came the serpent in the Gîzeh Museum (Mariette-Maspero, *Monuments divers*, pl. 63 *b*, and p. 21).



THE TEMPLE AT ELEPHANTINÊ, AS IT WAS IN 1799.[1]

ancient torpor.[2] Beyond the Red Sea the mines were actively worked,[3] and even the oases of the Libyan desert took part in the national revival, and buildings rose in their midst of a size proportionate to their slender revenues.[4] Thebes naturally came in for the largest share of the spoils of war. Although her kings had become the rulers of the world, they had not, like the Pharaohs of the XIIth and XIIIth dynasties, forsaken her for some more illustrious city: here they had their ordinary residence as well as their seat of government, hither they returned after each campaign to celebrate their victory, and hither they sent the prisoners and the spoil which they had reserved for their own royal use. In the course of one or two generations Thebes had spread in every direction, and had enclosed within her circuit

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the *Description de l'Égypte, Ant.*, vol. i. pl. 35. A good restoration of it, made from the statements in the *Description*, is to be found in PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. i. pp. 402, 403.

[2] MARIETTE, *Deuxième Lettre à M. le vicomte de Rougé sur les fouilles de Tanis*, pp. 13, 14, and E. DE ROUGÉ, *Leçons professées au Collège de France*, Feb.–June, 1869, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. ii. pp. 284, 285, attribute this torpor, at least as far as Tanis is concerned, to the aversion felt by the Pharaohs of Egyptian blood for the Hyksos capital and for the provinces where the invaders had formerly established themselves in large numbers.

[3] Restoration of the temple of Hathor, at Sarbût-el-Khâdim (for this temple, cf. MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 474–476), by Thûtmosis III., and *stelæ* of the years XXV., XXVI., and XXVII. of that Pharaoh in the same locality (LOTTIN DE LAVAL, *Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée*, pl. ii. 1, 2, xi.; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 29 a; *Survey of Sinai*, vol. iii. pl. 14, and vol. iv. pp. 186–188). Stelæ of the year VII. of Thûtmosis IV. and of the year XXXVI. of Amenôthes III. are also to be found there (*Survey of Sinai*, vol. iv. p. 188; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 71 *a, d*).

[4] Stele of Thûtmosis II. at El-Aiun in the Small Oasis, and remains of buildings at El-Bahîi (ASCHERSON in the *Zeitschrift*, 1876, p. 120); unfortunately these fragments have been hitherto unpublished.

the neighbouring villages of Ashirû, the fief of Maût, and Apit-risit, the southern Thebes, which lay at the confluence of the Nile with one of the largest of the canals which watered the plain. The monuments in these two new quarters of the town were unworthy of the city of which they now formed part, and Amenôthes III. consequently bestowed much pains on improving them. He entirely rebuilt the sanctuary of Maût, enlarged the sacred lake, and collected within one of the courts of the temple several hundred statues in black granite of the Memphite divinity, the lioness-headed Sokhit, whom he identified with his Theban goddess.[1] The statues were crowded together so closely that they were in actual contact with each other in places, and must have presented



THE GREAT COURT OF THE TEMPLE OF LUXOR DURING THE INUNDATION.[2]

something of the appearance of a regiment drawn up in battle array. The succeeding Pharaohs soon came to look upon this temple as a kind of storehouse, whence they might provide themselves with ready-made figures to decorate their buildings either at Thebes or in other royal cities. About a hundred of them, however, still remain, most of them without feet, arms, or head; some overturned on the ground, others considerably out of the

[1] Mariette, *Karnak*, *Texte*, pp. 4, 14, 15. Rameses II. placed a certain number of them in the small temple of Medinet-Habu (Maspero, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. p. 219).

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Beato, taken in the autumn of 1886.

perpendicular, from the earth having given way beneath them, and a small number only still perfect and *in situ*. At Luxor Amenôthes demolished the small temple with which the sovereigns of the XIIth and XIIIth dynasties had been satisfied,[1] and replaced it by a structure which is still one of the finest yet remaining of the times of the Pharaohs. The naos rose sheer above the waters of the Nile, indeed its cornices projected over the river, and a staircase at the south side allowed the priests and devotees to embark directly from the rear of the building. The sanctuary was a single chamber, with an opening on its side, but so completely shut out from the daylight by the



PART OF THE AVENUE OF RAMS, BETWEEN THE TEMPLES OF AMON AND MAÛT.[2]

long dark hall at whose extremity it was placed as to be in perpetual obscurity. It was flanked by narrow, dimly lighted chambers, and was approached through a pronaos with four rows of columns, a vast court surrounded with porticoes occupying the foreground. At the present time the thick walls which enclosed the entire building are nearly level with the ground, half the ceilings have crumbled away, air and light penetrate into every nook, and during the

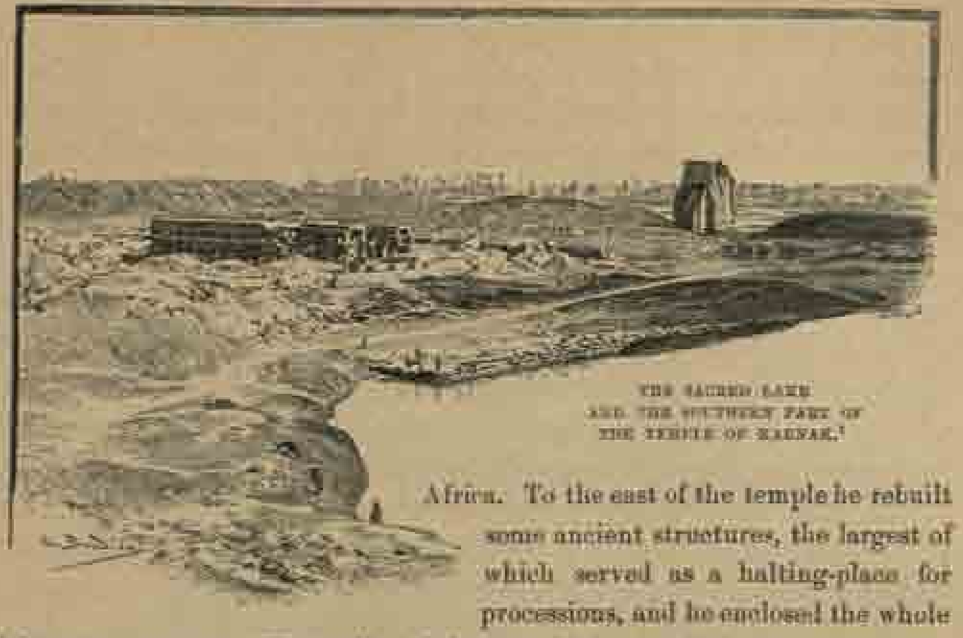
[1] Cf. MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 508, 530; Amenôthes III. said that he had restored the Aît-isit (GRÉBAUT, *Fouilles de Louxor*, in the *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 1889, vol. x. pp. 333, 339).
[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Beato, taken in 1887.



THE PYLONS OF THÛTMOSIS III. AND HARMHABÎ AT KARNAK.[1]

inundation the water flowing into the courts, transformed them until recently into lakes, whither the flocks and herds of the village resorted in the heat of the day to bathe or quench their thirst. Pictures of mysterious events never meant for the public gaze now display their secrets in the light of the sun, and reveal to the eyes of the profane the supernatural events which preceded the birth of the king. On the northern side an avenue of sphinxes and criosphinxes led to the gates of old Thebes.[2] At present most of these creatures are buried under the ruins of the modern town, or covered by the earth which overlies the ancient road; but a few are still visible, broken and shapeless from barbarous usage, and hardly retaining any traces of the inscriptions in which Amenôthes claimed them boastingly as his work. Triumphal processions passing along this route from Luxor to Karnak would at length reach the great court before the temple of Amon, or, by turning a little to the right after passing the temple of Maût, would arrive in front of the southern façade, near the two gilded obelisks whose splendour once rejoiced the heart of the famous Hâtshopsitû. Thûtmosis III. was also determined on his part to spare no expense to make the temple of his god of proportions suitable to the patron of so vast an empire. Not only did he complete those portions which his predecessors had merely sketched out, but on the south side towards Ashîrû he also built a long row of pylons, now half ruined, on which he engraved, according to custom, the list of nations and cities which he had subdued in Asia and

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Beato.
[2] CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. ii. p. 2[illegible].



THE SACRED LAKE AND THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE TEMPLE OF KARNAK.[1]

Africa. To the east of the temple he rebuilt some ancient structures, the largest of which served as a halting-place for processions, and he enclosed the whole with a stone rampart. The outline of the sacred lake, on which the mystic boats were launched on the nights of festivals, was also made more symmetrical, and its margin edged with masonry.[2] By these alterations the harmonious proportion between the main buildings and the façade had been destroyed, and the exterior wall was now too wide for the pylon at the entrance. Amenôthes III. remedied this defect by erecting in front a fourth pylon, which was loftier, larger, and in all respects more worthy to stand before the enlarged temple. Its walls were partially covered with battle-scenes, which informed all beholders of the glory of the conqueror.[3]

Progress had been no less marked on the left bank of the river. As long as Thebes had been merely a small provincial town, its cemeteries had covered but a moderate area, including the sandy plain and low mounds opposite Karnak and the valley of Deir el-Bahari beyond; but now that the city had more than doubled its extent, the space required for the dead was proportionately greater. The tombs of private persons began to spread towards the south, and soon reached the slopes of the Assassif, the hill of Sheikh-Abd-el-Qûrnah and the district of Qûrnet-Mûrraî—in fact, all that part which

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Beato; the building near the centre of the picture is the covered walk constructed by Thûtmosis III.

[2] The part taken by Thûtmosis III. and his successors in the construction of the temples of Karnak has been determined by E. de Rougé, *Étude des Monuments du Massif de Karnak*, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. i. pp. 40-45, 67, 68, and by Mariette, *Karnak, Texte*, pp. 3, 16, 27-37, 47, 51, 54; and their conclusions have been but slightly modified by later research.

[3] Mariette, *Karnak, Texte*, pp. 8, 9, 26, 27. Portions of the military bas-reliefs which covered the exterior face of the pylon are still to be seen through the gaps in the wall at the end of the great Hall of Pillars built by Seti I. and Ramses II.

the people of the country called the "Brow" of Thebes.[1] On the borders of the cultivated land a row of chapels and mastabas with pyramidal roofs sheltered the remains of the princes and princesses of the royal family. The Pharaohs themselves were buried either separately under their respective brick pyramids or in groups in a temple, as was the case with the first three Thûtmosis and Hâtshopsitû at Deir el-Bahari. Amenôthes II. and Thûtmosis IV. could doubtless have found room in this crowded necropolis,[2] although the space was becoming limited, but the pride of the Pharaohs began to rebel against this promiscuous burial side by side with their subjects. Amenôthes III. sought for a site, therefore, where he would have ample room to display his magnificence, far from the vulgar crowd, and found what he desired at the further end of the valley which opens out behind the village of Qûrnah. Here, an hour's journey from the bank of the Nile, he cut for himself a magnificent rock-tomb with galleries, halls, and deep pits, the walls being decorated with representations of the Voyage of the Sun through the regions which he traverses during the twelve hours of his nocturnal course. A sarcophagus of red granite received his mummy, and *Ushabti's* of extraordinary dimensions and admirable workmanship mounted guard around him, so as to release him from the *corvee* in the fields of Ialû.[3] The chapel usually attached to such tombs is not to be found in the neighbourhood. As the road to the funeral valley was a difficult one, and as it would be unreasonable to condemn an entire priesthood to live in solitude, the king decided to separate the component parts which had hitherto been united in every tomb since the Memphite period, and to place the vault for the mummy and the passages leading to it some distance away in the mountains, while the necessary buildings for the cultus of the statue and the accommodation of the priests were transferred to the plain, and were built at the southern extremity of the lands which were at that time held by private persons.[4] The divine character of Amenôthes, ascribed to him on account of his solar origin and the co-operation of Amon-Râ at his birth, was, owing to this separation of the funerary constituents, brought into further prominence. When once

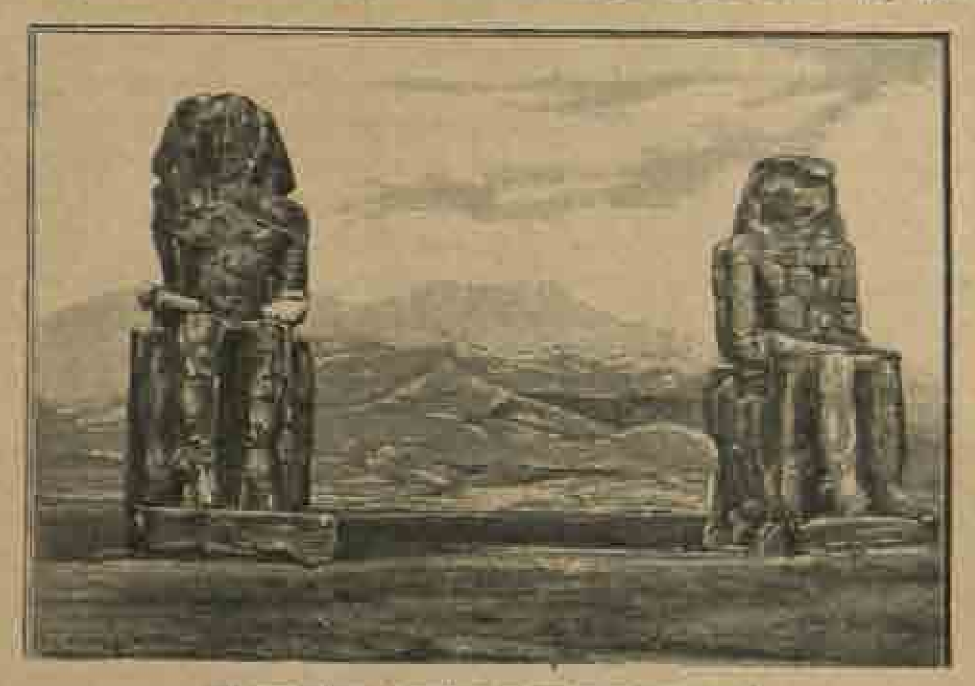
[1] Maspero, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, in the *Recueil*, vol. ii. p. 112.

[2] The generally received opinion is that these sovereigns of the XVIIIth dynasty were buried in the Bibân el-Molûk, but I have made several examinations of this valley, and cannot think that this was the case. On the contrary, the scattered notices in the fragments of papyrus preserved at Turin seem to me to indicate that Amenôthes II. and Thûtmosis IV. must have been buried in the neighbourhood of the Assassif or of Deir el-Bahari.

[3] Several of these *Ushabti*, or "Respondents," are reproduced in the *Description de l'Égypte*, *Ant.*, vol. ii. pls. 80, 81; cf. Pierret, *Catalogue de la Salle Historique de la Galerie Égyptienne du Musée du Louvre*, No. 12, p. 12, and for the smaller *Ushabti* of various materials, Nos. 50-52, p. 24.

[4] This division of the royal tomb into two separate parts, and the sites of the temples which rise on the left bank of the Nile at Thebes, were first pointed out by Mariette, *Itinéraire des Invités*, p. 87, et seq.; cf. the development of Mariette's theory in Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. i. pp. 296-299.

the body which he had animated while on earth was removed and hidden from sight, the people soon became accustomed to think only of his Double enthroned in the recesses of the sanctuary: seeing him receive there the same honours as the gods themselves, they came naturally to regard him as a deity himself. The arrangement of his temple differed in no way from



THE TWO COLOSSI OF MEMNON IN THE PLAIN OF THEBES.[1]

those in which Amon, Maût, and Montû were worshipped, while it surpassed in size and splendour most of the sanctuaries dedicated to the patron gods of the chief towns of the nomes.[2] It contained, moreover, colossal statues, objects which are never found associated with the heavenly gods. Several of these figures have been broken to pieces, and only a few scattered fragments of them remain, but two of them still maintain their positions on each side of the entrance, with their faces towards the east. They are each formed of a single block of red breccia from Syenê,[3] and are fifty-three feet high, but the more northerly one was shattered in the earthquake which

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Beato. The "Vocal Statue of Memnon" is that on the right-hand side of the illustration.

[2] The remains of this temple have been described and restored by JOLLOIS-DEVILLIERS, *Description des Colosses de la plaine de Thèbes et des Ruines qui les environnent*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. ii. pp. 179–200; all that has been said about them since has been taken almost exclusively from this description.

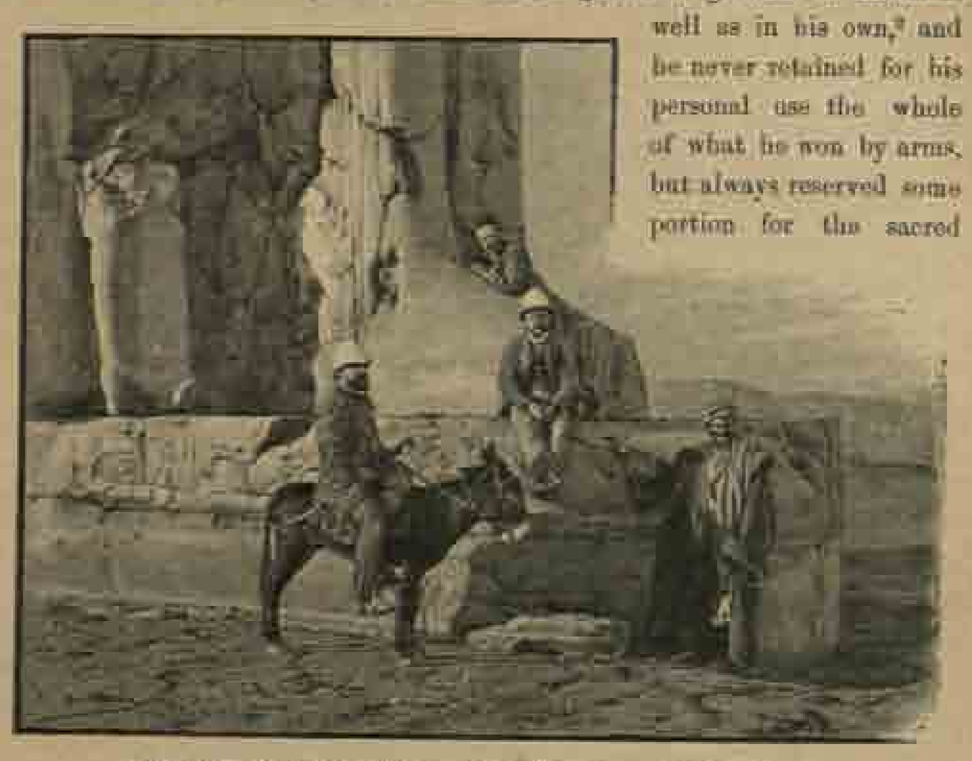
[3] It is often asserted that they are made of rose granite, but Jollois and Devilliers describe them as being of "a species of sandstone breccia, composed of a mass of agate flint, conglomerated together by a remarkably hard cement. This material, being very dense and of a heterogeneous composition, presents to the sculptor perhaps greater difficulties than even granite" (*Description des Colosses de la Plaine de Thèbes*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. ii. p. 134).

completed the ruin of Thebes in the year 27 B.C. The upper part toppled over with the shock, and was dashed to pieces on the floor of the court, while the lower half remained in its place. Soon after the disaster it began to be rumoured that sounds like those produced by the breaking of a harp-string proceeded from the pedestal at sunrise, whereupon travellers flocked to witness the miracle, and legend soon began to take possession of the giant who spoke in this marvellous way. In vain did the Egyptians of the neighbourhood declare that the statue represented the Pharaoh Amenôthes; the Greeks refused to believe them, and forthwith recognised in the colossus an image of Memnon the Ethiopian, son of Tithonus and Aurora, slain by their own Achilles beneath the walls of Troy—maintaining that the music heard every morning was the clear and harmonious voice of the hero saluting his mother. Towards the middle of the second century of our era, Hadrian undertook a journey to Upper Egypt, and heard the wonderful song; sixty years later, Septimus Severus restored the statue by the employment of courses of stones, which were so arranged as to form a rough representation of a human head and shoulders. His piety, however, was not rewarded as he expected, for Memnon became silent, and his oracle fell into oblivion.[1] The temple no longer exists, and a few ridges alone mark the spot where it rose; but the two colossi remain at their post, in the same condition in which they were left by the Roman Cæsar; the features are quite obliterated, and the legs and the supporting female figures on either side are scored all over with Greek and Latin inscriptions expressing the appreciation of ancient tourists. Although the statues tower high above the fields of corn and *bersim* which surround them, our first view of them, owing to the scale of proportion observed in their construction, so different from that to which we are accustomed, gives us the impression that they are smaller than they really are, and it is only when we stand close to one of them and notice the insignificant appearance of the crowd of sightseers clustered on its pedestal that we realize the immensity of the colossi.

The descendants of Âhmosis had by their energy won for Thebes not only the supremacy over the peoples of Egypt and of the known world, but had also secured for the Theban deities pre-eminence over all their rivals. The booty collected both in Syria and Ethiopia went to enrich the god Amon as much as it did the kings themselves; every victory brought him the tenth part of the spoil gathered on the field of battle, of the tribute levied on vassals, and of the prisoners taken as slaves. When Thûtmosis III., after having reduced

[1] The history of this statue has been collected and related by LETRONNE, *La Statue vocale de Memnon, considérée dans ses rapports avec l'Égypte et la Grèce*, in the *Œuvres choisies*, 1st series, vol. i. pp. 1–236. The bibliography of the subject since Letronne's time is to be found nearly complete in WIEDEMANN, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 387, note 5, and Appendix, p. 44.

Megiddo, organised a systematic plundering of the surrounding country, it was for the benefit of Amon-Râ that he reaped the fields and sent their harvest into Egypt;[1] if during his journeys he collected useful plants or rare animals, it was that he might dispose of them in the groves or gardens of Amon as well as in his own,[2] and he never retained for his personal use the whole of what he won by arms, but always reserved some portion for the sacred



A PARTY OF TOURISTS AT THE FOOT OF THE VOCAL STATUE OF MEMNON.[3]

treasury. His successors acted in a similar manner, and in the reigns of Amenôthes II., Thûtmosis IV., and Amenôthes III., the patrimony of the Theban priesthood continued to increase.[4] The Pharaohs, perpetually called upon as they were to recompense one or other of their servants, were never able to retain for long their share of the spoils of war. Gold and silver, lands, jewels, and slaves passed as quickly out of their hands as they had fallen into them, and although their fortune was continually having additions made to it in every fresh campaign, yet the increase was rarely in proportion to the trouble expended. The god, on the contrary, received what he got for all time, and gave back nothing in return: fresh accumulations of precious metals were continually being added to his store, his meadows were enriched by the

[1] The gifts of Thûtmosis III. to his father Amon, on his return from his first campaign, are enumerated in LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 30 *b*; cf. BRUGSCH, *Recueil de Monuments*, vol. i. pls. xliii., xliv.

[2] On the sending of plants and animals, cf. p. 261 of the present volume.

[3] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Insinger, taken in 1886.

[4] For inscriptions, unfortunately much mutilated, which mentioned the donations of Thûtmosis IV. and Amenôthes III. in favour of Amon-Râ, see MARIETTE, *Karnak*, Texte, pp. 56, 57, and pls. 33-35.

addition of vineyards, and with his palm forests he combined fish-ponds full of fish; he added farms and villages to those he already possessed, and each reign saw the list of his possessions increase.[1] He had his own labourers, his own tradespeople, his own fishermen, soldiers, and scribes, and, presiding over all these, a learned hierarchy of divines, priests, and prophets, who administered everything. This immense domain,[2] which was a kind of State within the State, was ruled over by a single high priest, chosen by the sovereign from among the prophets. He was the irresponsible head of it, and his spiritual ambition had increased step by step with the extension of his material resources. As the human Pharaoh showed himself entitled to homage from the lords of the earth, the priests came at length to the conclusion that Amon had a right to the allegiance of the lords of heaven, and that he was the Supreme Being, in respect of whom the others were of little or no account, and as he was the only god who was everywhere victorious, he came at length to be regarded by them as the only god in existence. It was impossible that the kings could see this rapid development of sacerdotal power without anxiety, and with all their devotion to the patron of their city, solicitude for their own authority compelled them to seek elsewhere for another divinity, whose influence might in some degree counterbalance that of Amon. The only one who could vie with him at Thebes, either for the antiquity of his worship or for the rank which he occupied in the public esteem, was the Sun-lord of Heliopolis, head of the first Ennead. Thûtmosis IV. owed his crown to him, and displayed his gratitude in clearing away the sand from the Sphinx, in which the spirit of Harmakhis was considered to dwell;[3] and Amenôthes III., although claiming to be the son of Amon himself, inherited the disposition shown by Thûtmosis in favour of the Heliopolitan religions, but instead of attaching himself to the forms most venerated by theologians, he bestowed his affection on a more popular deity—Atonû, the fiery disk.[4] He

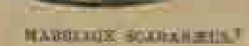
[1] We possess no catalogue of this period, but the *Great Harris Papyrus* has preserved the list of Amon's possessions in the time of Ramses III.; cf. Erman, *Ægypten*, p. 405, et seq.

[2] Devéria, *Monument biographique de Bakenkhonsou*, pp. 13, 19, and *Mémoires et fragments*, vol. i. pp. 285, 290; A. Baillet, *De l'Élection et de la durée des fonctions du Grand-prêtre d'Ammon à Thèbes* (extract from the *Revue Archéologique*, 1862, vol. viii.).

[3] On the connexion of this king with the god, cf. pp. 292–294 of the present volume.

[4] The worship of the solar disk was first studied by Nestor L'Hôte, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, pp. 54, 55 (cf. Lepsius, *Ueber den ersten Ægyptischen Götterkreis*, in the Memoirs of the Berlin Academy, 1851, pp. 196–202); and by Prisse d'Avennes, *Remarks on the Ancient Materials of the Propylon at Karnak* (in the *Transactions of the Society of Literature*, new series, vol. i. pp. 76–92); the documents which explain the nature of it were first examined by Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, pp. 119, 120 (cf. *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 426–428), by Bouriant, *À Thèbes*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. vi. pp. 52–55, and *Deux Jours de fouilles à Tell el-Amarna*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pp. 1–22, by Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alten Ægyptens*, pp. 257–263, and finally by Breasted, *De Hymnis in Solem sub rege Amenophide IV. conceptis*, 1895. Atonû, the name given to the disk, has been compared with Adonaï or Adonis, and the form of its worship explained by a Syrian influence; this theory still has some upholders (Bryant-Read, *An Inscription of Khuenaten*, in the *Proceedings of the Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1892–93, vol. xv. pp. 206, 207). Other scholars have thought that Khûnia-

may have been influenced in his choice by private reasons. Like his predecessors, he had taken, while still very young, wives from among his own family, but neither these reasonable ties, nor his numerous diplomatic alliances with foreign princesses, were enough for him. From the very beginning of his reign he had loved a maiden who was not of the blood of the Pharaohs, Tîi, the daughter of Iûïa and his wife Tûïa.[1] Connexions of this kind had been frequently formed by his ancestors, but the Egyptian women of inferior rank whom they had brought into their harems had always remained in the background, and if the sons of these concubines were ever fortunate enough to come to the throne, it was in default of heirs of pure blood. Amenôthes III. married Tîi, gave her for her dowry the town of Zâlû in Lower Egypt,[2] and raised her to the position of queen, in spite of her low extraction. She busied herself in the affairs of State, took precedence of


MARRIAGE SCARABÆUS.[3]

tonû's reform was an attempt to establish a monotheistic religion in Egypt (TIELE, *Geschichte der Religion im Altertum*, vol. i. pp. 84–92; BREASTED, *De Hymnis in Solem*, pp. 6–8).

[1] For the last thirty years Queen Tîi has been the subject of many hypotheses and of much confusion. The scarabæi engraved under Amenôthes III. (ROSELLINI, *Mon. Stor.*, pl. xliv. 1, and vol. iii. pt. 1, pp. 260–263; cf. BIRCH, *Scarabæi of Amenophis III.*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, p. 39) say explicitly that she was the daughter of two personages, Iûïa and Tûïa, but these names are not accompanied by any of the signs which are characteristic of foreign names, and were considered Egyptian by contemporaries. Hincks was the first who seems to have believed her to be a Syrian; he compares her father's name with that of Levi, and attributes the religious revolution which followed to the influence of her foreign education. This theory has continued to predominate; it is found in MARIETTE, *Aperçu de l'Histoire d'Égypte*, edit. of 1874, pp. 70, 71; in BRUGSCH, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 418; and in LAUTH, *Aus Ægyptens Vorzeit*, p. 288. WIEDEMANN, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, pp. 393, 394, and ED. MEYER, *Geschichte des Alten Ægyptens*, p. 260, prefer a Libyan origin to the Asiatic one, and latterly there has been an attempt to recognise in Tîi one of the princesses of Mitanni mentioned in the correspondence of Tel el-Amarna (BUDGE, *On Cuneiform Despatches*, in the *Proceedings Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1887–88, vol. x. pp. 555, 556; PETRIE, *Tell el-Amarna*, p. 40). As long ago as 1877, I showed at the École des Hautes Études that Tîi was an Egyptian of middle rank, probably of Heliopolitan origin, and pointed out shortly the reasons for this opinion given in RAYET, *Les Monuments de l'Art Antique*, vol. i., *Notice* 7, in the *Rapport sur une Mission en Italie* (*Recueil de Travaux*, vol. iii. pp. 127, 128), and finally in the *Revue Critique*, 1883, vol. i. pp. 422, 423; they have been further developed by BOURIANT, *Le Tombeau de Ramsès à Cheikh Abd-el-Kournah* (in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1882, vol. xliii. p. 279, et seq.), and *A Thèbes* (in the *Recueil*, vol. vi. pp. 51–55), and partially adopted by ED. MEYER, *Geschichte des Alten Ægyptens*, p. 260, et seq.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph of the scarabæus preserved at Gîzeh, and published in MARIETTE, *Album du Musée de Boulaq*, pl. 36, No. 24).

[2] The scarabæus of the Vatican described by ROSELLINI, *Mon. Stor.*, vol. iii. pt. 1, pp. 262–263, and *Mon. Reali*, pl. xliv. 2, speaks of a basin dug by the king in the town of Zâlû, which belonged to Tîi; cf. STERN, *Hieroglyphisch-Koptisches*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1877, p. 77, note 2. BIRCH, *Scarabæi of Amenophis III.*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. xii. 41, and WIEDEMANN, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 382, read Zarûkha, as the name of the town.

the princesses of the solar family, and appeared at her husband's side in public ceremonies, and was so figured on the monuments. If, as there is reason to believe, she was born near Heliopolis, it is easy to understand how her influence may have led Amenôthes to pay special honour to a Heliopolitan divinity. He had built, at an early period of his reign, a sanctuary to Atonû at Memphis,[1] and in the X[th] year he constructed for him a chapel at Thebes itself,[2] to the south of the last pylon of Thûtmosis III., and endowed this deity with property at the expense of Amon.

He had several sons;[3] but the one who succeeded him, and who, like him, was named Amenôthes, was the most paradoxical of all the Egyptian sovereigns of ancient times.[4] He made up for the inferiority of his birth, on account of the plebeian origin of his mother Tîi,[5] by his marriage with Nofrîtîti, a princess of the pure solar race.[6] Tîi, long accustomed to the management of affairs,

[1] Mariette, *Monuments divers*, pl. 36 *b*, and p. 18, where the collective representations, and above all the presence of the name of Amon, show that the stele belongs to the reign of Amenôthes III.

[2] This temple seems to have been raised on the site of the building marked *s* (E. de Rougé, *Étude sur les monuments du Massif de Karnak*, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie, etc.*, vol. i. pp. 45–46; Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 1, A–D, and *Texte*, pp. 11, 12), which is usually attributed to Amenôthes II. and Amenôthes III. The blocks bearing the name of Amenôthes II. had been used previously, like most of those which bear the cartouches of Amenôthes III. The temple of Atonû, which was demolished by Harmhabî or one of the Ramses, was subsequently rebuilt with the remains of earlier edifices, and dedicated to Amon.

[3] One of them, Thûtmosis, was high priest of Phtah (Mariette, *Renseignements sur les soixante-quatre Apis*, in *Bull. Arch. de l'Athen. Français*, 1855, p. 53), and we possess several monuments erected by him in the temple of Memphis (Daressy, *Notes et Remarques*, in the *Recueil*, vol. xiv. pp. 174, 175); another, Tûtônkhamon, subsequently became king (cf. pp. 334, 335 of the present volume). He also had several daughters by Tîi—Sîtamon (Birch, *On a Remarkable Object of the Reign of Amenophis III.*, p. 3; cf. Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.*, vol. i. p. 240), Isis, and Honitmarhabi (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 86 *a, b*).

[4] The absence of any cartouches of Amenôthes IV. or his successors in the table of Abydos prevented Champollion and Rosellini from classifying these sovereigns with any precision. Nestor L'hôte tried to recognise in the first of them, whom he called *Bakhen-Bakhenen*, a king belonging to the very ancient dynasties, perhaps the Hyksôs Apakhnan (*Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, pp. 55, 56, 66, 67, 69–72), but Lepsius (*Briefe aus Ægypten*, pp. 100, 101) and Hincks (*On the defacement of Egyptian Monuments*, pp. 5–9) showed that he must be placed between Amenôthes III. and Harmhabî, that he was first called Amenôthes like his father, but that he afterwards took the name of Bakhûnaten, which is now read Khûnaten or Khûniatonû. His singular aspect made it difficult to decide at first whether a man or a woman was represented (Nestor L'hôte, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, pp. 58, 59; Bunsen, *Ægyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte*, vol. iii. pp. 88, 89). Mariette, while pronouncing him to be a man, thought that he had perhaps been taken prisoner in the Sûdan and mutilated, which would have explained his effeminate appearance, almost like that of an eunuch (*Renseignements, etc.*, in the *Bulletin Arch.*, etc., 1855, p. 57). Recent attempts have been made to prove that Amenôthes IV. and Khûniatonû were two distinct persons (Villiers-Stuart, *Nile Gleanings*, pp. 299–301, and *Egypt after the War*, pp. 372–391), or that Khûniatonû was a queen (Lefébure, *Sur Différents Mots et Noms Égyptiens*, *Proceedings*, 1890–91, vol. xiii. pp. 479–483); but they have hitherto been rejected by Egyptologists.

[5] The filiation of Amenôthes IV. and Tîi has given rise to more than one controversy. The Egyptian texts do not define it explicitly, and the title borne by Tîi (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 101, 102) has been considered by some to prove that Amenôthes IV. was her son (Brugsch, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 419, 420; Wiedemann, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 401; Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alten Ægyptens*, p. 260), and by others that she was the mother of Queen Nofrîtîti (Wiedemann, *Inscriptions of the Time of Amenophis IV.*, *Proceedings Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1894–95, vol. xvii. pp. 156, 157). [The Tel el-Amarna correspondence solves the question, however, as it gives a letter from Dushratta to Khûniatonû (trans. by Prof. Sayce in the *Records of the Past*, new ser.), in which Tîi is called "thy mother."—Ed.]

[6] Nofrîtîti, the wife of Amenôthes IV., like all the princesses of that time, has been supposed to

exerted her influence over him even more than she had done over her husband. Without officially assuming the rank, she certainly for several years possessed the power of regent, and gave a definite Oriental impress to her son's religious policy. No outward changes were made at first; Amenôthes, although showing his preference for Heliopolis by inscribing in his protocol the title of prophet of Harmakhis, which he may, however, have borne before his accession,[1] maintained his residence at Thebes, as his father had done before him, continued to sacrifice to the Theban divinities, and to follow the ancient paths and the conventional practices.[2] He either built a temple to the Theban god, or enlarged the one which his father had constructed at Karnak, and even opened new quarries at Syene and Silsileh for providing granite and sandstone for the adornment of this monument.[3] His devotion to the invincible Disk, however, soon began to assert itself, and rendered more and more irksome to him the religious observances which he had constrained himself to follow. There was nothing and no one to hinder him from giving free course to his inclinations, and the nobles and priests were too well trained in obedience to venture to censure anything he might do, even were it to result in putting the whole population into motion, from Elephantinê to the sea-coast, to prepare for the intruded deity a dwelling which should eclipse in magnificence the splendour of the great temple. A few of those around him had become converted of their own accord to his favourite worship, but these formed a very small minority. Thebes had belonged to Amon so long that the king could never hope to bring it to regard Atonû as anything but a being of inferior rank. Each city belonged to some god, to whom was attributed its origin, its development,

be of Syrian origin, and to have changed her name on her arrival in Egypt (LIEBLEIN, *Sur Différents Mots et Noms Égyptiens*, in the *Proceedings*, 1890-91, vol. xiii. p. 478; BOYLAN-KEAN, *An Inscription of Khaemhat*, *ibid.*, 1892-93, vol. xv. p. 206). The place which she holds beside her husband is the same as that which belongs to legitimate queens, like Nofritari, Âahmosis, and Hâtshopsîtû, and the example of these princesses is enough to show us what was her real position; she was most probably a daughter of one of the princesses of the solar blood, perhaps of one of the sisters of Amenôthes III., and Amenôthes IV. married her so as to obtain through her the rights which were wanting to him through his mother Tîi.

[1] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 110 *i*, l. 2.

[2] The tomb of Ramses, governor of Thebes and priest of Mâît, shows us in one part of it the king, still faithful to his name of Amenôthes, paying homage to the god Amon, lord of Karnak (VILLIERS-STUART, *Egypt after the War*, pl. 27, and pp. 384-388; BOURIANT, *Le Tombeau de Ramsès à Cheikh Abd el-Gournah*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1882, vol. xxiii. p. 279, et seq.), while everywhere else the worship of Atonû predominates. The cartouches on the tomb of Pâri, read by Bouriant Âkhopirûri (*Notes de Voyage*, in the *Recueil*, vol. xiv. pp. 70, 71), and by Scheil more correctly Nofrîkhopirûri (*Le Tombeau de Pâri*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. v. p. 588), seem to me to represent a transitional form of the protocol of Amenôthes IV., and not the name of a new Pharaoh; the inscription in which they are to be found bears the date of his third year.

[3] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 110 *i*. Cf. BRUGSCH, *Gesch. Ægyptens*, pp. 424, 425, where the value of this monument has been well shown; the king in it still calls himself Amenôthes. The remains of the temple, used later by Harmhabî, have been collected and commented on for the first time by PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Remarks on the Ancient Materials of the Propylæa of Karnak*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Literature*, new series, vol. i. pp. 76-93, and *Monuments Égyptiens*, pls. x., xi., and subsequently by BOURIANT, *A Thèbes*, in the *Recueil*, vol. vi. pp. 53-55.

and its prosperity, and whom it could not forsake without renouncing its very existence. If Thebes became separated from Amon it would be Thebes no longer, and of this Amenôthes was so well aware that he never attempted to induce it to renounce its patron. His residence among surroundings which he detested at length became so intolerable, that he resolved to leave the place and create a new capital elsewhere. The choice of a new abode would have presented no difficulty to him had he been able to make up his mind to relegate Atonû to the second rank of divinities; Memphis, Heracleopolis, Siût, Khmûnû, and, in fact, all the towns of the valley would have deemed themselves fortunate in securing the inheritance of their rival, but not one of them would be false to its convictions or accept the degradation of its own divine founder, whether Phtah, Harshafitû, Anubis, or Thot. A newly promoted god demanded a new city; Amenôthes, therefore, made selection of a broad plain extending on the right bank of the Nile, in the eastern part of the Hermopolitan nome, to which he removed with all his court about the fourth or fifth year of his reign.[1] He found here several obscure villages without any historical or religious traditions, and but thinly populated; Amenôthes chose one of them, the Et-Tel of the present day, and built there a palace for himself and a temple for his god.[2] The temple, like that of Râ at Heliopolis, was named *Hait-Banbonû*, the Mansion of the Obelisk.[3] It covered an immense area, of which the sanctuary, however, occupied an inconsiderable part; it was flanked by brick storehouses, and the whole was surrounded by a thick wall. The remains show that the temple was built of white limestone, of fine quality, but that it was almost devoid of ornament, for there was no time to cover it with the usual decorations.[4] The palace was

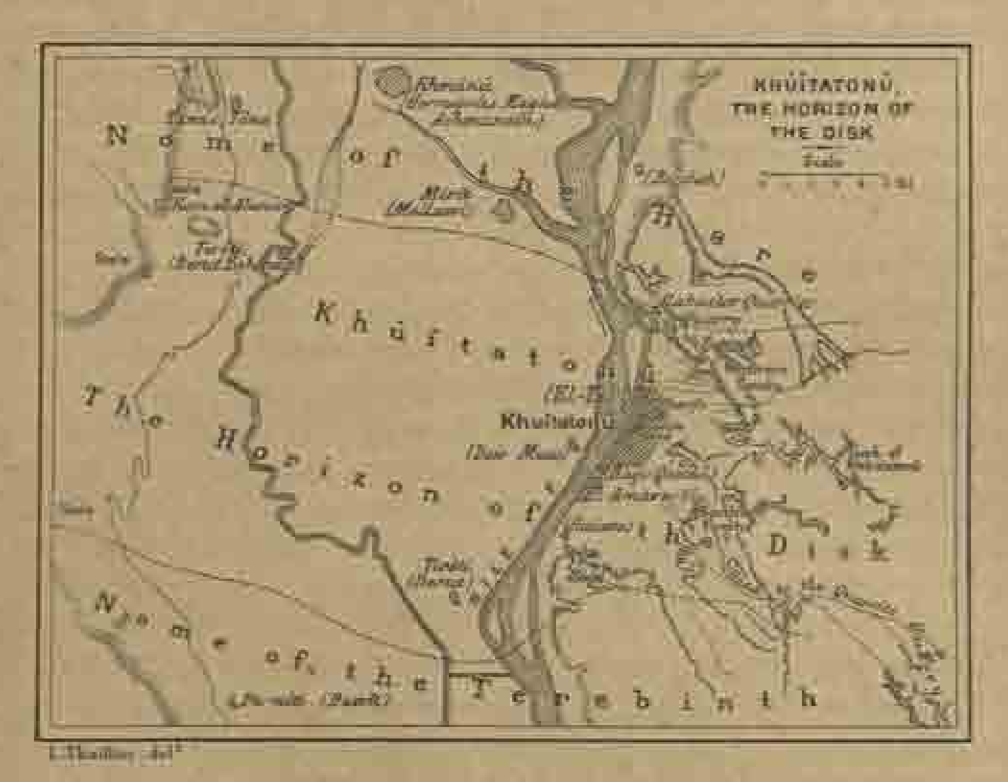
[1] The last date with the name of Amenôthes is that of the year V., on a papyrus from the Fayûm (Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, p. 50); elsewhere we find from the year VI. the name of Khûniatenu (Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments Égyptiens*, pl. xii.–xiv.; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 110 *b*), by the side of monuments with the cartouche of Amenôthes (Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, pl. xiii.); we may conclude from this that the foundation of the town dates from the year IV. or V. at the latest, when the prince, having renounced the worship of Amon, left Thebes that he might be able to celebrate freely that of Atonû.

[2] For the description of the plain and of the ruins of Tel el-Amarna, see Jomard, *Description des Antiquités de l'Heptanomide*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. iv. pp. 308–312, and Nestor L'Hôte, *Lettres écrites de l'Égypte*, pp. 53–78; and for its present condition, Villiers-Stuart, *Egypt after the War*, pp. 431–444, and above all, Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, pp. 1–6. The plan of it is briefly described in the *Description de l'Égypte, Ant.*, vol. iv. pl. 63, folio 6; in Lepsius, *Denkm.*, i. 63, 64, who seems to have developed the indications in the *Description*; and by Prisse d'Avennes, *Histoire de l'Art Égyptien*, who confines himself to reproducing the data given in the *Description* and by Lepsius.

[3] Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 97 *b*, where the king speaks of the chambers he has caused to be built and decorated in *Hait-Banbonû* of Pa-Atonû.

[4] The ruins of the temple have been explored by Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, pp. 18–20, and the plan of it is given on plate xxxvii. of that work. The opinion of Brugsch (*Gesch. Ægyptens*, p. 421), that the arrangement of the various parts differed from that of other temples, and was the effect of foreign influence, has not been borne out by the excavations of Prof. Petrie, the little which he has brought to light being entirely of Egyptian character. The temple is represented on the tomb of the high priest Merirî (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 94–96; cf. Erman, *Ægypten*, pp. 387–390).

built of brick; it was approached by a colossal gateway, and contained vast halls, interspersed with small apartments for the accommodation of the household, and storehouses for the necessary provisions, besides gardens which had been hastily planted with rare shrubs and sycamores. Fragments of furniture and of the roughest of the utensils contained in the different chambers are still unearthed from among the heaps of rubbish, and the cellars especially are full of potsherds and cracked jars, on which we can still see written an indication of the reign and the year when the wine they once contained was made.



L. Thuillier del.

Altars of massive masonry rose in the midst of the courts, on which the king or one of his ministers heaped offerings and burnt incense morning, noon, and evening, in honour of the three decisive moments in the life of Atonû.[1] A few painted and gilded columns supported the roofs of the principal apartments in which the Pharaoh held his audiences, but elsewhere the walls and pillars were coated with cream-coloured stucco or whitewash, on which scenes of private life were depicted in colours. The pavement, like the walls, was also decorated.[2] In one of the halls which seems to have belonged to the harem,

[1] Naville discovered at Deir al-Bahari a similar altar, nearly intact (*The Temple of Deir al-Bahari*, pp. 10-12). No other example was before known in any of the ruined towns or temples, and no one had any idea of the dimensions to which these altars attained.

[2] Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, pp. 7-10; also the remains reproduced in pls. v.-xii. The plan of the palace is to be found in pl. xxxvi. of the same work.

there is still to be seen distinctly the picture of a rectangular piece of water containing fish and lotus-flowers in full bloom; the edge is adorned with water-plants and flowering shrubs, among which birds fly and calves graze and gambol; on the right and left were depicted rows of stands laden with fruit, while at each end of the room were seen the grinning faces of a gang of negro and Syrian prisoners, separated from each other by gigantic arches. The tone of colouring is bright and cheerful, and the animals are treated with great freedom and facility.[1] The Pharaoh had collected about him several of the best artists then to be found at Thebes, placing them under the direction of Bañki, the chief of the corporation of sculptors,[2] and probably others subsequently joined these from provincial studios. Work for them was not lacking, for houses had to be built for all the courtiers and government officials who had been obliged to follow the king, and in a few years a large town had sprung up, which was called Khûîtatenû, or the "Horizon of the Disk." It was built on a regular plan, with straight streets and open spaces, and divided into two separate quarters, interspersed with orchards and shady trellises.[3] Workmen soon began to flock to the new city—metal-founders, glass-founders, weavers; in fine, all who followed any trade indispensable to the luxury of a capital. The king appropriated a territory for it from the ancient nome of the Hare, thus compelling the god Thot to contribute to the fortune of Atonû; he fixed its limits by means of stelæ placed in the mountains, from Gebel-Tûnah to Deshlût on the west, and from Sheikh-Saîd to El-Haûata on the eastern bank;[4] it was a new nome improvised for the divine *parvenu*.

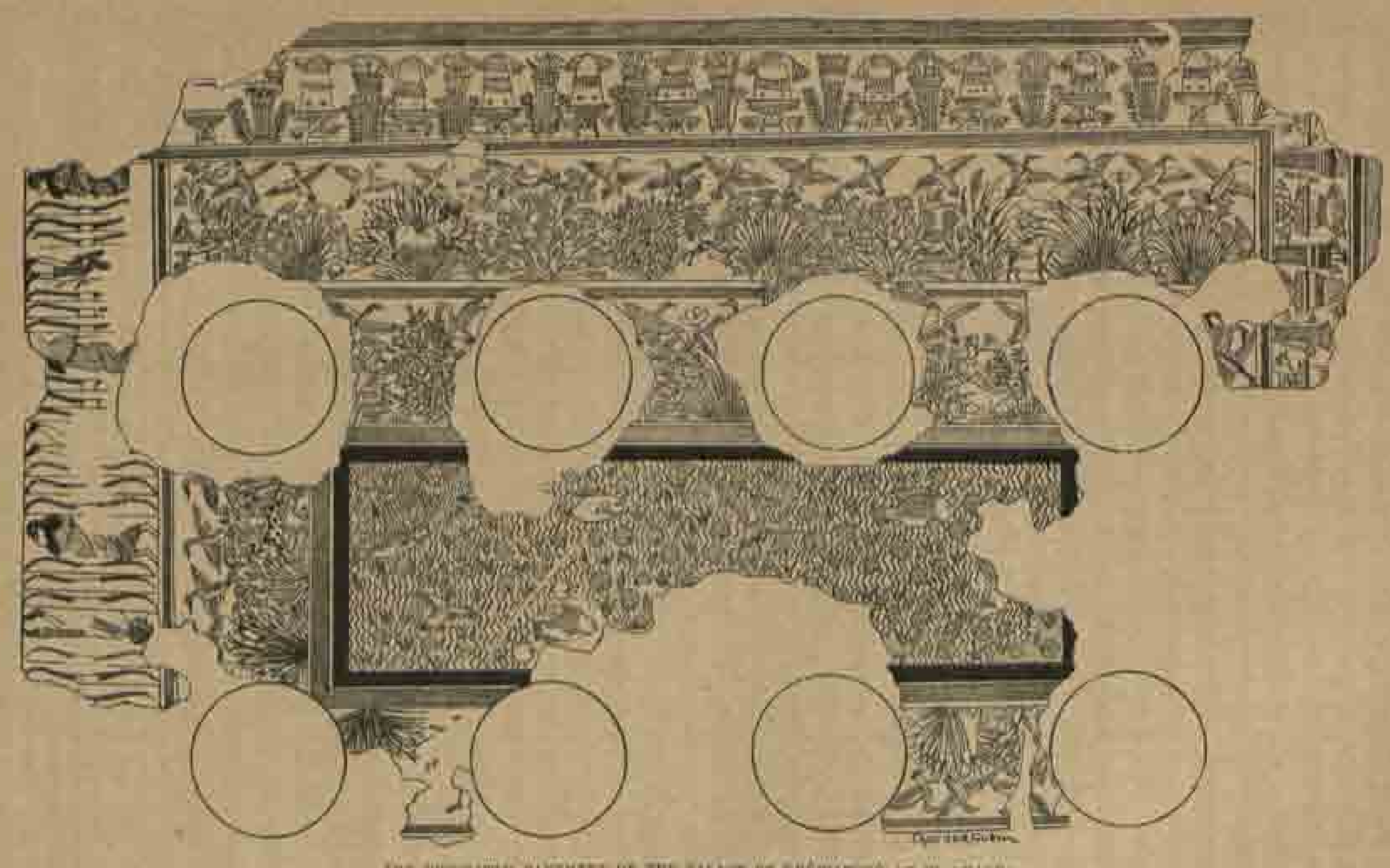
Atonû was one of the forms of the Sun, and perhaps the most material one of all those devised by the Egyptians. He was defined as "the good god who rejoices in truth, the lord of the solar course, the lord of the disk, the lord of heaven, the lord of earth, the living disk which lights up the two worlds, the living Harmakhis who rises on the horizon bearing his name

[1] The vignette on p. 321 gives only an idea of it. To judge of the delicacy of detail and the richness of the effect, see the coloured plates in which Petrie has reproduced the principal scenes (*Tell el-Amarna*, pls. iii., iv.).

[2] Bañki belonged to a family of artists, and his father Mani had filled before him the post of chief of the sculptors (Mariette, *Monuments divers*, pl. 26 *a*). The part played by these personages was first defined by Brugsch, with perhaps some exaggeration of their artistic merit and originality of talent (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 421–423).

[3] Nestor L'Hôte, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, pp. 76, 77, who considers them two separate towns.

[4] We know at present of fourteen of these stelæ, and the position of the principal of them will be seen in the map of the nome. The earliest discovered were published by Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments Égyptiens*, pls. xii.–xiv., partly from the copies made by Nestor L'Hôte; and others have been gradually added to them through the labours of Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 91, 110 *a*, *b*, of Daressy, *Tombeaux et Stèles-Limites de Hagi-Qandil*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xv. pp. 36–62, and of Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, pp. 5, 6. A certain number must still remain to be discovered on both banks of the Nile.



THE DECORATED PAVEMENT OF THE PALACE OF KHÛNIATONÛ AT EL-AMARNA.
Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from lithographs by Flinders Petrie.

of Shu, which is disk, the eternal infuser of life."[1] His priests exercised the same functions as those of Heliopolis, and his high priest was called "Oirimaû," like the high priest of Râ in Aunû. This functionary was a certain Mari upon whom the king showered his favours, and he was for some time the chief authority in the State after the Pharaoh himself.[2] Atonû was represented sometimes by the ordinary figure of Horus,[3] sometimes by the solar disk, but a disk whose rays were prolonged towards the earth, like so many arms ready to lay hold with their little hands of the offerings of the faithful, or to distribute to mortals the *crux ansata*, the symbol of life. The other gods, except Amon, were sharers with humanity in his benefits. Atonû proscribed him, and tolerated him only at Thebes; he required, moreover, that the name of Amon should be effaced wherever it occurred, but he respected Râ and Horus and Harmakhis—all, in fact, but Amon: he was content with being regarded as their king, and he strove rather to become their chief than their destroyer.[4] His nature, moreover, had nothing in it of the mysterious or ambiguous; he was the glorious torch which gave light to humanity, and which was seen every day to flame in the heavens without ever losing its brilliance or becoming weaker. When he hides himself "the world rests in darkness, like those dead who lie in their rock-tombs, with their heads swathed, their nostrils stuffed up, their eyes sightless, and whose whole property might be stolen from them, even that which they have under their head without their knowing it; the lion issues from his lair, the serpent roams ready to bite, it is as obscure as in a dark room, the earth is silent whilst he who creates everything dwells in his horizon." He has hardly arisen when "Egypt becomes festal, one awakens, one rises on one's feet; when thou hast caused men to clothe themselves, they adore thee with outstretched hands, and the whole earth attends to its work, the animals betake themselves to their herbage, trees and green crops abound, birds fly to their marshy thickets with wings outstretched in adoration of thy double, the cattle skip, all the birds which were in their nests shake themselves when thou risest for them; the boats come and go, for every way is open at thy appearance, the fish of the river leap before thee as soon as thy rays descend upon the ocean." It is not without reason that all living things thus rejoice at his advent; all of them owe their existence to him, for "he creates the female germ, he gives virility to men, and furnishes life to

[1] This is the title of Atonû, considered as god-king in Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 103 *b*, 107 *d*, l. 1.

[2] Some of the bas-reliefs from his tomb are reproduced in Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 97 *a–e*.

[3] Bouriant, *À Thèbes*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. vi. p. 53. It was probably this form of Horus which had, in the temple at Thebes, the statue called "the red image of Atonû in Patonu" (Bouriant, *Le Tombeau de Harmhabi à Cheikh-abd-el-Gournah*, p. 7).

[4] Prisse d'Avennes (*Remarks on Propylon at Karnak*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Literature*, 2nd series, vol. i. pp. 76–92) has found at Karnak, on fragments of the temple, the names of other divinities than Atonû worshipped by Khuniatonû.

the infant in its mother's womb; he calms and stills its weeping, he nourishes it in the maternal womb, giving forth the breathings which animate all that he creates, and when the infant escapes from the womb on the day of its birth, thou openest his mouth for speech, and thou satisfiest his necessities. When the chick is in the egg, a cackle in a stone, thou givest to it air while within to keep it alive; when thou hast caused it to be developed in the egg to the point of being able to break it, it goes forth proclaiming its existence by its cackling, and walks on its feet from the moment of its leaving the egg." Atonû presides over the universe and arranges within it the lot of human beings, both Egyptians and foreigners. The celestial Nile springs up in Hades far away in the north; he makes its current run down to earth, and spreads its waters over the fields during the inundation in order to nourish his creatures. He rules the seasons, winter and summer; he constructed the far-off sky in order to display himself therein, and to look down upon his works below. From the moment that he reveals himself there, "cities, towns, tribes, routes, rivers—all eyes are lifted to him, for he is the disk of the day upon the earth."[1] The sanctuary in which he is invoked contains only his divine shadow;[2] for he himself never leaves the firmament. His worship assumes none of the severe and gloomy forms of the Theban cults: songs resound therein, and hymns accompanied by the harp or flute;[3] bread, cakes, vegetables, fruits, and flowers are associated with his rites, and only on very rare occasions one of those bloody sacrifices in which the other gods delight. The king made himself supreme pontiff of Atonû, and took precedence of the high priest. He himself celebrated the rites at the altar of the god, and we see him there standing erect, his hands outstretched, offering incense and invoking blessings from on high.[4] Like the Caliph Hakim of a later age, he formed a school to propagate his new doctrines, and preached them before his courtiers; if they wished to please him, they had to accept his teaching, and show that they had profited by it.[5] The renunciation of the traditional religions

[1] These extracts are taken from the hymns of Tel el-Amarna. They have been translated by Bouriant, *Deux jours de fouilles à Tell el-Amarna*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pp. 2-5, and afterwards by Breasted, *De Hymnis in Solem sub Rege Amenophide IV. conceptis*, 1895.

[2] In one of the tombs at Tel el-Amarna the king is depicted leading his mother Tii to the temple of Atonû in order to see "the Shadow of Ra" (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 101, 102); and it was thought with some reason that "the Shadow of Ra" was one of the names of the temple (Bouriant-Read, *An Inscription of Khuniatonu*, in the *Proceedings* Bibl. Arch. Soc., 1892-93, vol. xv. pp. 208, 213, 215). I think that this designation applied also to the statue or symbol of the god; the shadow of a god was attached to the statue in the same manner as the "double," and transformed it into an animated body.

[3] Choirs of singers and musicians are represented in Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 94, 96 *a*, 106 *a*; some of them seem to be blind.

[4] Nestor L'Hôte, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, pp. 62, 63. The altar on which the king stands upright is one of those cubes of masonry of which Naville discovered such a fine example in the temple of Hatshopsîtu at Deir el-Bahari (*The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 10-12).

[5] Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 107 *a*, l. 10, where Tûtû, the royal messenger who carried the letters of Tel el-Amarna, says that every morning he took lessons from the king "because of the great love which he bore to the royal teaching." Aî affirms, moreover (*ibid.*, 107 *d*, l. 4), that his name penetrated

observances of the solar house involved also the rejection of such personal names as implied an ardent devotion to the banished god: in place of Amenôthes, "he to whom Amon is united," the king assumed after a time the name of Khûniatonû, "the Glory of the Disk," and all the members of his family, as well as his adherents at court, whose appellations involved the name of the same god, soon followed his example. The proscription of Amon extended to inscriptions, so that while his name or figure, wherever either could be got at, was chiselled out, the vulture, the emblem of Mût, which expressed the idea of mother, was also avoided.[1] The king would have nothing about him to suggest to eye or ear the remembrance of the gods or doctrines of Thebes. It would consequently have been fatal to them and their pretensions to the primacy of Egypt if the reign of the young king had continued as long as might naturally have been expected. After having been for nearly two centuries almost the national head of Africa, Amon was degraded by a single blow to the secondary rank and languishing existence in which he had lived before the expulsion of the Hyksôs. He had surrendered his sceptre as king of heaven and earth, not to any of his rivals who in old times had enjoyed the highest rank, but to an individual of a lower order, a sort of demigod, while he himself had thus become merely a local deity, confined to the corner of the Saïd in which he had had his origin. There was not even left to him the peaceful possession of this restricted domain, for he was obliged to act as host to the enemy who had deposed him: the temple of Atonû was erected at the door of his own sanctuary, and without leaving their courts the priests of Amon could hear at the hours of worship the chants intoned by hundreds of heretics in the temple of the Disk. Amon's priests saw, moreover, the royal gifts flowing into other treasuries, and the gold of Syria and Ethiopia no longer came into their hands. Should they stifle their complaints, and bow to this insulting oppression, or should they raise a protest against the action which had condemned them to obscurity and a restricted existence? If they had given indications of resistance, they would have been obliged to submit to prompt repression, but we see no sign of this. The bulk of the people—clerical as well as lay—accepted the deposition with complacency, and the nobles hastened to

into the palace owing to the zeal with which he applied himself "to hear the doctrine" of the king. Khûniatonû, speaking elsewhere to the high priest Merirî, calls him "my servant—sotmû âkhû—who hears the doctrine" (ID., ibid., 37). Other expressions of a similar kind are found in many of the inscriptions in the tombs at Tel el-Amarna, leaving no doubt in the mind as to the proselytising spirit which animated the prince. The Caliph Hakim seems to me, of all known individuals, to resemble Khûniatonû the most, both in his character and in the rôle he played: his reign seems to have reproduced in Mahometan Egypt that of Khûniatonû in the Egypt of the Pharaohs.

[1] Lepsius, *Ueber den I^sten Ægyptischen Götterkreis*, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences in Berlin, 1851, pp. 198, 199. We find, however, some instances where the dragoman, either from custom or design, had used the vulture to express the word *maût*, "the mother," without troubling himself to think whether it answered to the name of the goddess.

offer their adherence to that which afterwards became the official confession of faith of the Lord King.[1] The lord of Thebes itself, a certain Ramses, bowed his head to the new cult, and the bas-reliefs of his tomb display to our eyes the proofs of his apostasy: on the right-hand side Amon is the only object of his devotion, while on the left he declares himself an adherent of Atonû. Religious formularies, divine appellations, the representations of the costume, expression, and demeanour of the figures are at issue with each other in the scenes on the two sides of the door, and if we were to trust to appearances only, one would think that the two pictures belonged to two separate reigns, and were concerned with two individuals strangers to each other.[2]



THE MASK OF KHÛNIATONÛ.[3]

The rupture between the past and the present was so complete, in fact, that the sovereign was obliged to change, if not his face and expression, at least the

[1] The political character of this reaction against the growing power of the high priests and the town of Amon was pointed out for the first time by Maspero in 1878, in his course of lectures at the School for Advanced Studies, and dealt with briefly by O. RAYET, *Les Monuments de l'Art antique*, vol. i., *Amenophis IV., statuette en stéatite jaune, musée du Louvre*, pp. 3, 4; cf. BOURIANT, *A Thèbes*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. vi. p. 55. This idea was developed by ED. MEYER, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. i. pp. 269–274, and *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 269, et seq.; cf. WIEDEMANN, *Geschichte von Alten Ægypten*, pp. 97–104, and TIELE, *Geschichte der Religion im Altertum*, vol. i. p. 88. Ed. Meyer and Tiele blend with the political idea a monotheistic conception which does not seem to me to be fully justified, at least at present, by anything in the materials we possess.

[2] His tomb was discovered in 1878 by VILLIERS-STUART, *Nile Gleanings*, pp. 297–302, and *Egypt after the War*, pp. 269–292; cf. BOURIANT, *Le Tombeau de Ramsès à Cheikh Abd-el-Gournah*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1882, vol. ii., and *A Thèbes*, in the *Recueil*, vol. vi. pp. 55, 56.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by PETRIE, *Tell el-Amarna*, pl. i. 10, and frontispiece; cf. the drawing in LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 111, in which the likeness to that given above is striking. Petrie thinks that the monument discovered by him, which is of fine plaster, is a cast of the dead king, executed possibly to enable the sculptors to make *Ushabtis*, "Respondents," for him (*Tell el-Amarna*, pp. 17, 18, 40).

mode in which they were represented. The name and personality of an Egyptian were so closely allied that interference with one implied interference with the other.[1] Khûniatonû could not continue to be such as he was when Amenôthes, and, in fact, their respective portraits differ from each other to that degree that there is some doubt at moments as to their identity. Amenôthes is hardly to be distinguished from his father; he has the same regular and somewhat heavy features, the same idealised body and conventional shape as those which we find in the orthodox Pharaohs. Khûniatonû affects a long and narrow head, conical at the top, with a retreating forehead, a large aquiline and pointed nose, a small mouth, an enormous chin projecting in front, the whole being supported by a long, thin neck. His shoulders are narrow, with little display of muscle, but his breasts are so full, his abdomen so prominent, and his hips so large, that one would think they belonged to a woman. Etiquette required the attendants upon the king, and those who aspired to his favour, to be portrayed in the bas-reliefs of temples or tombs in all points, both as regards face and demeanour, like the king himself. Hence it is that the majority of his contemporaries, after having borne the likeness of Amenôthes, came to adopt, without a break, that of Khûniatonû. The scenes at Tel el-Amarna contain, therefore, nothing but angular profiles, pointed skulls, ample breasts, flowing figures, and swelling stomachs. The outline of these is one that lends itself readily to caricature, and the artists have exaggerated the various details with the intention, it may be, of rendering the representations grotesque. There was nothing ridiculous, however, in the king, their model, and several of his statues attribute to him a languid, almost valetudinarian grace, which is by no means lacking in dignity. He was a good and affectionate man, and was passionately fond of



AMENÔTHES IV.—FROM THE STATUETTE IN THE LOUVRE.[2]

[1] Cf. *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. [illegible], [illegible], for further information on this subject.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Faucher-Gudin: cf. Maspero, in O. Rayet, *Les Monuments de l'Art antique*, vol. i. The lower part of the legs has been restored by a modern sculptor.

his wife, Nofrîtîti, associating her with himself in his sovereign acts. If he set out to visit the temple, she followed him in a chariot;[1] if he was about to reward one of his faithful subjects, she stood beside him and helped to distribute the golden necklaces.[2] She joined him in his prayers to the Solar Disk;[3] she ministered to him in domestic life, when, having broken away from the worries of his public duties,[4] he sought relaxation in his harem; and their union was so tender, that we find her on one occasion, at least, seated in a coaxing attitude on her husband's knees—a unique instance of such affection among all the representations on the monuments of Egypt. They had six daughters, whom they brought up to live with them on terms of the closest intimacy: they accompanied their father and mother everywhere, and are exhibited as playing around the throne while their parents are engaged in performing the duties of their office.[5] The gentleness and gaiety of the king were reflected in the life of his subjects: all the scenes which they have left us consist entirely of processions, cavalcades, banquets, and entertainments. Khûniatonû was prodigal in the gifts of gold and the eulogies which he bestowed on Mariri, the chief priest: the people dance around him while he is receiving from the king the just recompense of his activity.[7] When Hûia, who came back from Syria in the XIIth year of the king's reign, brought solemnly before him the tribute he had collected, the king, borne in his jolting palanquin on the shoulders of his officers, proceeded to the temple to return thanks to his god, to the accompaniment of chants and the waving of the great fans.[8] When the divine father Aî had married the governess of one of the king's daughters, the whole city gave itself up to enjoyment, and wine flowed freely during the wedding feast.[9] Notwithstanding the frequent festivals, the king found time





KHÛNIATONÛ WITH HIS WIFE UPON HIS KNEES.[6]

[1] Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 92, 93.

[2] Id., *ibid.*, iii. 97 a, 103, 102.

[3] Nestor L'Hôte, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, p. 59; Prisse d'Avennes, *Hist. de l'Art Égyptien*; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 91 a, 106 b, 110 a, b.

[4] Nestor L'Hôte, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, pp. 66, 67; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 98 b.

[5] Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 93, where the princesses are seen following the king to the temple of Atonû in a chariot; *ibid.*, 103, 109, where they are present at the distribution of the golden necklaces.

[6] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a drawing by Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, pl. i. 16, and pls. 40, 41. A picture in Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 99 b, shows them seated on the same seat and embracing each other.

[7] Nestor L'Hôte, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, pp. 61–80; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 91–94, 97.

[8] Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 100 b. We might possibly be able to read the name Hûni; the cuneiform transcriptions, however, place after the i a final a, which inclines me to prefer Hûia.

[9] Lepsius, *Denkm.*, 103, 108 a.



KHÛNIATONÛ AND HIS WIFE REWARDING ONE OF THE GREAT OFFICERS OF THE COURT.[1]

to watch jealously over the ordinary progress of government and foreign affairs. The architects, too, were not allowed to stand idle, and without taking into account the repairs of existing buildings, had plenty to do in constructing edifices in honour of Atonû in the principal towns of the Nile valley, at Memphis,[2] Heliopolis,[3] Hermopolis,[4] Hermonthis,[5] and in the Fayûm.[6] The provinces in Ethiopia remained practically in the same condition as in the time of Amenôthes III.;[7] Kûsh was pacified, notwithstanding the raids which the tribes of the desert were accustomed to make from time to time, only to receive on each occasion rigorous chastisement from the king's viceroy. The sudden degradation of Amon had not brought about any coldness between the Pharaoh and his princely allies in Asia. The aged Amenôthes had, towards the end of his reign, asked the hand of Dushratta's daughter in marriage, and the Mitannian king, highly flattered by the request, saw his opportunity and took advantage of it in the interest of his treasury

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Insinger, taken in 1882.

[2] C. Nicholson, *On some Remains of the Disk-Worshippers at Memphis*, in the *Ægyptiaca*, pp. 115–124; Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 27 a.

[3] Maspero, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire*, § xvii. a, in *Zeitschrift*, 1881, p. 116. The greater part of the fragments from Heliopolis are walled up in the mosque of the Caliph Hakim at Cairo.

[4] A granite altar from Ashmunein is described by Prisse d'Avennes, *Lettre à M. Champollion-Figeac*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1847, p. 730; I saw, in 1882, in the village of Ashmunein itself, some insignificant remains which seemed to bear the cartouche of Khûniatonû.

[5] Wiedemann, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 400.

[6] Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, pp. 10, 20, and pl. xxiv. 10.

[7] The name and the figure of Khûniatonû are met with on the gate of the temple of Soleb (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 110 k), and he received in his XIIth year the tributes of Kûsh, as well as those of Syria (Id., *ibid.*, pl. 100 b, ll. 1, 2).

He discussed the amount of the dowry, demanded a considerable sum of gold, and when the affair had been finally arranged to his satisfaction, he despatched the princess to the banks of the Nile. On her arrival she found her affianced husband was dead, or, at all events, dying. Amenôthes IV., however, stepped into his father's place, and inherited his bride with his crown.[1] The new king's relations with other foreign princes were no less friendly: the chief of the Khâti (Hittites) complimented him on his accession,[2] the King of Alasia wrote to him to express his earnest desire for a continuance of peace between the two states.[3] Burnaburiash of Babylon had, it is true, hoped to obtain an Egyptian princess in marriage for his son, and being disappointed, had endeavoured to pick a quarrel over the value of the presents which had been sent him, together with the notice of the accession of the new sovereign.



THE DOOR OF A TOMB AT TEL EL-AMARNA.[4]

But his kingdom lay too far away to make his ill-will of much consequence, and his complaints passed unheeded.[5] In Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia the situation remained unchanged. The vassal cities were in a perpetual state of disturbance, though not more so than in the past. Aziru, son of Abdashirti, chief of the country of the Amorites, had always, even during the lifetime of Amenôthes III., been the most turbulent of vassals.[6] The smaller states of the Orontes and of the coast about Arvad had been laid waste by his repeated incursions and troubled by his intrigues. He had taken and pillaged twenty towns, among which

[1] Marriage of Amenôthes IV. with Tadukhipa, daughter of Dushratta (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, No. 11, p. 23, ll. 4, 5).

[2] Winckler-Abel, *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna*, No. 18, pl. 15; cf. Delattre, *Lettres de Tell el-Amarna*, in the *Proceedings* of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch., 1890-91, vol. xiii. pp. 548-550.

[3] Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, No. 6, pp. 14, 15, and xxxvi.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Insinger. The tomb is that of Tutu.

[5] Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, etc., Nos. 2-4, pls. 6-11, and pp. xxx-xxxiii.

[6] For further account of this stirring personage, cf. the memoir of Père Delattre, *Aziru*, in the *Proceedings of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch.* 1890-91, vol. xiii. pp. 215-234; and *Lettres de Tell el-Amarna*, in the *Proceedings*, 1892-93, vol. xv. pp. 16-20, 21, 22, 345-373, 501, 502, 508-510, 518-520.

were Simyra, Sini, Irqata, and Qodshu, and he was already threatening Byblos, Berytus, and Sidon. It was useless to complain of him, for he always managed to exculpate himself to the royal messengers. Khai, Dûdû, Amenemaûpit had in turn all pronounced him innocent. Pharaoh himself, after citing him to appear in Egypt to give an explanation of his conduct, had allowed himself to be won over by his fair speaking, and had dismissed him uncondemned. Other princes, who lacked his cleverness and power, tried to imitate him, and from north to south the whole of Syria could only be compared to some great arena, in which fighting was continually carried on between one tribe or town and another—Tyre against Sidon, Sidon against Byblos, Jerusalem against Lachish. All of them appealed to Khûniatonû, and endeavoured to enlist him on their side. Their despatches arrived by scores, and the perusal of them at the present day would lead us to imagine that Egypt had all but lost her supremacy. The Egyptian ministers, however, were entirely unmoved by them, and continued to refuse material support to any of the numerous rivals, except in a few rare cases, where a too prolonged indifference would have provoked an open revolt in some part of the country.

Khûniatonû died young, about the XVIIIth year of his reign.[1] He was buried in the depths of a ravine in the mountain-side to the east of the town, and his tomb remained unknown till within the last few years. Although one of his daughters who died before her father had been interred there, the place seems to have been entirely unprepared for the reception of the king's body. The funeral chamber and the passages are scarcely even rough-hewn, and the reception halls show a mere commencement of decoration.[2] The other tombs of the locality are divided into two groups, separated by the ravine reserved for the burying-place of the royal house. The noble families possessed each their own tomb on the slopes of the hillside; the common people were laid to rest in pits lower down, almost on the level of the plain. The cutting and decoration of all these tombs had been entrusted to a company of contractors, who had executed them according to two or three stereotyped plans, without any variation, except in size.[3] Nearly all the walls are bare, or present but few inscriptions; those tombs only are completed whose occupants died before the Pharaoh. The façades of the tombs are cut in the rock, and contain, for the most part,

[1] The length of Khûniatonû's reign was fixed by Griffith with almost absolute certainty by means of the dates written in ink on the jars of wine and preserves found in the ruins of the palace (Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, pp. 32-34, and pls. xxii.-xxv.

[2] The tomb has been found, as I anticipated, in the ravine which separates the northern from the southern group of burying-places. The Arabs opened it in 1891, and Grébaut has since completely excavated it (Daressy, *Tombeaux et Stèles-limites de Hagi-Qandil*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xv. p. 62). The scenes depicted in it are connected with the death and funeral of the Princess Mâqnitonû (Bouriant, *Notes de voyage*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xviii. pp. 121-127.

[3] Nestor L'Hôte, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, p. 55, et seq.; Bouriant, *Deux jours de fouilles à Tell el-Amarna*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission française du Caire*, vol. i. pp. 8, 9, 15, 16, 21, 22.



INTERIOR OF A TOMB AT TEL EL-AMARNA.[1]

but one door, the jambs of which are covered on both sides by several lines of hieroglyphs; and it is just possible to distinguish traces of the adoration of the radiant Disk on the lintels, together with the cartouches containing the names of the king and god. The chapel is a large rectangular chamber, from one end of which opens the inclined passage leading to the coffin. The roof is sometimes supported by columns, having capitals decorated with designs of flowers or of geese hung from the abacus by their feet with their heads turned upwards.[2]

The religious teaching at Tel el-Amarna presents no difference in the main from that which prevailed in other parts of Egypt.[3] The Double of Osiris was supposed to reside in the tomb, or else to take wing to heaven and embark with Atonû, as elsewhere he would embark with Râ. The same funerary furniture is needed for the deceased as in other local cults—ornaments of

[1] Drawn by Boudier, after a photograph by Insinger of the interior of the tomb of Tûtû.

[2] Cf. the drawing of the column ornamented with geese, in Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 106 *c*; Prisse d'Avennes, *Histoire de l'Art Égyptien*. Fragments of similar columns have been found in the palace of the king, in the middle of the ruins of the town, by Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, pls. vii., xi. 6, and p. 8.

[3] According to Breasted, *De Hymnis in Solem sub Amenophide IV. conceptis*, p. 8, there was an essential difference. But the peculiar treatment of the two extremities of the sign for the sky, which surmounts the great scene on the tomb of Âhmosis, shows that there had been no change in the ideas concerning the two horizons or the divine tree found in them (Naville, L'Ubre, *Papiers inédits*, vol. iii. fol. 286); the aspirations for the soul of Marit, the high priest of Atonu (Id., *ibid.*, fol. 284), or for that of the sculptor Baûkû, are the same as those usually found (Brugsch, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 122, 427), and the formula on the funerary stele differs only in the name of the god from that on the ordinary stelæ of the same kind (Wiedemann, *Inscriptions of the Time of Amenophis IV.*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. xvii. pp. 155-156).

vitreous paste, amulets, and *Ushabtiu*, or "Respondents," to labour for the dead man in the fields of Ialû. Those of Khûniatonû were, like those of Amenôthes III., actual statuettes in granite of admirable workmanship.[1] The dead who reached the divine abode, retained the same rank in life that they had possessed here below, and in order to ensure the enjoyment of it, they related, or caused to be depicted in their tombs, the events of their earthly career. A citizen of Khûitatonû would naturally represent the manners and customs of his native town, and this would account for the local colouring of the scenes in which we see him taking part. They bear no resemblance to the traditional pictures of the buildings and gardens of Thebes with which we are familiar; we have instead the palaces, colonnades, and pylons of the rising city, its courts planted with sycamores, its treasuries, and its storehouses. The sun's disk hovers above and darts its prehensile rays over every object; its hands present the *crux ansata* to the nostrils of the various members of the family, they touch caressingly the queen and her daughters, they handle the offerings of bread and cakes, they extend even into the government warehouses to pilfer or to bless. Throughout all these scenes Khûniatonû and the ladies of his harem seem to be ubiquitous: here he visits one of the officers, there he repairs to the temple for the dedication of its sanctuary. His chariot, followed at a little distance by that of the princesses, makes its way peaceably through the streets. The police of the city and the soldiers of the guard, whether Egyptians or foreigners, run before him and clear a path among the crowd, the high priest Mariri stands at the gate to receive him, and the ceremony is brought to a close by a distribution of gold necklaces or rings, while the populace dance with delight before the sovereign. Meantime the slaves have cooked the repast, the dancers and musicians within their chambers have rehearsed for the evening's festival, and the inmates of the house carry on animated dialogues during their meal. The style and the technique of these wall-paintings differ in no way from those in the necropolis of the preceding period, and there can be no doubt that the artists who decorated these monuments were trained in the schools of Thebes. Their drawing is often very refined, and there is great freedom in their composition; the perspective of some of the bas-reliefs almost comes up to our own, and the movement of animated crowds is indicated with perfect accuracy. It is, however, not safe to conclude from these examples that the artists who executed them would have developed Egyptian art in a new direction, had not subsequent events caused a reaction against the worship of Atonû and his followers. Although the tombs in which they worked differ from the generality of Egyptian burying-places, their originality does not arise from any

[1] For these granite Ushabtiu, cf. PETRIE, *Tell el-Amarna*, pp. 17, 18. For others of the same period, see WIEDEMANN, *On a Monument of the Time of King Khu-n-Aten*, in *Proceedings*, vol. iii. pp. 200–202.

effort, either conscious or otherwise, to break through the ordinary routine of the art of the time; it is rather the result of the extraordinary appearance of the sovereign whose features they were called on to portray, and the novelty of several of the subjects which they had to treat. That artist among them who first gave concrete form to the ideas circulated by the priests of Atonû, and drew the model cartoons, evidently possessed a master-hand, and was endowed with undeniable originality and power. No other Egyptian draughtsman ever expressed a child's grace as he did, and the portraits which he sketched of the daughters of Khûniatonû playing undressed at their mother's side, are examples of a reserved and delicate grace. But these models, when once composed and finished even to the smallest details, were entrusted for execution to workmen of mediocre powers, who were recruited not only from Thebes, but from the neighbouring cities of Hermopolis and Siût. These estimable people, with a praiseworthy patience, traced bit by bit the cartoons confided to them, omitting or adding individuals or groups according to the extent of the wall-space they had to cover, or to the number of relatives and servants whom the proprietor of the tomb desired should share in his future happiness. The style of these draughtsmen betrays the influence of the second-rate schools in which they had learned their craft, and the clumsiness of their work would often repel us, were it not that the interest of the episodes portrayed redeems it in the eyes of the Egyptologist.



TWO OF THE DAUGHTERS OF KHÛNIATONÛ.[1]

Khûniatonû left no son to succeed him; two of his sons-in-law successively occupied the throne—Sâakerî,[2] who had married his eldest daughter

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by PETRIE, *Tell el-Amarna*, pl. 1, No. 12.

[2] This king's name was discovered by PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Monuments Égyptiens*, p. 1, and was incorrectly copied by him, so that Brugsch (*Gesch. Ægyptens*, p. 438) renders it Sa'aocht, and Wiedemann (*Ægypt. Gesch.*, p. 403) Ra-se-ka-ka, while Petrie (*Tell el-Amarna*, p. 25, and pl. xv. 102-105) gives to it the form Seaakhkara Zeserkheperu. I know of no example, during this period, of the verb saakha being expressed by the mallet only; I therefore read provisionally the name Sâakerî with the sign sa.

Maritatonû, and Tûtankhamon, the husband of Ankhnasaton. The first had been associated in the sovereignty by his father-in-law;[1] he showed himself a zealous partisan of the "Disk," and he continued to reside in the new capital during the few years of his sole reign.[2] The second son-in-law was a son of Amenôthes III., probably by a concubine.[3] He returned to the religion of Amon, and his wife, abjuring the creed of her father, changed her name from Ankhnasaton to that of Ânkhnasamon. Her husband abandoned Khûitatonû[4] at the end of two or three years, and after his departure the town fell into decadence as quickly as it had arisen. The streets were unfrequented, the palaces and temples stood empty, the tombs remained unfinished and unoccupied, and its patron god returned to his former state, and was relegated to the third or fourth rank in the Egyptian Pantheon. The town struggled for a short time against its adverse fate, which was no doubt retarded owing to the various industries founded in it by Khûniatonû, the manufactories of enamel and coloured glass requiring the presence of many workmen;[5] but the latter emigrated ere long to Thebes or the neighbouring city of Hermopolis, and the "Horizon of Atonû" disappeared from the list of nomes, leaving of what might have been the capital of the Egyptian empire, merely a mound of crumbling bricks with two or three fellahin villages scattered on the eastern bank of the Nile.[6] Thebes, whose influence and population had meanwhile never lessened, resumed her supremacy undisturbed. If, out of respect for the past, Tûtankhamon continued the decoration of the

[1] Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 99 a, where he and his wife are represented by the side of Khûniatonû, with the protocol and the attributes of royalty. Petrie assigns to this double reign those minor objects on which the king's prenomen Ankhkhopirûrî is followed by the epithet *Beloved of Uaenrî*, which formed part of the name of Khûniatonû (*Tell el-Amarna*, p. 42).

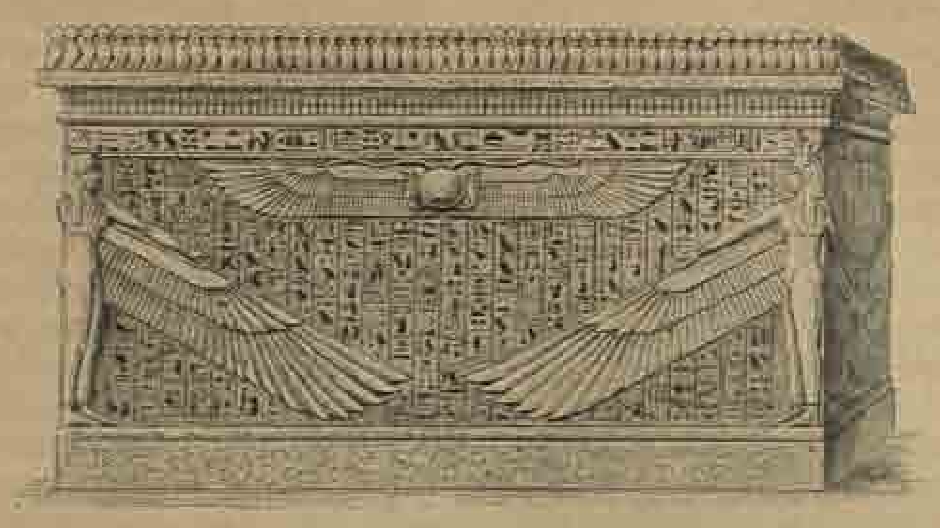
[2] Petrie thinks, on the testimony of the lists of Manetho, which give twelve years to Akenkheres, daughter of Horus (Müller-Didot, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, vol. ii. pp. 577–578), that Saakerî reigned twelve years, and only two or three years as sole monarch without his father-in-law (*Tell el-Amarna*, pp. 43, 44). I think these two or three years a probable maximum length of his reign, whatever may be the value we should here assign to the lists of Manetho.

[3] This relationship was recognised by the early Egyptologists (Wilkinson, *Extracts from several Hieroglyphic Subjects*, p. 11; Lepsius, *Lettre à M. François Salvolini*, p. 98, et seq.; E. de Rougé, *Lettre à M. Alfred Maury*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1847, pp. 126–127; Mariette, *Renseignements sur les soixante-quatre Apis*, in the *Bulletin Archéologique de l'Athenæum Français*, 1855, pp. 52, 58), but was forgotten for some thirty years. It has been again pointed out by Loret, *Tout-ankh-amon, fils d'Aménophis III.*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xi. p. 212 (cf. Lefébure, *Sur différents Mots et Noms Égyptiens*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1890–91, vol. xiii. p. 478). The Princess Mutîrî was neither his mother nor his grandmother, as Wiedemann (*Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 401) and Lefébure (*Sur différents Mots et Noms Égyptiens*, p. 478) have affirmed, but was the mother of a King Nibkhopirurî, whose position cannot yet be determined (Mariette, *Abydos*, vol. ii. pl. 40 a).

[4] Petrie, in *Tell el-Amarna*, pp. 43, 44, judging from the number of minor objects which he has found in his excavations at Tel el-Amarna, believes that he can fix the length of Tûtankhamon's sojourn at Khûitatonû at six years, and that of his whole reign at nine years.

[5] Numerous specimens may be seen in Petrie's *Tell el-Amarna*, pls. xiii.–xx.

[6] Petrie thinks that the temples and palaces were systematically destroyed by Harmhabi, and the ruins used by him in the buildings which he erected at different places in Egypt (*Tell el-Amarna*, p. 44). But there is no need for this theory: the beauty of the limestone which Khûniatonû had used sufficiently accounts for the rapid disappearance of the deserted edifices.



SARCOPHAGUS OF THE PHARAOH AÏ.[1]

temple of Atonû at Karnak;[2] he placed in every other locality the name and figure of Amon: a little stucco spread over the parts which had been mutilated, enabled the outlines to be restored to their original purity, and the alteration was rendered invisible by a few coats of colour. Tûtankhamon was succeeded by the divine father Aï, whom Khûniatonû had assigned as husband to one of his relatives named Tii, so called after the widow of Amenôthes III. Aï laboured no less diligently than his predecessor to keep up the traditions which had been temporarily interrupted.[3] He had been a faithful worshipper of the Disk.

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, after the drawing of Prisse d'Avennes (cf. *Histoire de l'Art Égyptien*, vol. ii., and Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 113 *e-g*).

[2] Stones from this temple bearing the name of Atonû have been noticed by Nestor L'Hôte, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, pp. 94–97, by Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments Égyptiens*, pl. xi. 1, and by Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 119 *a, b* (cf. Piehl, *Lettre à M. A. Erman, sur une découverte concernant le second pylône de Karnak*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1883, p. 41), in the construction of the pylons of Harmhabî at Karnak, and even in the buildings of Seti I. and Ramses II. at Luxor.

[3] The name of this king and his place in the sequence of dynasties have been frequently discussed by early Egyptologists. Champollion called him Skhaï, and placed him before the XVIIth dynasty (*Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, 2nd edit., p. 247). In this he was followed by Charles Lenormant (*Éclaircissements sur le cercueil du Roi Memphite Mycérinus*, p. 24), while Rosellini (*Monumenti Storici*, vol. i. p. 145) calls him Skhaï or Tēfaï, and Nestor L'Hôte (*Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, pp. 55, 66) Pinutorei, in order to identify him with Binothris of the IInd dynasty. Wilkinson (*Modern Egypt and Thebes*, 2nd edit., vol. ii. p. 230) styles him Eesa, and Major Felix Aua (*Note sopra la Iscrizione del Faiyoum*, p. 18). Prisse reads his name Skhaï or Schaeraï, and gives him his true position (*Recherches sur les légendes royales et l'époque du règne de Schaï et Schaerai*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, vol. ii. pp. 457–474), while Lepsius and Bunsen (*Egyptens Stelle*, vol. iii. pp. 88, 89), though they keep the form Bensher, Bensher Isuul, place him among the last Pharaohs of the XVIIIth dynasty. E. de Rougé, after having proposed the reading Aiemnoï (*Examen de l'ouvrage de M. le Chevalier de Bunsen*, ii. pp. 27, 28), at last found the true one, viz. *the divine father Aï* (*Notice des Monuments Égyptiens du Louvre*, 1849, p. 57). The order of succession of the three sovereigns is not quite certain; the one given in the text is accepted as the most probable by the majority of historians (Brugsch, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 433–438; Wiedemann, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, pp. 403–406). Ed. Meyer (*Geschichte des Alten Ægyptens*, pp. 269–271) reverses the order of the two last, and places Tûtankhamon's reign before that of Aï, but Petrie's discoveries (*Tell el-Amarna*, pp. 42–44) have now rendered this view improbable.

and had given orders for the construction of two funerary chapels for himself in the mountain-side above Tel el-Amarna, the paintings in which indicate a complete adherence to the faith of the reigning king. But on becoming Pharaoh, he was proportionally zealous in his submission to the gods of Thebes, and in order to mark more fully his return to the ancient belief, he chose for his royal burying-place a site close to that in which rested the body of Amenôthes III.[1] His sarcophagus, a large oblong of carved rose granite, still lies open and broken on the spot. Figures of goddesses stand at the four angles and extend their winged arms along its sides, as if to embrace the mummy of the sovereign.[2] Tûtankhamon and Aï were obeyed from one end of Egypt to the other, from Napata to the shores of the Mediterranean. The peoples of Syria raised no disturbances during their reigns, and paid their accustomed tribute regularly;[3] if their rule was short, it was at least happy. It would appear, however, that after their deaths, troubles arose in the state. The lists of Manetho give two or three princes—Rathôtis, Khebres, and Akherres—whose names are not found on the monuments.[4] It is possible that we ought not to regard them as historical personages, but merely as heroes of popular romance, of the same type as those introduced so freely into the history of the preceding dynasties by the chroniclers of the Saïte and Greek periods.[5] They were, perhaps, merely short-lived pretenders who were overthrown one by the other before either had succeeded in establishing himself on the seat of Horus. Be that as it may, the XVIIIth dynasty drew to its close amid strife and quarrelling, without our being able to discover the cause of its overthrow, or the name of the last of its sovereigns.[6]

Scarcely half a century had elapsed between the moment when the XVIIIth dynasty reached the height of its power under Amenôthes III. and that of its downfall. It is impossible to introduce with impunity changes of any kind into the constitution or working of so complicated a machine as an empire

[1] The first tomb seems to have been dug before his marriage, at the time when he had no definite ambitions; the second (the No. 2 of Lepsius) was prepared for him and his wife Tii. The identity of the divine father Aï of Tel el-Amarna with the Pharaoh Aï who was buried at Thebes has been shown by Lepsius (*Briefe aus Ægypten und Æthiopien*, p. 415); only Wiedemann, as far as I know, has contested it.

[2] For the description of the tomb, see Nestor L'Hôte, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, pp. 2–11.

[3] Tûtankhamon receives the tribute of the Khâiti as well as that of the Syrians (Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. i. pp. 477–480; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 115–118); Aï is represented at Shataûi in Nubia as accompanied by Paûrâ, the prince of Kûsh (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 114 *e*, *f*).

[4] Manetho, in Müller-Didot, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, vol. ii. pp. 573–578. Wiedemann (*Ægyptische Geschichte*, pp. 406–409) has collected six royal names which, with much hesitation, he places about this time.

[5] Maspero, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xvii. pp. 56–68, 121–138.

[6] The list of kings who make up the XVIIIth dynasty can be established with certainty, with the exception of the order of the three last sovereigns who succeed Khûniatonû. It is here given in its

founded on conquest. When the parts of the mechanism have been once put together and set in motion, and have become accustomed to work harmoniously at a proper pace, interference with it must not be attempted except to replace such parts as are broken or worn out, by others exactly like them. To make alterations while the machine is in motion, or to introduce new combinations, however ingenious, into any part of the original plan, might produce an accident or a breakage of the gearing when perhaps it would be least expected. When the devout Khûniatonû exchanged one city and one god for another, he thought that he was merely transposing equivalents, and that the safety of the commonwealth was not concerned in the operation. Whether it was Amon or Atonû who presided over the destinies of his people, or whether Thebes or Tel el-Amarna were the centre of impulse, was, in his opinion, merely a question of internal arrangement which could not affect the economy of the whole. But events soon showed that he was mistaken in his calculations. It is probable that if, on the expulsion of the Hyksôs, the earlier princes of the dynasty had attempted an alteration in the national religion, or had moved the capital to any other city they might select, the remainder of the kingdom would not have been affected by the change. But after several centuries of faithful adherence to Amon in his city of Thebes, the governing power would

authentic form, as the monuments have permitted us to reconstruct it, and in its Greek form as it is found in the lists of Manetho:—

According to the Monuments	According to Manetho
I. Ahmosis I. Nibpahutiri.	I. Amôsis.
II. Amenothes I. Zeserkeri.	II. Khebrôs.
III. Thutmosis I. Aakhopirkerî.	III. Amenôphthis.
IV. Thutmosis II. Aakhopirnirî.	IV. Amensis.
V. Thutmosis III. Manakhpirrî.	V. Misaphris.
VI. Amenothes II. Aakhopirûrî.	VI. Misphragmouthôsis.
VII. Thutmosis IV. Manakhopirûrî.	VII. Thoumôsis.
VIII. Amenothes III. Nibmarî.	VIII. Amenôphis.
IX. Amenothes IV. / Khuniatonû — Naphurkhopirurî-uâanrî.	IX. Hôros.
X. Sâakerî Sozirkhopirû Ankhkhopirûrî.	X. Akherrês I.
XI. Tûtânkhamon Hiqûanu-risi Nibkhopirûrî.	XI. Rathôs.
XII. Itnûtir Ai nutir-hiq-uisit Khopirkhopirûrî-iri-Mâit.	XII. Khebrês.
	XIII. Akherrês II.

Manetho's list, as we have it, is a very ill-made extract, wherein the official kings are mixed up with the legitimate queens, as well as, at least towards the end, with persons of doubtful authenticity. Several kings, between Khûniatonû and Harmhabi, are sometimes added at the end of the list (Wiedemann, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, pp. 401-408); some of these, I think, belonged to previous dynasties, e.g. Teti to the VIth (cf. *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 416, note 3), Rîhotpu to the XVIIth (cf. p. 77 of this volume); several are heroes of romance, as Merenphtah or Mokhuaperphtah (Maspero, *Les Contes populaires*, 2nd edit., pp. cxxviii–xl.), while the names of the others are either variants from the cartouche names of known princes, or else are nicknames, such as Sesu, Sesusu for Ramses II. Dr. Mahler believes that he can fix, within a few days, the date of the kings of whom the list is composed, *from* Ahmosis I. to Ai. I hold to the approximate date which I have given on p. 107 of this volume, and I give the years 1600 to 1350 as the period of the dynasty, with a possible error of about fifty years, more or less.

find it no easy matter to accomplish such a resolution. During three centuries the dynasty had become welded to the city and to its patron deity, and the locality had become so closely associated with the dynasty, that any blow aimed at the god could not fail to destroy the dynasty with it; indeed, had the experiment of Khûniatonû been prolonged beyond a few years, it might have entailed the ruin of the whole country. All who came into contact with Egypt, or were under her rule, whether Asiatics or Africans, were quick to detect any change in her administration, and to remark a falling away from the traditional systems of the times of Thûtmosis III. and Amenôthes II. The successors of the heretic king had the sense to perceive at once the first symptoms of disorder, and to refrain from persevering in his errors; but however quick they were to undo his work, they could not foresee its serious consequences. His immediate followers were powerless to maintain their dynasty, and their posterity had to make way for a family who had not incurred the hatred of Amon, or rather that of his priests. If those who followed them were able by their tact and energy to set Egypt on her feet again, they were at the same time unable to restore her former prosperity or her boundless confidence in herself.





THE REACTION AGAINST EGYPT

THE XIXTH DYNASTY: HARMHABÎ—THE HITTITE EMPIRE IN SYRIA AND IN ASIA MINOR—SETI I. AND RAMSES II.—THE PEOPLES OF THE SEA: MINEPHTAH AND THE ISRAELITE EXODUS.

The birth and antecedents of Harmhabî, his youth, his enthronement—The final triumph of Amon and his priests—Harmhabî infuses order into the government; his wars against the Ethiopians and Asiatics—The Khâti, their civilization, religion; their political and military constitution; the extension of their empire towards the north—The countries and populations of Asia Minor: commercial routes between the Euphrates and the Ægean Sea—The treaty concluded between Harmhabî and Sapalulu.

Ramses I. and the uncertainties as to his origin—Seti I. and the campaign against Syria in the 1st year of his reign; the re-establishment of the Egyptian empire—Working of the gold-mines at Etbai—The monuments constructed by Seti I. in Nubia, at Karnak, Luxor, and Abydos—The valley of the kings and tomb of Seti I. at Thebes.

Ramses II., his infancy, his association in the Government, his début in Ethiopia; he builds a residence in the Delta—His campaign against the Khâti in the 5th year of his reign—The taking of Qodshu, the victory of Ramses II. and the truce established with Khâtasaru: the poem of Pentaurît—His treaty with the Khâti in the 21st year of his reign: the

balance of power in Syria: the marriage of Ramses II. with a Hittite princess—Public works: the Speos of Abu-Simbel; Luxor, Karnak, the Ramesseum, the monuments in the Delta—The reigns of Khamoîsît and Minephtah, the legend of Sesostris, the coffin and mummy of Ramses II.

Minephtah—The kingdom of Libya, the people of the sea—The first invasion of Libya: the Egyptian victory at Pirai: the triumph of Minephtah—Seti II., Amenmeses, Siphtah Minephtah—The foreign captives in Egypt; the Exodus of the Hebrews and their march to Sinai—An Egyptian version of the Exodus: Amenophis, son of Paapis.





THE GREAT HYPOSTYLE HALL AT KARNAK, SEEN FROM THE SOUTHERN SIDE OF THE SACRED LAKE.[1]

CHAPTER IV.

THE REACTION AGAINST EGYPT

The XIXth dynasty: Harmhabî—The Hittite empire in Syria and in Asia Minor—Seti I. and Ramses II.—The people of the sea: Minephtah and the Israelite Exodus.

WHILE none of these ephemeral Pharaohs left behind them a son, either legitimate or illegitimate, there was no lack of princesses, any of which, having on her accession to the throne to choose a consort after her own heart, might thus become the founder of a new dynasty. By such a chance alliance Harmhabî, who was himself descended from Thûtmosis III., was raised to the kingly office.[2] His mother, Mûtnozmît, was of the royal line, and one of the most beautiful statues in the Gizeh Museum probably represents her. The body is mutilated, but the head is charming in its intelligent and animated expression, in its full eyes and somewhat large, but finely modelled, mouth. The material of the statue is a fine-grained limestone, and its milky whiteness tends to soften the malign

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey; the vignette, which is by Faucher-Gudin, represents a photograph by Petrie of Amenôthes and Harmhabî, a group now in the Turin Museum (ORCURTI, *Catalogo illustrato dei Monumenti Egizii*, vol. i. pp. 29, 30).

[2] A fragment of an inscription at Karnak calls Thûtmosis III. "the father of his fathers" (WILKINSON, *Materia Hieroglyphica*, pt. ii. pl. 1; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 119 c). Champollion called

character of her look and smile.[1] It is possible that Mutnozmit was the daughter of Amenôthes III. by his marriage with one of his sisters: it was from her, at any rate, and not from his great-grandfather, that Harmhabi derived his indisputable claims to royalty.[2] He was born, probably, in the last years of Amenôthes, when Tîi was the exclusive favourite of the sovereign; but it was alleged later on, when Harmhabi had emerged from obscurity, that Amon, destining him for the throne, had condescended to become his father by Mûtnozmît—a customary procedure with the god when his race on earth threatened to become debased.[3] It was he who had rocked the newly born infant to sleep, and, while Harsiesis was strengthening his limbs with protective amulets, had spread over the child's skin the freshness and brilliance which are the peculiar privilege of the immortals. While still in the nursery, the great and the insignificant alike prostrated themselves before Harmhabi, making him liberal offerings. Every one recognised in him, even when still a lad and incapable of reflection, the carriage and complexion of a god, and Horus of Cynopolis was accustomed to follow his steps, knowing that the time of his advancement was near. After having called the attention of the Egyptians to Harmhabi, Amon was anxious, in fact, to hasten the coming of the day when he might confer upon him supreme rank, and for this purpose inclined the heart of the reigning Pharaoh towards him. Ai proclaimed him his heir over the whole land.[4]

him Hotnoumib (*Lettres à M. le duc de Blacas*, vol. i. pp. 47–85), Rosellini, Hôrhemheb, Hôr-em-hbai (*Monumenti storici*, vol. i. p. 241, and vol. iii. pt. 1, p. 273), and both identified him with the Hôros of Manetho, hence the custom among Egyptologists for a long time to designate him by the name Horus. Devéria was the first to show that the name corresponded with the Armais of the lists of Manetho (*Le Papyrus judiciaire de Turin*, pp. 68–81), and, in fact, Armais is the Greek transcription of the group Harmhabi in the bilingual texts of the Ptolemaic period (Brugsch, *Sammlung Demotisch-Griechischer Eigennamen Ægyptischer Privatleute*, p. 17, No. 109).

[1] See the tail-piece at bottom of p. 338 of the present work, drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey. Mariette called her Tuia, thinking it was a statue of Tîi. Excavations at Karnak have resulted in the discovery of some parts of the body which have inclined me to see in the statue some woman of the family of Harmhabi (*Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq*, p. 425, No. 617), probably Mûtnozmît.

[2] Mutnozmit was at first considered the daughter and successor of Harmhabi (Champollion, *Lettres à M. le duc de Blacas*, vol. i. pp. 59–64; Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, vol. i. pp. 240–241, and vol. iii. pt. 1, pp. 290–292; Champollion-Figeac, *L'Égypte Ancienne*, pp. 320–322), or his wife (Wilkinson, *Materia Hieroglyph.*, pt. ii. pl. 1; Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, pl. xxx., No. 411; Brugsch, *Hist. d'Égypte*, p. 125, and *Gesch. Ægyptens*, pp. 421, 439, 441; Wiedemann, *Ægyptische Gesch.*, p. 411; Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. des Alten Ægyptens*, p. 273). Birch showed that the monuments did not confirm these hypotheses, and he was inclined to think that she was Harmhabi's mother (*Inscription of Haremhebi on his Statue at Turin*, in *Trans. Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iii. pp. 490, 491). As far as I can see for the present, it is the only solution which agrees with the evidence on the principal monument which has made known her existence.

[3] All that we know of the youth of Harmhabi is contained in the texts on a group preserved in the Turin Museum, and pointed out by Champollion (*Lettres à de Blacas*, vol. i. pp. 48–64), translated and published subsequently by Birch (*Inscription of Haremhebi*, in *Trans. Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iii. pp. 486–495, and *Inscrip. of Haremhebi*, in *Records of the Past*, 1st ser., vol. x. pp. 29–36) and by Brugsch (*Gesch. Ægyptens*, pp. 440–444). The first lines of the inscription seem to me to contain an account of the union of Amon with the queen, analogous to those at Deir el-Bahari treating of the birth of Hâtshopsîtû, and to those at Luxor bearing upon Amenôthes III. (cf. pp. 236, 237, 295, 296 of the present work), and to prove for certain that Harmhabi's mother was a princess of the royal line by right.

[4] The king is not named in the inscription. It cannot have been Amenôthes IV., for an individual

He never gave cause for any dissatisfaction when called to court, and when he was asked questions by the monarch he replied always in fit terms, in such words as were calculated to produce serenity, and thus gained for himself a reputation as the incarnation of wisdom, all his plans and intentions appearing to have been conceived by Thot the Ibis himself. For many years he held a place of confidence with the sovereign. The nobles, from the moment he appeared at the gate of the palace, bowed their backs before him; the barbaric chiefs from the north or south stretched out their arms as soon as they approached him, and gave him the adoration they would bestow upon a god.[1] His favourite residence was Memphis, his preference for it arising from his having possibly been born there, or from its having been assigned to him for his abode. Here he constructed for himself a magnificent tomb, the bas-reliefs of which exhibit him as already king, with the sceptre in his hand and the uræus on his brow, while the adjoining cartouche does not as yet contain his name.[2] He was the mighty of the mighty, the great among the great, the general of generals, the messenger who ran to convey orders to the people of Asia and Ethiopia, the indispensable companion in council or on the field of battle,[3] at the time when Horus of Cynopolis resolved to seat him upon his eternal throne. Aï no longer occupied it. Horus took Harmhabî with him to

of the importance of Harmhabî, living alongside this king, would at least have had a tomb begun for him at Tel el-Amarna. We may hesitate between Aï and Tûtankhamon; but the inscription seems to say definitely that Harmhabî succeeded directly to the king under whom he had held important offices for many years, and this compels us to fix upon Aï, who, as we have said at p. 334, et seq., was, to all appearances, the last of the so-called heretical sovereigns.

[1] Turin Inscription, ll. 2-11; cf. Birch, *Inscription of Harmhebi*, in the *Transactions* Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. iii. pp. 486, 496, and *Inscription of Har-em-hebi*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. x. pp. 31-33; Brugsch, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 440, 441. The description given follows the text closely, and preserves the chief expressions.

[2] This part of the account is not borrowed from the Turin inscription, but is based upon a study of a certain number of texts and representations all coming from Harmhabî's tomb at Saqqârah, and now scattered among the various museums—at Gîzeh (Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pls. 74, 75, and text, pp. 25, 26), at Leyden (Leemans, *Description raisonnée des Mon. Égyptiens*, pp. 40, 41, c 1-3, and *Monuments du Musée d'Antiquités*, vol. i. pls. 21-30), at London (Birch, *Guide to the Egyptian Galleries*, Nos. 550-552, p. 76; cf. Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. ii. pl. 22), at Alexandria (Wiedemann, *Texts of the Second Part of the XVIIIth Dynasty*, in the *Proceedings* Bibl. Arch. Soc., 1888-89, vol. xi. p. 424). Birch was the first to assign these monuments to the Pharaoh Harmhabî, supposing at the same time that he had been dethroned by Ramses I., and had lived at Memphis in an intermediate position between that of a prince and that of a private individual (*Ins. of Haremhebi*, in the *Transactions*, vol. iii. p. 491); this opinion was adopted by Ed. Meyer (*Die Stele des Horemheb*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1877, pp. 148, 149), rejected by Wiedemann (*Ægyptische Geschichte*, pp. 412, 413, and *Supplement*, p. 48) and by myself (*Hist. Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient*, 4th edit., p. 212, note 6). After full examination, I think the Harmhabî of the tomb at Saqqârah and the Pharaoh Harmhabî are one and the same person; Harmhabî, sufficiently high placed to warrant his wearing the uræus, but not high enough to have his name inscribed in a cartouche, must have had his tomb constructed at Saqqârah, as Aï and possibly Ramses I. had theirs built for them at Tel el-Amarna (see pp. 333, 338 of the present work): this is now the opinion of Ed. Meyer, as recorded in his *Geschichte des Alten Ægyptens*, pp. 271, 272.

[3] The fragments of the tomb preserved at Leyden (cf. Leemans, *Description raisonnée des Monuments Égyptiens*, p. 40) show him leading to the Pharaoh Asiatics and Ethiopians, burdened with tribute; the expressions and titles given in the text on this page are borrowed from the fragments at Gîzeh (Mariette-Maspero, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 75, pp. 25, 26).

Thebes, escorted him thither amid expressions of general joy, and led him to Amon in order that the god might bestow upon him the right to reign. The reception took place in the temple of Luxor, which served as a kind of private chapel for the descendants of Amenôthes. Amon rejoiced to see Harmhabi, the heir of the two worlds; he took him with him to the royal palace, introduced him into the apartments of his august daughter, Mutnozmit; then, after she had recognised her child and had pressed him to her bosom, all the gods broke out into acclamations, and their cries ascended up to heaven.[1] "Behold, Amon arrives with his son before him, at the palace, in order to put upon his head the diadem, and to prolong the length of his life! We install him, therefore, in his office, we give to him the insignia of Râ, we pray Amon for him whom he has brought as our protector: may he as king have the festivals of Râ and the years of Horus; may he accomplish his good pleasure in Thebes, in Heliopolis, in Memphis, and may he add to the veneration with which these cities are invested." And they immediately decided that the new Pharaoh should be called Horus-sturdy-bull, mighty in wise projects, lord of the Vulture and of the very marvellous Uræus in Thebes, the conquering Horus who takes pleasure in the truth, and who maintains the two lands, the lord of the south and north, Sozir-Khoprûrî chosen of Râ, the offspring of the Sun, Harmhabi Miamûn, giver of life. The *cortège* came afterwards to the palace, the king walking before Amon: there the god embraced his son, placed the diadems upon his head, delivered to him the rule of the whole world, over foreign populations as well as those of Egypt, inasmuch as he possessed this power as the sovereign of the universe.[2]

This is the customary subject of the records of enthronement. Pharaoh is the son of a god, chosen by his father, from among all those who might have a claim to it, to occupy for a time the throne of Horus; and as he became king only by a divine decree, he had publicly to express, at the moment of his elevation, his debt of gratitude to, and his boundless respect for, the deity, who had made him what he was. In this case, however, the protocol embodied something more than the traditional formality, and its hackneyed phrases borrowed a special meaning from the circumstances of the moment. Amon, who had been

[1] Owing to a gap, the text cannot be accurately translated at this point (*Turin Inscription*, ll. 15, 16). The reading can be made out that Amon "betook himself to the palace, placing the prince before him, as far as the sanctuary of his (Amon's) daughter, the very august . . . ; she poured water on his hands, she embraced the beauties (of the prince), she placed herself before him." It will be seen that the name of the daughter of Amon is wanting, and Birch thought that a terrestrial princess whom Harmhabi had married was in question (*Inscription of Harmhabi on a Statue at Turin*, in the *Transactions of the Biblical Archæological Society*, vol. iii. pp. 489–495). Mutnozmit, according to Brugsch (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 442–444). If the reference is not to a goddess, who along with Amon took part in the ceremonies, but to Mutnozmit, we must come to the conclusion that she, as heir and queen by birth, must have ceded her rights by some ritual to her son before he could be crowned.

[2] *Turin Inscription*, ll. 13–20; cf. Brugsch, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 441–443.

insulted and proscribed by Khûniatonû, had not fully recovered his prestige under the rule of the immediate successors of his enemy. They had restored to him his privileges and his worship, they had become reconciled to him, and avowed themselves his faithful ones, but all this was as much an act of political necessity as a matter of religion: they still continued to tolerate, if not to favour, the rival doctrinal system, and the temple of the hateful Disk still dishonoured by its vicinity the sanctuary of Karnak. Harmhabî, on the other hand, was devoted to Amon, who had moulded him in embryo, and had trained



THE FIRST PYLON OF HARMHABÎ AT KARNAK.[1]

him from his birth to worship none but him. Harmhabî's triumph marked the end of the evil days, and inaugurated a new era, in which Amon saw himself again master of Thebes and of the world. Immediately after his enthronement Harmhabî rivalled the first Amenôthes in his zeal for the interests of his divine father: he overturned the obelisks of Atonû and the building before which they stood; then, that no trace of them might remain, he worked up the stones into the masonry of two pylons, which he set up upon the site, to the south of the gates of Thûtmosis III. They remained concealed in the new fabric for centuries, but in the year 27 B.C. a great earthquake brought them abruptly to light. We find everywhere among the ruins, at the foot of the dislocated gates, or at the bases of the headless colossal figures, heaps of blocks detached from the structure, on which can be made out remnants of prayers addressed

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph taken by Beato in 188[illegible].

to the Disk, scenes of worship, and cartouches of Amenôthes IV., Aï, and Tûtankhamon.[1] The work begun by Harmhabi at Thebes was continued with unabated zeal through the length of the whole river-valley. "He restored the sanctuaries from the marshes of Athû even to Nubia; he repaired their sculptures so that they were better than before, not to speak of the fine things he did in them, rejoicing the eyes of Râ. That which he had found injured he put into its original condition, erecting a hundred statues, carefully formed of valuable stone, for every one which was lacking. He inspected the ruined towns of the gods in the land, and made them such as they had been in the time of the first Ennead,[2] and he allotted to them estates and offerings for every day, as well as a set of sacred vessels entirely of gold and silver; he settled priests in them, bookmen, carefully chosen soldiers, and assigned to them fields, cattle, all the necessary material to make prayers to Râ every morning."[3] These measures were inspired by consideration for the ancient deities; but he added to them others, which tended to secure the welfare of the people and the stability of the government. Up to this time the officials and the Egyptian soldiers had displayed a tendency to oppress the fellahin, without taking into consideration the injury to the treasury occasioned by their rapacity. Constant supervision was the only means of restraining them, for even the best-served Pharaohs, Thûtmosis, and Amenôthes III. themselves, were obliged to have frequent recourse to the rigour of the law to keep the scandalous depredations of the officials within bounds.[4] The religious disputes of the preceding years, in enfeebling the authority of the central power, had given a free hand to these oppressors. The scribes and tax-collectors were accustomed to exact contributions for the public service from the ships, whether laden or not, of those who were in a small way of business, and once they had laid their hands upon them, they did not readily let them go. The poor fellow falling into their clutches lost his cargo, and he was at his wits' end to know how to deliver at the royal storehouses the various wares with which he calculated to pay his taxes. No sooner had the Court arrived at some place than the servants scoured the neighbourhood, confiscating the land produce, and seizing upon slaves, under pretence that they were acting *for* the king, while they had only their personal ends in view. Soldiers appropriated all the hides of animals with the object, doubtless, of making from them leather jackets and helmets, or of duplicating their shields,

[1] The relics of these inscriptions have been put together in NESTOR L'HÔTE, *Papiers inédits*, vol. iii. pp. 90, 92, 97, 101, 104, 105, in PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Monuments*, pls. x., xi., and in LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 119 a–g, 119 a, b.

[2] For the meaning of this expression, see *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 149, 150.

[3] *Turin Inscription*, ll. 22–25; cf. BRUGSCH, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 443, 444.

[4] Harmhabi refers to the edicts of Thûtmosis III. (*Inscription of Harmhabi*, l. 29); for the fiscal measures of Amenôthes III., see p. 229 of the present work.

with the result that when the treasury made its claim for leather, none was to be found. It was hardly possible, moreover, to bring the culprits to justice, for the chief men of the towns and villages, the prophets, and all those who ought to have looked after the interests of the taxpayer, took money from the criminals for protecting them from justice, and compelled the innocent victims also to purchase their protection. Harmhabî, who was continually looking for opportunities to put down injustice and to punish deceit, at length decided to promulgate a very severe edict against the magistrates and the double-dealing officials: any of them who was found to have neglected his duty was to have his nose cut off, and was to be sent into perpetual exile to Zalu, on the eastern frontier.[1] His commands, faithfully carried out, soon produced a salutary effect, and as he would on no account relax the severity of the sentence, exactions were no longer heard of, to the advantage of the revenue of the State. On the last day of each month the gates of his palace were open to every one. Any one on giving his name to the guard could enter the court of honour, where he would find food in abundance to satisfy his hunger while he was awaiting an audience. The king all the while was seated in the sight of all at the tribune, whence he would throw among his faithful friends necklaces and bracelets of gold: he inquired into complaints one after another, heard every case, announced his judgments in brief words, and dismissed his subjects, who went away proud and happy at having had their affairs dealt with by the sovereign himself.[3]



AMENÔTHES IV., FROM A FRAGMENT USED AGAIN BY HARMHABÎ.[2]

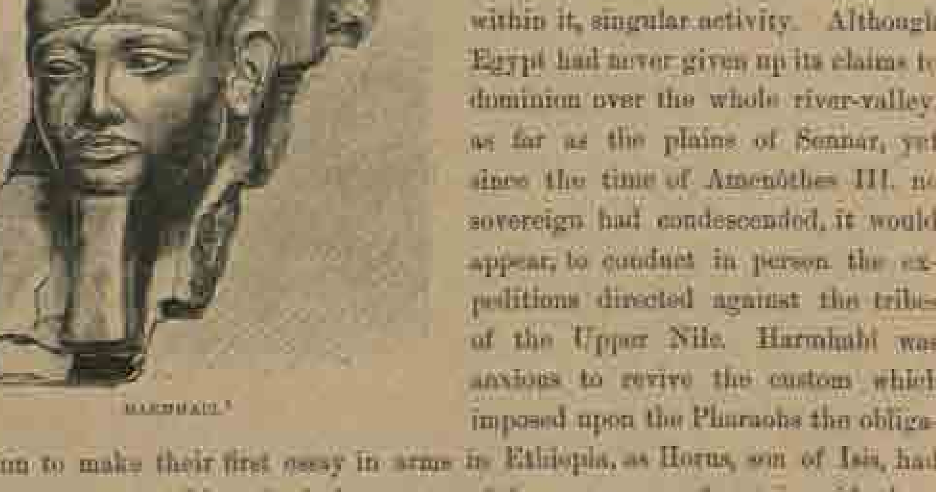
The portraits of Harmhabî which have come down to us give us the impression of a character at once energetic and agreeable. The most beautiful of these is little more than a fragment broken off a black granite statue. Its mournful expression is not pleasing to the spectator, and at the first view alienates his sympathy. The face, which is still youthful, breathes an air of melancholy,

[1] See pp. 22, 23 of the present work for a notice of Zalu and its environs.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a sketch by Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments Égyptiens*, pl. xi. 2. It is one of the bas-reliefs of the temple of Atonû at Karnak, re-employed by Harmhabî in the construction of one of his own pylons.

[3] All these details are taken from a stele discovered in 1882 (Maspero, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1882, p. 134), published in a brief summary by Bouriant (*À Thèbes*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. vi. pp. 41–56), afterwards translated and commented upon by W. Max Müller (*Erklärung des grossen Dekrets des Königs Har-em-heb*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1888, pp. 70–94). The text is so mutilated that it is impossible to give a literal rendering of it in all its parts, but the sense is sufficiently clear to warrant our filling up the whole with considerable certainty.

an expression which is somewhat rare among the Pharaohs of the best period: the thin and straight nose is well set on the face, the elongated eyes have somewhat heavy lids; the large, fleshy lips, slightly contracted at the corners of the mouth, are cut with a sharpness that gives them singular vigour, and the firm and finely modelled chin loses little of its form from the false beard depending from it. Every detail is treated with such freedom that one would think the sculptor must have had some soft material to work upon, rather than a rock almost hard enough to defy the chisel; the command over it is so complete that the difficulty of the work is forgotten in the perfection of the result. The dreamy expression of his face, however, did not prevent Harmhabi from displaying beyond Egypt, as within it, singular activity. Although Egypt had never given up its claims to dominion over the whole river-valley, as far as the plains of Sennar, yet since the time of Amenôthes III. no sovereign had condescended, it would appear, to conduct in person the expeditions directed against the tribes of the Upper Nile. Harmhabi was anxious to revive the custom which imposed upon the Pharaohs the obligation to make their first essay in arms in Ethiopia, as Horus, son of Isis, had done of yore, and he seized the pretext of the occurrence of certain raids there to lead a body of troops himself into the heart of the negro country. He had just ordered at this time the construction of the two southern pylons at Karnak, and there was great activity in the quarries of Silsileh. A commemorative chapel also was in course of excavation here in the sandstone rock, and he had dedicated it to his father, Amon-Râ of Thebes, coupling with him the local



HARMHABI.[1]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey. This monument was reproduced in MARIETTE, *Album photographique du Musée de Boulaq*, pl. 44; in RAYET, *Monuments de l'Art Antique*, vol. i.; afterwards in PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. i. p. 711, and in MASPERO, *Archéologie Égyptienne*, p. 222. Mariette was under the impression that it was a statue of Minephtah, son and successor of Ramses II. (*Notice des principaux Monuments*, 1876, p. 32, No. 22). While carrying out excavations at Karnak at the spot where it had been found, I brought to light other fragments, from which it seems to be clear that it represents Harmhabi, and not Minephtah (*Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq*, p. 425, No. 619); the expression is very similar to that of the statue at Turin.

divinities, Hapi the Nile, and Sobkû the patron of Ombos. The sanctuary is excavated somewhat deeply into the hillside, and the dark rooms within it are decorated with the usual scenes of worship, but the vaulted approach to them



THE VAULTED PASSAGE OF THE ROCK-TOMB AT GEBEL SILSILEH.[1]

displays upon its western wall the victory of the king. We see here a figure receiving from Amon the assurance of a long and happy life, and another letting fly his arrows at a host of fleeing enemies; Ethiopians raise their hands to him in suppliant gesture; soldiers march past with their captives; above one of the

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Insinger.

doors we see twelve military leaders marching and carrying the king aloft upon their shoulders, while a group of priests and nobles salute him, offering incense.[1] At this period Egyptian ships were ploughing the Red Sea, and their captains were renewing official relations with Puanit. Somali chiefs were paying visits to the palace, as in the time of Thûtmosis III.[2] The wars of Amon had, in fact, begun again. The god, having suffered neglect for half a century, had a greater need than ever of gold and silver to fill his coffers; he required masons for his buildings, slaves and cattle for his farms, perfumed essences and incense for his daily rites. His resources had gradually become exhausted, and his treasury would soon be empty if he did not employ the usual means to replenish it. He incited Harmhabi to proceed against the countries from which in olden times he had enriched himself—to the south in the first place, and then, having decreed victory there, and having naturally taken for himself the greater part of the spoils, he turned his attention to Asia. In the latter campaign the Egyptian troops took once more the route through Cœle-Syria, and if the expedition experienced here more difficulties than on the banks of the Upper Nile, it was, nevertheless, brought to an equally triumphant conclusion. Those of their adversaries who had offered an obstinate resistance were transported into other lands, and the rebel cities were either razed to the ground or given to the flames; the inhabitants having taken refuge in the mountains, where they were in danger of perishing from hunger, made supplications for peace, which was granted to them on the usual conditions of doing homage and paying tribute.[3] We do not exactly know how far he penetrated into the country; the list of the towns and nations over which he boasts of having triumphed contains, along with names unknown to us, some already famous or soon to become so—Arvad, Pibukhu, the Khâti, and possibly Alasia.[4] The Hani-Nibu themselves must have felt the effects of the campaign, for several of their chiefs, associated, doubtless, with the Phœnicians, presented themselves

[1] Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., pls. cx., cxiii., and vol. i. pp. 260, 261; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. xliv. 2–5, and vol. iii. pt. 1, pp. 277–287; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 120, 121. The significance of the monument was pointed out first by Champollion, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, 2nd edit., pp. 185–187. The series of races conquered was represented at Karnak on the internal face of one of the pylons built by Harmhabi (Champollion, *Mon. de l'Égypte*, vol. ii. pp. 177, 178; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, vol. iii. pt. 1, p. 280); it appears to have been "usurped" by Ramses II.

[2] Champollion, *Monuments*, etc., vol. ii. pp. 179, 180; Brugsch, *Recueil de Monuments*, vol. ii. pl. lviii. 2, and p. 60; Mariette, *Monuments divers*, pl. 88, and *Text*, p. 27; Bouriant, *Lettre à M. W. Max Müller*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xvii. p. 42.

[3] These details are taken from the fragment of an inscription now in the museum at Vienna, and published by Wiedemann (*Texts of the Second Part of the XVIIIth Dynasty*, in the *Proceedings of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, 1888–89, vol. xi. p. 425), afterwards by Bergmann (*Ansiedlung Semitischer Nomaden in Egypten*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxvii. pp. 125–127); Bergmann, and also Erman, think that we have in this text the indication of an immigration into Egypt of a tribe of the Monâtiu.

[4] The list of northern tribes owing allegiance more or less to Harmhabi, was published in 1882 (Maspero, *Hist. Ancienne des peuples de l'Orient*, 4th edit., p. 213, note 3); it was also published by Bouriant (*Lettre à M. W. M. Müller*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xvii. pp. 41–44), and commented upon briefly by W. Max Müller (*Asien und Europa*, p. 222).

before the Pharaoh at Thebes.[1] Egypt was maintaining, therefore, its ascendency, or at least appearing to maintain it in those regions where the kings of the XVIII[th] dynasty had ruled after the campaigns of Thûtmosis I., Thûtmosis III., and Amenôthes II. Its influence, nevertheless, was not so undisputed as in former days; not that the Egyptian soldiers were less valiant, but owing to the fact that another power had risen up alongside them whose



THE TRIUMPH OF HARMHABÎ AT THE SANCTUARY OF GEBEL SILSILEH.[2]

armies were strong enough to encounter them on the field of battle and to obtain a victory over them.

Beyond Naharaim, in the deep recesses of the Amanus and Taurus, there had lived, for no one knows how many centuries, the rude and warlike tribes of the Khâti, related not so much to the Semites of the Syrian plain as to the populations of doubtful race and language who occupied the upper basins of the Halys and Euphrates.[3] The Chaldæan conquest had barely

[1] WIEDEMANN, *Texts of the Second Part of the XVIII[th] Dynasty*, in the *Proceedings of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, 1888-89, vol. xi. pp. 425, 426; BOURIANT, *Lettre à M. W. M. Müller sur le mur d'Horemheb à Karnak*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xvii. p. 42.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Daniel Héron. The black spots are due to the torches of the fellahîn of the neighbourhood who have visited the rock-tomb in bygone years.

[3] Upon the vocalisation *Khâti* of this name, see p. 126, note 6, of the present work. Halévy asserts that the Khâti were Semites, and bases his assertion on materials of the Assyrian period (*La Langue des Hétéens d'après les textes Assyriens*, in the *Recherches Bibliques*, pp. 270-283, and *Deux Inscriptions Hétéennes de Zendjirli*, in the *Revue Sémitique*, vol. i. pp. 212-238). The Khâti, absorbed in Syria by the Semites, with whom they were blended, appear to have been by origin a non-Semitic people, as Sayce and others have pointed out (*The Hamathite Inscriptions*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl.*

touched them; the Egyptian campaign had not more effect, and Thûtmosis III. himself, after having crossed their frontiers and sacked several of their towns, made no serious pretence to reckon them among his subjects.[1] Their chiefs were accustomed, like their neighbours, to use, for correspondence with other countries, the cuneiform mode of writing; they had among them, therefore, for this purpose, a host of scribes, interpreters, and official registrars of events, such as we find to have accompanied the sovereigns of Assyria and Babylon.[2] These chiefs were accustomed to send from time to time a present to the Pharaoh, which the latter was pleased to regard as a tribute,[3] or they would offer, perhaps, one of their daughters in marriage to the king at Thebes, and after the marriage show themselves anxious to maintain good faith with their son-in-law. They had, moreover, commercial relations with Egypt, and furnished it with cattle, chariots, and those splendid Cappadocian horses whose breed was celebrated down to the Greek period.[4] They were already, indeed, people of consideration; their territory was so extensive that the contemporaries of Thûtmosis III. called them the Greater Khâti; and the epithet "vile," which the chancellors of the Pharaohs added to their name, only shows by its virulence the impression which they had produced upon

Arch. Soc., vol. v. pp. 27, 28, and *The Monuments of the Hittites*, ibid., vol. vii. pp. 251, 252, 288–293), also F. Lenormant (*Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. ii. p. 267, et seq.), Ed. Meyer (*Gesch. des Alterthums*, vol. i. p. 218, and *Gesch. des Alten Ægyptens*, p. 226), Lantsheere (*De la Race et de la Langue des Hittites*, in the *Compte-rendu du Congrès des Catholiques*, 1891, V[me] Section, p. 178, et seq.), W. M. Müller (*Asien und Europa*, p. 317, et seq.), Winckler (*Geschichte Israels*, vol. i. pp. 134–136), and the greater number of scholars who have dealt with the question.

[1] See pp. 265, 278, 279 of the present work. Upon this ignoring of the Khâti in the time of Thûtmosis III., cf. the position taken up by E. de Rougé in *Leçons professées au Collège de France*, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne et Assyrienne*, vol. ii. pp. 270, 271; this was the first serious contribution to the discussion of the subject, and has served as the starting-point of subsequent works on the rise of the Hittite power.

[2] A letter from the King of the Khâti to the Pharaoh Amenôthes IV. is written in cuneiform writing and in a Semitic language (Winckler-Abel, *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna*, p. 17; cf. Delattre, *Lettres de Tell el-Amarna*, in the *Proceedings* Bibl. Arch. Soc., 1890–91, vol. xiii. pp. 548–550). It has been thought that other documents, drawn up in a non-Semitic language and coming from Mitanni and Arzapi (Winckler-Abel, *Der Thontafelfund*, pls. 9, 28–33; cf. the essays of Jensen, *Vorstudien zur Entzifferung des Mitanni*; Brünnow, *Die Mitani-Sprache*, and Sayce, *The Language of Mitanni*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. v. pp. 166–274), contain a dialect of the Hittite speech or that language itself. A "writer of books," attached to the person of the Hittite King Khâtusaru, is named amongst the dead found on the field of battle at Qodshu (E. de Rougé, *Le Poème de Pen-ta-our*, 1856, pp. 9, 10).

[3] It is thus perhaps we must understand the mention of tribute from the Khâti in the *Annals of Thutmosis III.*, l. 28, in the year XXXIII., also in the year XL. (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 30 a, l. 7). One of the Tell el-Amarna letters refers to presents of this kind (Winckler-Abel, *Der Thontafelfund*, No. 18, pl. 13), which the King of Khâti addresses to Amenôthes IV. to celebrate his enthronement, and to ask him to maintain with himself the traditional good relations of their two families; see p. 329 of the present work.

[4] The horses of the Khâti were called *mari*, strong, vigorous, as also their bulls (*Anastasi Papyrus IV.*, pl. xvii. ll. 8, 9; cf. Brugsch, *Dem Hebräisch-phönikischen Sprachzweige angehörige Lehnwörter*, pp. 24–26). The King of Alasia, while offering to Amenôthes III. a profitable speculation, advises him to have nothing to do with the King of the Khâti or with the King of Sangar (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 5, p. 12, ll. 20, 21), and thus furnishes proof that the Egyptians held constant commercial relations with the Khâti.

the mind of their adversaries.[1] Their type of face distinguishes them clearly from the nations conterminous with them on the south. The Egyptian draughtsmen represented them as squat and short in stature, though vigorous, strong-limbed, and with broad and full shoulders in youth, but as inclined frequently to obesity in old age. The head is long and heavy, the forehead flattened, the chin moderate in size, the nose prominent, the eyebrows and cheeks projecting, the eyes small, oblique, and deep-set, the mouth fleshy, and usually framed in by two deep wrinkles; the flesh colour is a yellowish or reddish white, but clearer than that of the Phœnicians or the Amurru.[3] Their ordinary costume consisted, sometimes of a shirt with short sleeves, sometimes of a sort of loin-cloth, more or less ample according to the rank of the individual wearing it, and bound round the waist by a belt. To these they added a scanty mantle, red or blue, fringed like that of the Chaldæans, which they passed over the left shoulder and brought back under the right, so as to leave the latter exposed. They wore shoes with thick soles, turning up distinctly at the toes,[4] and they encased their hands



THREE HEADS OF HITTITE SOLDIERS.[2]

[1] *Annals of Thutmosis III.*, l. 26, and Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 30 *a*, l. 7. M. de Rougé suggested that Khati "the Little" was the name of the Hittites of Hebron (Lepage, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. ii. p. 270). The expression, "Khati the Great," has been compared with that of Khanirabbat, "Khani the Great," which in the Assyrian texts would seem to designate a part of Cappadocia, in which the province of Milidia occurs, and the identification of the two has found an ardent defender in W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 337; cf. Niebuhr, *Studien und Bemerkungen zur Geschichte des Alten Orients*, pp. 94-98. Until further light is thrown upon it, the most probable reading of the word is not Khani-rabbat, but Khanigalbat (Jensen, *Vorstudien zur Entzifferung des Mitanni*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. v. p. 177, note 1, and *Grundlagen für eine Entzifferung der Cilicischen Inschriften*, pp. 4, 5; Winckler, *Gesch. Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 174, 234). The name Khani-Galbat is possibly preserved in Julbat, which the Arab geographers applied in the Middle Ages to a province situated in Lesser Armenia (Halévy, *Deux Inscriptions hétéennes de Zindjirli*, in the *Revue Sémitique*, vol. i. p. 244).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Insinger. These were three Hittite soldiers engaged in the battle of Qodshu in the time of Ramses II.

[3] J. Menant, *Les Hétéens, Histoire d'un Empire oublié*, p. 6, and Sayce, *The Races of the Old Testament*, pp. 132-140; F. Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. iii. pp. 270-285; W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 331. Races of a similar type still exist in Cœle-Syria (Conder, *Heth and Moab*, pp. 10, 22) and in Anatolia (Wilson, *Recent Biblical Research in Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor*, in the *Quarterly Statements of the Palestine Expl. Fund*, 1884, p. 49).

[4] This detail, which cannot fail to be of considerable importance, was pointed out for the first time

in gloves, reaching halfway up the arm. They shaved off both moustache and beard, but gave free growth to their hair, which they divided into two or three locks, and allowed to fall upon their backs and breasts. The king's head-dress, which was distinctive of royalty, was a tall pointed hat, resembling to some extent the white crown of the Pharaohs. The dress of the people, taken all together, was of better and thicker material than that of the Syrians or Egyptians.[1] The mountains and elevated plateaus which they inhabited were subject to extraordinary vicissitudes of heat and cold. If the summer burnt up everything, the winter reigned here with an extreme rigour, and dragged on for months: clothing and foot-gear had to be seen to, if the snow and the icy winds of December were to be resisted. The character of their towns, and the domestic life of their nobles and the common people, can only be guessed at. Some, at least, of the peasants must have sheltered themselves in villages half underground, similar to those which are still to be found in this region.[2] The town-folk and the nobles had adopted for the most part the Chaldæan or Egyptian manners and customs in use among the Semites of Syria. As to their religion, they reverenced a number of secondary deities who had their abode in the tempest, in the clouds, the sea, the rivers, the springs, the mountains, and the forests. Above this crowd there were several sovereign divinities of the thunder or the air, sun-gods and moon-gods, of which the chief was called Khâti, and was considered to be the father of the nation.[3] They ascribed to all their deities a warlike and savage character. The Egyptians pictured some of them as a kind of Râ,[4] others as representing Sit,

by Sayce (cf. Wright, *The Empire of the Hittites*, 1st edit., pp. xii., xiii.). This characteristic is found on the majority of the monuments which the peoples of Asia Minor have left to us (Perrot, *Mémoires d'Archéologie*, etc., pp. 52, 53, and *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. iv. pp. 562-564), and it is one of the most striking indications of the northern origin of the Khâti (F. Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. iii. p. 299, et seq.; W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 327, 328; see Jensen for doubts on this subject *Grundlage für eine Entzifferung der Cilicischen Inschriften*, pp. 5, 6). The Egyptian artists and modern draughtsmen have often neglected it, and the majority of them have represented the Khâti without shoes.

[1] The information about the costume of the Khâti was put together first by Osburn, *Egypt, her Testimony to the Truth*, pp. 130-132; afterwards completed by F. Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. iii. pp. 297-299, 303-305; by Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. iv. pp. 562-564; and lastly by W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 324-330.

[2] Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. iv. p. 587.

[3] The little that can be gathered about the religion of the Khâti has been summarized by E. de Rougé, *Leçons professées au Collège de France*, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. ii. pp. 274, 275, 279-280; afterwards by F. Lenormant, *Les Origines*, vol. iii. pp. 305-313, and by Wright, *The Empire of the Hittites*, 1st edit., pp. 75-78; cf. W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 330, 331. The principal source of our information is the treaty of Ramses II. with Khâtusaru, of which the latter clauses (ll. 26-32, 36, 37) invoke the gods of Egypt and those of the Khâti; see the text in Bouriant's *Notes de Voyage*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiii. pp. 157-160.

[4] The Cilician inscriptions of the Græco-Roman period reveal the existence in this region of a god Ra, Râ (Sachau, *Bemerkungen zu Cilicischen Eigennamen*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. vii. pp. 88-90). Did this god exist among the Khâti, and did the similarity of the pronunciation of it to that of the god Râ suggest to the Egyptians the existence of a similar god among these people, or did they simply translate into their language the name of the Hittite god representing the sun?

or rather Sûtkhû, that patron of the Hyksôs which was identified by them with Sit: every town had its tutelary heroes, of whom they were accustomed to speak as if of its Sûtkhû—Sûtkhû of Paliqa, Sûtkhû of Khissapa, Sûtkhû of Sarsu, Sûtkhû of Salpina. The goddesses in their eyes also became Astartês, and this one fact suggests that these deities were, like their Phœnician and Canaanite sisters, of a double nature—in one aspect chaste, fierce, and warlike, and in another lascivious and pacific. One god was called Mauru, another Targu, others Qaui and Khopa.[1] Tishubu, the Rammân of the Assyrians, was doubtless lord of the tempest and of the atmosphere; Shausbe answered to Shala and to Ishtar the queen of love;[2] but we are frequently in ignorance as to the attributes covered by each of these divine names, and as to the forms with which they were invested. The majority of them, both male and female, were of gigantic stature, and were arrayed in the vesture of earthly kings and queens: they brandished their arms, displayed the insignia of their authority, such as a flower or bunch of grapes, and while receiving the offerings of the people were seated on a chair



A HITTITE KING.[*]

[1] The names Mauru and Qaui are deduced from the forms Maurusaru and Qauisaru, which were borne by the Khâti (E. de Rougé, *Leçons*, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne et Assyrienne*, vol. ii. pp. 274, 275). Qaui was probably the eponymous hero of the Qui people, as Khâti was of the Khâti. Tarku and Tishubu appear to me to be contained in the names Targanunasa, Targanalas, and Tarkanunu (E. de Rougé, ii. p. 275); Tishubu is probably the *Tishupas* mentioned in the letter from Dushratta written in Mitannian (Sayce, *The Language of the Mitanni*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. v. pp. 269, 270; cf. Jensen, *Vorstudien zur Entzifferung des Mitanni*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. vi. pp. 59, 60, 65, 66, 68), and identical with the Teshupu of another letter from the same king (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 8, p. 18, 2. 11. 13, 71; cf. Zimmern, *Briefe aus dem Funde in El-Amarna*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. v. pp. 154, 155, 162, 163), and in a despatch from Tarkundarash (Abel-Winckler, *Der Thontafelfund*, No. 10, l. 22; cf. Bezold, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. ix. pp. 421, 422). Targu, Targa, Targuza, resemble the god Tarkhu, which is known to us from the proper names of these regions preserved in Assyrian and Greek inscriptions (Sayce, *The Monuments of the Hittites*, in the *Transactions* of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. vii. pp. 284–288; Jensen, *Vorstudien*, etc., in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. vi. p. 70; Sachau, *Bemerkungen zu Cilicischen Eigennamen*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. vii. pp. 89–94). Upon the resemblance between this god and the Cossæan Turgu (p. 115 of the present work), see Hilprecht, *Die Votiv-Inschrift eines nicht erkannten Kassitenkönigs*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. vii. p. 316, n. 2. Khiba, Khipa, Khipa is said to be a denomination of Rammân (Bezold, *Notes sur les lettres de Tell el-Amarna*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. vi. p. 148); we find it in the names of the princesses Tadukhipa, Gilukhipa, Puukhipa.

[*] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the picture in Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 196 *a*. It represents Khâtusaru, King of the Khâti, who was for thirty years a contemporary of Ramses II.

[2] The assimilation of Tishupu, Teshupa, Tishub, with Rammân is made out from an Assyrian tablet published by Bezold (*Proceedings of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, 1886–87, vol. ix. p. 377, and *A Cuneiform List of Gods*, 1888–89, vol. xi. pl. i. l. 14); it was accepted by Sayce (*The Language of*

before an altar, or stood each on the animal representing him—such as a lion, a stag, or wild goat.[1] The temples of their towns have disappeared, but they could never have been, it would seem, either large or magnificent: the favourite places of worship were the tops of mountains, in the vicinity of springs, or the depths of mysterious grottoes, where the deity revealed himself to his priests, and received the faithful at the solemn festivals celebrated several times a year.[2]

We know as little about their political organisation as about their religion. We may believe, however, that it was feudal in character, and that every clan had its hereditary chief and its proper gods: the clans collectively rendered obedience to a common king, whose effective authority depended upon his character and age.[3] The various contingents which the sovereign could collect together and lead would, if he were an incapable general, be of little avail against the well-officered and veteran troops of Egypt. Still they were not to be despised, and contained the elements of an excellent army, superior both in quality and quantity to any which Syria had ever been able to put into the field. The infantry consisted of a limited number of archers or slingers. They had usually neither shield nor cuirass, but merely, in the way of protective armour, a padded head-dress, ornamented with a tuft. The bulk of the army carried short lances and broad-bladed choppers, or more generally, short thin-handled swords with flat two-edged blades, very broad at the base and terminating in a point. Their mode of attack was in close phalanxes, whose shock must have been hard to bear, for the soldiers forming them were in part at least recruited from among the strong and hardy mountaineers of the Taurus.[4] The chariotry comprised the nobles and the *élite* of the army, but it was differently constituted from that of the Egyptians, and employed other tactics. The Hittite chariots were heavier, and the framework, instead of being a mere skeleton, was panelled on the sides, the contour at the top

Mitanni, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. v. pp. 269, 270) and Jensen (*Vorstudien*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. vi. pp. 59, 60) to determine the nature of the god. Shaushe (Abel-Winckler, *Der Thontafelfund*, pl. 35, l. 98) has been identified with Ishtar or Shala by Jensen (*Vorstudien*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. v. p. 202, note 1; vol. vi. p. 71).

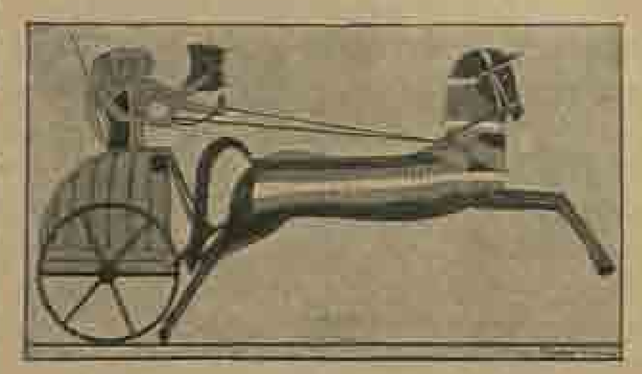
[1] For figures of this character, of which several will be reproduced later on, see Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. iv. pp. 525, 526, 549, 550, 767.

[2] The religious cities and the festivals of the Greek epoch are described by Strabo, XII. ii. §§ 3, 6, 7, pp. 535, 536, 537; these festivals were very ancient, and their institution, if not the method of celebrating them, may go back to the time of the Hittite empire (Ramsay-Hogarth, *Pre-hellenic Monuments of Cappadocia*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiv. p. 77, et seq.).

[3] The description of the battle of Qodshu in the time of Ramses II. shows us the King of the Khâti surrounded by his vassals (see the passage in pp. 397, 398 of the present work). The evidence of the existence of a similar feudal organisation from the time of the XVIII[th] dynasty is furnished by a letter of Dushratta, King of Mitanni, where he relates to Amenôthes IV. the revolt of his brother Artassumara (see p. 298 of the present work), and speaks of the help which one of the neighbouring chiefs, Pirkhi, and all the Khâti had given to the rebel.

[4] The passages bearing upon the weapons of the Khâti have been put together by W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*, pp. 324–328.

being sometimes quite square, at other times rudely curved. It was bound together in the front by two disks of metal, and strengthened by strips of copper or bronze, which were sometimes plated with silver or gold. There were no quiver-cases as in Egyptian chariots, for the Hittite charioteers rarely resorted to the bow and arrow. The occupants of a chariot were three in number—the driver; the shield-bearer, whose office it was to protect his companions by means of a shield, sometimes of a round form, with a segment taken out on each side, and sometimes square; and finally, the warrior, with his sword and lance. The Hittite princes whom fortune had brought into relations with Thûtmosis III. and Amenôthes II. were not able to avail themselves properly of the latent forces around them. It was owing probably to the feebleness of their character or to the turbulence of their barons that we must ascribe the poor part they played in the revolutions of the Eastern world at this time. The establishment of a strong military power on their southern frontier was certain, moreover, to be anything but pleasing to them; if they preferred not to risk everything by entering into a great struggle with the invaders, they could, without compromising themselves too much, harass them with sudden attacks and intrigue in an underhand way against them to their own profit. Pharaoh's generals were accustomed to punish, one after the other, these bands of invading tribes,[2] and the sculptors duly recorded their names on a pylon at Thebes among those of the conquered nations, but these disasters had little effect in restraining the Hittites. They continued, in spite of them, to march southward, and the letters from the Egyptian governors record their progress year after year. They had a hand in all the plots which were being hatched among the Syrians, and all the disaffected who wished to be free from foreign oppression—such as Abdashirti and his son Aziru—addressed themselves to



A HITTITE CHARIOT WITH ITS THREE OCCUPANTS.[1]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from CHAMPOLLION'S *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. xxvi. This is one of the Hittite chariots which took part in the battle of Qodshu in the time of Ramses II.; cf. ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. ciii., and the vignette on p. 225 of the present work.

[2] There is an allusion to these incursions of the Khâti in the letters from Aziru (WINCKLER-ABEL, *Der Thontafelfund*, p. 28, ll. 21-29; 32, ll. 20-27; 40, ll. 37-40; 45, ll. 27-32; 45, ll. 18-20), in those from Akizzi (BEZOLD-BUDGE, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 36, p. 75, ll. 22-27, and No. 37, p. 76, l. 9, *et seq.*).

them for help in the way of chariots and men.[1] Even in the time of Amenôthes III. they had endeavoured to reap profit from the discords of Mitanni, and had asserted their supremacy over it. Dushratta, however, was able to defeat one of their chiefs.[2] Repulsed on this side, they fell back upon that part of Naharaim lying between the Euphrates and Orontes, and made themselves masters of one town after another in spite of the despairing appeals of the conquered to the Theban king. From the accession of Khûniatonû, they set to work to annex the countries of Nukhassi, Nii, Tunipa, and Zinzauru: they looked with covetous eyes upon Phœnicia, and were already menacing Cœle-Syria.[3] The religious confusion in Egypt under Tûtankhamon and Aï left them a free field for their ambitions, and when Harmhabî ventured to cross to the east of the isthmus, he found them definitely installed in the region stretching from the Mediterranean and the Lebanon to the Euphrates. Their then reigning prince, Sapalulu, appeared to have been the founder of a new dynasty: he united the forces of the country in a solid body, and was within a little of making a single state out of all Northern Syria.[4] All Naharaim had submitted to him; Zahi, Alasia, and the Amurru had passed under his government from that of the Pharaohs; Carchemish, Tunipa, Nii, Hamath, figured among his royal cities, and Qodshû was the defence of his southern frontier. His progress towards the east was not less considerable. Mitanni, Arzapi, and the principalities of the Euphrates as far as the Balikh, possibly even to the Khabur,[5] paid him homage: beyond this, Assyria and Chaldæa barred his way. Here, as on his other frontiers, fortune brought him face to face with the most formidable powers of the Asiatic world.

Had he sufficient forces at his disposal to triumph over them, or only

[1] Azira defends himself in one of his letters against the accusation of having received four messengers from the King of the Khâti, while he refused to receive those from Egypt (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 35, p. 73, ll. 47–50). The complicity of Azira with the Khâti is denounced in an appeal from the inhabitants of Tunipa (Id., *ibid.*, No. 41, pp. 84, 85, ll. 21–28). In a mutilated letter, published by Bezold-Budge, *ibid.*, No. 46, p. 95, an unknown person calls attention to the negotiations which a petty Syrian prince had entered into with the King of the Khâti.

[2] See p. 298 of the present work for the account of the quarrel between Dushratta and the Khâti.

[3] See the letter from Akizzi, in which this individual relates the evils resulting from an invasion of the Khâti, and asks help for himself and for the kings of Nukhassi, Nii, and Zinzauru (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 37, p. 78, l. 40, et seq.). See also the letter from the inhabitants of Tunipa, who ask that an Egyptian army might be sent to protect them from Azira and the Khâti (Id., *ibid.*, No. 41, pp. 84, 85, ll. 21–28).

[4] Sapalulu has the same name as that we meet with later on in the country of Patin, in the time of Salmanasar III., viz. Sapalulme (*Monolith*, col. i. ll. 41, 42). It is known to us only from a treaty with the Khâti, which makes him coeval with Ramses I. (l. 3: cf. p. 401 of the present work); it was with him probably that Harmhabî had to deal in his Syrian campaigns (W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 322, 333). The limit of his empire towards the south is gathered in a measure from what we know of the wars of Seti I. with the Khâti. The latter prince was obliged to capture Qodshu, and to conquer the people of the Lebanon (see p. 371 of the present work).

[5] The text of the poem of Pentaûirît (ed. J. de Rougé, in *Revue Égyptologique*, vol. iii. pp. 151, 159–161) mentions, among the countries confederate with the Khâti, all Naharaim: that is to say, the country on either side of the Euphrates, embracing Mitanni and the principalities named in the Amarna correspondence, and in addition some provinces whose sites have not yet been discovered, but which may be placed without much risk of error to the north of the Taurus; see p. 389 of the present work.

enough to hold his ground? Both hypotheses could have been answered in the affirmative if each one of these great powers, confiding in its own resources, had attacked him separately. The Amorites, the people of Zahi, Alasia, and Naharaim, together with recruits from Hittite tribes, would then have put him in a position to resist, and even to carry off victory with a high hand in the final struggle. But an alliance between Assyria or Babylon and Thebes was always possible. There had been such things before, in the time of Thûtmosis IV. and in that of Amenôthes III.,[1] but they were lukewarm agreements, and their effect was not much to boast of, for the two parties to the covenant had then no common enemy to deal with, and their mutual interests were not, therefore, bound up with their united action. The circumstances were very different now. The rapid growth of a nascent kingdom, the restless spirit of its people, its trespasses on domains in which the older powers had been accustomed to hold the upper hand,—did not all this tend to transform the convention, more commercial than military, with which up to this time they had been content, into an offensive and defensive treaty? If they decided to act in concert, how could Sapalulu or his successors, seeing that he was obliged to defend himself on two frontiers at the same moment, muster sufficient resources to withstand the double assault? The Hittites, as we know them more especially from the hieroglyphic inscriptions, might be regarded as the lords only of Northern Syria, and their power be measured merely by the extent of territory which they occupied to the south of the Taurus and on the two banks of the Middle Euphrates. But this does not by any means represent the real facts. This was but the half of their empire; the rest extended to the westward and northward, beyond the mountains into that region, known afterwards as Asia Minor, in which Egyptian tradition had from ancient times confused some twenty nations under the common vague epithet of Haûi-nibû.[2] Official language still employed it as a convenient and comprehensive term, but the voyages of the Phœnicians and the travels of the "Royal Messengers," as well as, probably, the maritime commerce of the merchants of the Delta, had taught the scribes for more than a century and a half to make distinctions among these nations which they had previously summed up in one. The Luku[3] were to be found there, as well as

[1] See pp. 288, 296, 297 of the present work for notices of these alliances.

[2] See the passages in the *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 391-393, bearing on the Haûi-nibû.

[3] The Lukki, Luka, are mentioned in the Amarna correspondence under the form Lukki (Amn.-Winckler, *Der Thontafelfund*, No. 11, pl. 10, ll. 10-22; cf. Delattre, *Lettres de Tell el-Amarna*, in *Proc. Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, 1892-93, vol. xiv. pp. 129-131), as pirates and highway robbers. The identity of these people with the Lycians was pointed out for the first time by E. de Rougé, *Extrait d'un Mém.*, etc., p. 4. It was opposed by Brugsch, who prefers the identification with the Ligyes (*Gesch. Ægyptens*, p. 578), by Unger (*Manetho*, p. 218), by Halévy (*Études Berbères*, pt. 1, *Essai d'Épigr. Libyque*, pp. 171-173), by Wiedemann (*Die ältesten Beziehungen zwischen Ægypten und Griechenland*, pp. 9-11, and *Ægypt. Gesch.*, p. 475), by Ed. Meyer (*Gesch. des Alterthums*, vol. i. pp. 278, 312, and *Gesch. des Alten Ægyptens*, p. 291). Along with W. Max Müller, I hold it as well established (*Asien und Europa*, pp. 354-356).

the Danauna,[1] the Shardana,[2] and others besides, who lay behind one another on the coast. Of the second line of populations behind the region of the coast tribes, we have up to the present no means of knowing anything with certainty. Asia Minor, furthermore, is divided into two regions, so distinctly separated by nature as well as by races that one would be almost inclined to regard them as two countries foreign to each other.[3] In its centre it consists of a well-defined undulating plain, having a gentle slope towards the Black Sea, and of the shape of a kind of convex trapezium, clearly bounded towards the north by the highlands of Pontus, and on the south by the tortuous chain of the Taurus. A line of low hills fringes the country on the west, from the Olympus of Mysia to the Taurus of Pisidia. Towards the east it is bounded by broken chains of mountains of unequal height, to which the name Anti-Taurus is not very appropriately applied. An immense volcanic cone, Mount Argæus, looks down from a height of some 13,000 feet over the wide isthmus which connects the country with the lands of the Euphrates. This volcano is now extinct, but it still preserved in old days something of its languishing energy, throwing out flames[4] at intervals above the sacred forests which clothed its slopes. The rivers having their sources in the region just described, have not all succeeded in piercing the obstacles which separate them from the sea, but the Pyramus and the Sarus find their way into the Mediterranean and the Iris, Halys and Sangarios into the Euxine. The others flow into the lowlands,

[1] The Danauna are mentioned along with the Luka in the Amarna correspondence (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 30, p. 65, ll. 52–55, and p. lxi.; cf. Delattre, *Lettres de Tell el-Amarna*, in the *Proceedings Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, 1892–93, vol. xv. pp. 6, 7, 8). E. de Rougé (*Étude sur les Monuments de Thoutmos III.*, p. 29; cf. F. Lenormant, *Les Premières Civilisations*, vol. ii. p. 418, *Les Antiquités de la Troade*, vol. i. pp. 74, 78; *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. iii. pp. 45–48) tried to identify them with the Danaans; Chabas (*Études sur l'Antiquité historique*, 2nd edit., p. 292, and *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de la XIXe dynastie*, pp. 38–40) with the Daunians of Italy; and Brugsch (*Gesch. Ægyptens*, p. 578) with the Libyans inhabiting the Tanis of Lake Mareotis. The termination, -auna, -una of this word appears to be the ending in -dna (see a possible explanation of this term in Jensen, *Vorstudien*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. vi. pp. 68, 69) found in Asiatic names like Lykaôn by the side of Lykos, Kataôn by the side of Kêtis and Kat-patuka; while the form of the name Danaos is preserved in Greek legend, Danaôn is found only on Oriental monuments. The Danauna came "from their islands," that is to say, from the coasts of Asia Minor, or from Greece, the term not being pressed too literally, as the Egyptians were inclined to call all distant lands situated to the north beyond the Mediterranean Sea "islands."

[2] E. de Rougé (*Extrait d'un mémoire sur les Attaques dirigées contre l'Égypte par les peuples de la Méditerranée*, pp. 19–23) was inclined to identify the Shardana with the Sardes and the island of Sardinia; also Chabas (*Études sur l'Antiquité Historique*, 2nd edit., 186, 187, 224, 298–308, 317–321, and *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de la XIXe dynastie*, pp. 35–38). Unger (*Manetho*, p. 218) made them out to be the Kharbanoi of Libya, and was followed by Brugsch (*Gesch. Ægyptens*, pp. 578, 579). W. Max Müller (*Asien und Europa*, pp. 371–379) revived the hypotheses of De Rougé and Chabas, and saw in them bands from the Italian island. I am still persuaded, as I was twenty-five years ago, that they were Asiatics—the Mæonian tribe which gave its name to Sardis (*Revue Critique*, 1873, vol. i. pp. 84–86; 1878, vol. i. p. 320; 1880, vol. i. pp. 109, 110; cf. F. Lenormant, *Les Antiquités de la Troade*, i. pp. 73, 75; Brugsch, *Troie et l'Égypte*, in Schliemann, *Ilios*, French trans., p. 983). The Serdani or Shardana are mentioned as serving in the Egyptian army in the Tel el-Amarna tablets.

[3] I am obliged here, for want of space, to limit my original plan. I have preserved of it only a summary description of Asia Minor, and the most necessary facts for understanding the history of Egypt and Syria. Cf. for the geographical positions, Élisée Reclus, *Géogr. Univ.*, vol. ix. p. 467, et seq.

[4] Strabo, XIV. ii. § 7, p. 538.


THRACIA
Propontis
L. Tatta
Lesbos
Rhodes
Karpathos
Crete
Cythera
(THE MEDITERRANEAN)

forming meres, marshes, and lakes of fluctuating extent. The largest of these lakes, called Tatta, is salt, and its superficial extent varies with the season. In brief, the plateau of this region is nothing but an extension of the highlands of Central Asia, and has the same vegetation, fauna, and climate, the same extremes of temperature, the same aridity, and the same wretched and poverty-stricken character as the latter. The maritime portions are of an entirely different aspect. The western coast which stretches into the Ægean is furrowed by deep valleys, opening out as they reach the sea, and the rivers—the Caicus, the Hermus, the Cayster, and Meander—which flow through them are effective makers of soil, bringing down with them, as they do, a continual supply of alluvium, which, deposited at their mouths, causes the land to encroach there upon the sea. The littoral is penetrated here and there by deep creeks, and is fringed with beautiful islands—Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Cos, Rhodes—of which the majority are near enough to the continent to act as defences of the seaboard, and to guard the mouths of the rivers, while they are far enough away to be secure from the effects of any violent disturbances which might arise in the mainland. The Cyclades, distributed in two lines, are scattered, as it were, at hazard between Asia and Europe, like great blocks which have fallen around the piers of a broken bridge. The passage from one to the other is an easy matter, and owing to them, the sea rather serves to bring together the two continents than to divide them. Two groups of heights, imperfectly connected with the central plateau, tower above the Ægean slope—wooded Ida on the north, veiled in cloud, rich in the flocks and herds upon its sides, and in the metals within its bosom; and on the south, the volcanic bastions of Lycia, where tradition was wont to place the fire-breathing Chimæra. A rocky and irregularly broken coast stretches to the west of Lycia, in a line almost parallel with the Taurus, through which, at intervals, torrents leaping from the heights make their way into the sea. At the extreme eastern point of the coast, almost at the angle where the Cilician littoral meets that of Syria, the Pyramus and the Sarus have brought down between them sufficient material to form an alluvial plain, which the classical geographers designated by the name of the Level Cilicia, to distinguish it from the rough region of the interior, Cilicia Trachea.

The populations dwelling in this peninsula belong to very varied races. On the south and south-west certain Semites had found an abode—the mysterious inhabitants of Solyma, and especially the Phœnicians in their scattered trading-stations.[1] On the north-east, beside the Khâti, distributed throughout the valleys of the Anti-Taurus, between the Euphrates and Mount Argæus, there were tribes allied to the Khâti[2]—possibly at this time the Tabal and

[1] See pp. 202, 203 of the present work for notices of the Phœnician trading posts.

[2] A certain number of these tribes or of their towns are to be found in the list contained in the

the Mushka—and, on the shores of the Black Sea, those workers in metal, which, following the Greeks, we may call, for want of a better designation, the Chalybes.[1] We are at a loss to know the distribution of tribes in the centre and in the north-west, but the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, we may rest assured, never formed an ethnographical frontier. The continents on either side of them appear at this point to form the banks of a river, or the two slopes of a single valley, whose bottom lies buried beneath the waters. The barbarians of the Balkans had forced their way across at several points. Dardanians were to be encountered in the neighbourhood of Mount Ida, as well as on the banks of the Axios, from early times, and the Kebrenes of Macedonia had colonised a district of the Troad near Ilion, while the great nation of the Mysians had issued, like them, from the European populations of the Hebrus and the Strymon. The hero Dardanos, according to legend, had at first founded, under the auspices of the Idæan Zeus, the town of Dardania; and afterwards a portion of his progeny followed the course of the Scamander, and entrenched themselves upon a precipitous hill, from the top of which they could look far and wide over the plain and sea.[2] The most ancient Ilion, at first a village, abandoned on more than one occasion in the course of centuries, was rebuilt and transformed, earlier than the XV[th] century before Christ, into an important citadel, the capital of a warlike and prosperous kingdom. The ruins on the spot prove the existence of a primitive civilisation analogous to that of the islands of the Archipelago before the arrival of the Phœnician navigators.[3] We find that among both, at the outset, flint and bone, clay, baked and unbaked, formed the only materials for their utensils and furniture; metals were afterwards introduced, and we can trace their progressive employment to the gradual exclusion of the older implements. These ancient Trojans used copper, and we encounter only rarely a kind of bronze, in which the proportion of tin was too slight to give the requisite hardness to the alloy, and we find still fewer examples of iron and lead. They were fairly adroit workers in silver, electrum, and especially in gold. The amulets, cups, necklaces, and jewellery discovered in their tombs or in the ruins of their houses, are sometimes of a not ungraceful form. Their pottery was made by hand, and was not painted or varnished, but they often gave to it a fine lustre by means of a stone-polisher.[4] Other peoples of uncertain origin, but who had attained a

treaty of Ramses II. with the Khati (ll. 26-30); cf. Bouriant, *Notes de Voyage*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xii. pp. 157-160, and W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 324, 325).

[1] Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Königreichs Pontos*, pp. 11, 12, and C. de Cara, *Gli Hethei-Pelasgi*, vol. i. pp. 348-365, have brought together the greater part of the scattered notices we have of these races.

[2] See the monograph of Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte von Troas*, p. 9, et seq., for all the legends relating to the earliest Trojan population.

[3] See pp. 201, 202 of the present work.

[4] For information on this early civilisation, consult, in default of Schliemann's *Ilios* and *Troja*, where the materials are scattered, the summary of them given by Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, pp. 151-228, or Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. ii. pp. 123-125.

civilization as advanced as that of the Trojans, were the Mæonians, the Leleges, and the Carians who had their abode to the south of Troy and of the Mysians. The Mæonians held sway in the fertile valleys of the Hermos, Cayster, and Mæander. They were divided into several branches, such as the Lydians, the Tyrseni, the Torrhebi, and the Shardana, but their most ancient traditions looked back with pride to a flourishing state to which, as they alleged, they had all belonged long ago on the slopes of Mount Sipylos, between the valley of the Hermos and the Gulf of Smyrna. The traditional capital of this kingdom was Magnesia, the most ancient of cities, the residence of Tantalus, the father of Niobe and the Pelopidæ. The Leleges rise up before us from many points at the same time, but always connected with the most ancient memories of Greece and Asia. The majority of the strongholds on the Trojan coast belonged to them—such as Antandros and Gargara—and Pedasos on the Satniois boasted of having been one of their colonies, while several other towns of the same name, but very distant from each other, enable us to form some idea of the extent of their migrations.[1] In the time of Strabo, ruined tombs and deserted sites of cities were shown in Caria which the natives regarded as Lelegia—that is, abode of the Leleges.[2] The Carians were dominant in the southern angle of the peninsula and in the Ægean Islands; and the Lycians lay next them on the east, and were sometimes confounded with them. One of the most powerful tribes of the Carians, the Tremilæ, were in the eyes of the Greeks hardly to be separated from the mountainous district which they knew as Lycia proper; while other tribes extended as far as the Halys. A district of the Troad, to the south of Mount Ida, was called Lycia, and there was a Lycaonia on both sides of the Middle Taurus; while Attica had its Lycia, and Crete its Lycians. These three nations—the Lycians, Carians, and Leleges—were so entangled together from their origin, that no one would venture now to trace the lines of demarcation between them, and we are often obliged to apply to them collectively what can be appropriately ascribed to only one.

How far the Hittite power extended in the first years of its expansion we have now hardly the means of knowing. It would appear that it took within its scope, on the south-west, the Cilician plain, and the undulating region bordering on it—that of Qodi: the prince of the latter district, if not his vassal, was at least the colleague of the King of the Khâti, and he acted in concert

[1] According to the scholiast on Nicander (*Ther.*, v. 804), the word "Pedasa" signified "mountain," probably in the language of the Leleges. We know up to the present of four Pedasi, or Pedasa; the first in Messenia (Strabo, VIII. iv. § 3, p. 359), which later on took the name of Methone; the second in the Troad, on the banks of the Satniois (Strabo, XIII. i. § 7, p. 584); the third in the neighbourhood of Cyzicus (Agathocles, § 6, in Müller-Didot, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iv. p. 289); and the fourth in Caria.

[2] With regard to the Leleges, consult the somewhat confused work of Deimling, *Die Leleger*, where all the classical texts relative to these people are collected.

with him in peace as well as in war.[1] It embraced also the upper basin of the Pyramos and its affluents, as well as the regions situated between the Euphrates and the Halys, but its frontier in this direction was continually fluctuating, and our researches fail to follow it. It is somewhat probable that it extended considerably towards the west and north-west in the direction of the Ægean Sea. The forests and escarpments of Lycaonia, and the desolate steppes of the central plateau, have always presented a barrier difficult to surmount by any invader from the east. If the Khati at that period attacked it in front, or by a flank movement, the assault must rather have been of the nature of a hurried reconnaissance, or of a raid, than of a methodically conducted campaign.[2] They must have preferred to obtain possession of the valleys of the Thermodon and the Iris, which were rich in mineral wealth, and from which they could have secured an inexhaustible revenue. The extraction and working of metals in this region had attracted thither from time immemorial merchants from neighbouring and distant countries—at first from the south to supply the needs of Syria, Chaldæa, and Egypt, then from the west for the necessities of the countries on the Ægean. The roads, which, starting from the archipelago on the one hand, or the Euphrates on the other, met at this point, fell naturally into one, and thus formed a continuous route, along which the caravans of commerce, as well as warlike expeditions, might henceforward pass. Starting from the cultivated regions of Mæonia, the road proceeded up the valley of the Hermos from west to east; then, scaling the heights of the central plateau and taking a direction more and more to the north-east, it reached the fords of the Halys. Crossing this river twice—for the first time at a point about two-thirds the length of its course, and for the second at a short distance from its source—it made an abrupt turn towards the Taurus, and joined, at Melitene, the routes leading to the Upper Tigris, to Nisibis, to Singara, and to Old Assur, and connecting further down beyond the mountainous region, under the walls of Carchemish, with the roads which led to the Nile and to the river-side cities on the Persian Gulf.[3] There were other and shorter routes, if we think only of the number

[1] The country of Qidi, Qadi, Qodi, has been connected by Chabas with Galilee (*Voyage d'un Égyptien*, pp. 108, 109), and Brugsch adopted the identification (*Geog. Ægyptiens*, p. 340). W. Max Müller identified it with Phœnicia (*Asien und Europa*, pp. 242–248). I think the name served to designate the Cilician coast and plain from the mouth of the Orontes, and the country which was known in the Græco-Roman period by the name Kêtis and Kataonia (MASPERO, *De Carchemis Oppidi Situ*, map 2; cf. SAYCE, *Monuments of the Hittites*, in *Trans.* Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. vii. pp. 285, 289; F. LENORMANT, *Les Orig. de l'Hist.*, vol. iii. p. 72, et seq.; ED. MEYER, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, vol. i. p. 277).

[2] The idea of a Hittite empire extending over almost all Asia Minor was advanced by Sayce (*Monuments of the Hittites*, in the *Transactions* Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. vii. pp. 268–293; cf. SAYCE. MÉNANT, *Les Hétéens, Histoire d'un Empire oublié*, p. 73, et seq.; WRIGHT, *The Empire of the Hittites*, 1st edit., pp. 45–61). This view has been opposed by Hirschfeld (*Die Felsenreliefs in Kleinasien*, pp. 7, 8, 45, et seq.), defended by Ramsay (*Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, pp. 38, 39, and *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, vol. i. pp. xiii–xv.), and by Radet (*La Lydie et le Monde Grec*, etc., p. 24, et seq.).

[3] The very early existence of this road, which partly coincides with the royal route of the Persian Achæmenids, was proved by KIEPERT, *Ueber die Persische Königsstrasse durch Vorderasien nach*

of miles, from the Hermos in Pisidia or Lycaonia, across the central steppe and through the Cilician Gates, to the meeting of the ways at Carchemish; but they led through wretched regions, without industries, almost without tillage, and inhospitable alike to man and beast, and they were ventured on only by those who aimed at trafficking among the populations who lived in their neighbourhood.[1] The Khâti, from the time even when they were enclosed among the fastnesses of the Taurus, had within their control the most important section of the great land route which served to maintain regular relations between the ancient kingdoms of the east and the rising states of the Ægean, and whosoever would pass through their country had to pay them toll. The conquest of Naharaim, in giving them control of a new section, placed almost at their discretion the whole traffic between Chaldæa and Egypt. From the time of Thutmosis III. caravans employed in this traffic accomplished the greater part of their journey in territories depending upon Babylon, Assyria, or Memphis, and enjoyed thus a relative security; the terror of the Pharaoh protected the travellers even when they were no longer in his domains, and he saved them from the flagrant exactions made upon them by princes who called themselves his brothers, or were actually his vassals.[2] But the time had now come when merchants had to encounter, between Qodshu and the banks of the Khabur, a sovereign owing no allegiance to any one, and who would tolerate no foreign interference in his territory. From the outbreak of hostilities with the Khâti, Egypt could communicate with the cities of the Lower Euphrates only by the Wadys of the Arabian Desert, which were always dangerous and difficult for large convoys;[3] and its commercial relations with Chaldæa were practically brought thus to a standstill, and, as a consequence, the manufactures which fed this trade being reduced to a limited production, the fiscal receipts arising from it experienced a sensible diminution. When peace was restored, matters fell again into their old groove, with certain reservations to the Khâti of some common privileges: Egypt, which had formerly possessed these to her own advantage, now bore the burden of them, and the indirect tribute which she paid in this manner to her rivals furnished them with arms to fight her in case she should endeavour to free herself from the imposition. All the semi-barbaric peoples of the peninsula of Asia Minor were of an adventurous and warlike temperament.

Herodotus, in the *Monatsberichte* of Academy of Sciences of Berlin, 1857, pp. 123-140, and by Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, pp. 27-35, where the irregularities of the route are explained; cf. Radet, *La Lydie et le Monde Grec*, pp. 23-32, and Ramsay-Hogarth, *Prehellenic Monuments of Cappadocia*, in the *Recueil*, vol. xv. pp. 92-94, in which important corrections of previous views are adduced.

[1] On these secondary routes, see Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, pp. 35-43, and Radet, *La Lydie et le Monde Grec*, pp. 23-25, where the authors, while showing that the general use of these roads was not anterior to the Seleucids, admit that they existed in the centuries preceding the Macedonian conquest.

[2] See as to this commerce, p. 286 of the present work.

[3] On these routes through Northern Arabia, see pp. 613, 614, of the *Dawn of Civilization*.

They were always willing to set out on an expedition, under the leadership of some chief of noble family or renowned for valour; sometimes by sea in their light craft, which would bring them unexpectedly to the nearest point of the Syrian coast, sometimes by land in companies of foot-soldiers and charioteers. They were frequently fortunate enough to secure plenty of booty, and return with it to their homes safe and sound; but as frequently they would meet with reverses by falling into some ambuscade: in such a case their conqueror would not put them to the sword or sell them as slaves, but would promptly incorporate them into his army, thus making his captives into his soldiers. The King of the Khâti was able to make use of them without difficulty, for his empire was conterminous on the west and north with some of their native lands, and he had often whole regiments of them in his army—Mysians,[1] Lycians, people of Augarit,[2] of Ilion,[3] and of Pedasos.[4] The revenue of the provinces taken from Egypt, and the products of his tolls, furnished him with abundance of means for obtaining recruits from among them.[5]

All these things contributed to make the power of the Khâti so considerable, that Harmhabi, when he had once tested it, judged it prudent not to join issues with them. He concluded with Sapalulu a treaty of peace and friendship.

[1] Attempts were made to identify the Masa with the Mysians by E. de Rougé (*Extrait d'un Mémoire sur les Attaques dirigées contre l'Égypte par les peuples de la Méditerranée*, p. 4); and this view, adopted by Chabas (*Études sur l'Antiquité historique*, 2nd edit., p. 183), has been disputed without sufficient reason by Brugsch (*Gesch. Ægyptens*, pp. 578, 579), by Ed. Meyer (*Gesch. des Alterthums*, vol. i. p. 278, and *Gesch. des Alten Ægyptens*, p. 281), and by W. Max Müller (*Asien und Europa*, p. 355).

[2] The country of Augarit, Ugarit, is mentioned on several occasions in the Tel el-Amarna correspondence (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 1, p. 3, l. 39; No. 30, p. 65, ll. 55–57; cf. Delattre, *Lettres de Tell el-Amarna*, in the *Proceedings* of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., 1890-91, vol. xiii. pp. 21, 27, 29, and 1892-93, vol. xv. pp. 506–508). The name has been wrongly associated with Caria (F. Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. iii. p. 78); it has been placed by W. Max Müller (*Asien und Europa*, pp. 202-203) well within Naharaim, to the east of the Orontes, between Khalybôn (Aleppo) and Apamæa, the writer confusing it with Akaiti, named in the campaign of Amenôthes II. (see pp. 291, 292 of the present work). I am not sure about the site, but its association in the Amarna letters with Gagga and Khanigalbat inclines me to place it beyond the northern slopes of the Taurus, possibly on the banks of the Halys or of the Upper Euphrates.

[3] The name of this people was read Iliuna by Champollion, who identified it with the Ionians (*Grammaire Hiéroglyphique*, p. 151, and *Dictionnaire*, p. 66; cf. Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, vol. iii. p. 326); this reading and identification were adopted by Lenormant (*Les Origines*, vol. iii. p. 358) and by W. Max Müller (*Asien und Europa*, pp. 369-371). Chabas hesitates between Iriūna and Maiūna, Iaūla and Maūula (*Études sur l'Antiquité Historique*, 2nd edit., p. 185), and Brugsch read it Maiuna (*Gesch. Ægyptens*, p. 491). The reading Iriūna, Iliūna, seems to me the only possible one (*Les Ilou*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. viii. p. 84), and the identification with Ilion as well.

[4] E. de Rougé thought that Pidasa, owing to the transposition of letters, was for Pisida, Pisidia (*Cours professé au Collège de France*, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, etc., vol. ii. p. 267), and this opinion has been adopted by W. Max Müller (*Asien und Europa*, p. 355). Owing to its association with the Dardanians, Mysians, and Ilion, I think it answers to the Pedasos on the Satnioïs near Troy (Maspero, *De Carchemis oppidi situ*, pp. 57, 58).

[5] E. de Rougé and the Egyptologists who followed him thought at first that the troops designated in the Egyptian texts as Lycians, Mysians, Dardanians, were the national armies of these nations, each one commanded by its king, who had hastened from Asia Minor to succour their ally the King of the Khâti. I now think that these were bands of adventurers, consisting of soldiers belonging to these nations, who came to put themselves at the service of civilised monarchs, as the Carians, Ionians, and the Greeks of various cities did later on: the individuals whom the texts mention as their princes were not the kings of these nations, but the warrior chiefs to whom each band gave obedience.

which, leaving the two powers in possession respectively of the territory each then occupied, gave legal sanction to the extension of the sphere of the Khâti at the expense of Egypt.[1] Syria continued to consist of two almost equal parts, stretching from Byblos to the sources of the Jordan and Damascus: the northern portion, formerly tributary to Egypt, became a Hittite possession, while the southern, consisting of Phœnicia and Canaan,[2] which the Pharaoh had held for a long time with a more effective authority, and had more fully occupied, was retained for Egypt. This could have been but a provisional arrangement: if Thebes had not altogether renounced the hope of repossessing some day the lost conquests of Thûtmosis III., the Khâti, drawn by the same instinct which had urged them to cross their frontiers towards the south, were not likely to be content with less than the expulsion of the Egyptians from Syria, and the absorption of the whole country into the Hittite dominion. Peace was maintained during Harmhabi's lifetime. We know nothing of Egyptian affairs during the last years of his reign. His rule may have come to an end owing to some court intrigue, or he may have had no male heir to follow him.[3] Ramses, who succeeded him, did not belong to the royal line, or was only remotely connected with it.[4] He was already an old man when he ascended the throne, and we ought perhaps to identify him with one or other of the Ramses who flourished under the last Pharaohs of the XVIIIth dynasty,

[1] It is not certain that Harmhabi was the Pharaoh with whom Sapalulu entered into treaty, and it might be insisted with some reason that Ramses I. was the party to it on the side of Egypt (Brugsch, *Gesch. Ægyptens*, pp. 456, 457); but this hypothesis is rendered less probable by the fact of the extremely short reign of the latter Pharaoh. I am inclined to think, as W. Max Müller has supposed (*Asien und Europa*, p. 392, note 1), that the passage in the *Treaty of Ramses II. with the Prince of the Khâti* (ll. 5-7), which speaks of a treaty concluded with Sapalulu, looks back to the time of Ramses II.'s predecessor, Harmhabi.

[2] This follows from the situation of the two empires, as indicated in the account of the campaign of Seti I. in his first year. The king, after having defeated the nomads of the Arabian desert, passed on without further fighting into the country of the Amorites and the regions of the Lebanon (see p. 371 of the present work), which fact seems to imply the submission of Kharu. W. Max Müller was the first to discern clearly this part of the history of Egyptian conquest (*Asien und Europa*, pp. 275, 276); he appears, however, to have circumscribed somewhat too strictly the dominion of Harmhabi in assigning Carmel as its limit. The list of the nations of the north who yielded, or are alleged to have yielded, submission to Harmhabi, were traced on the first pylon of this monarch at Karnak, and on its adjoining walls; what remains of this list has been reproduced by Bouriant, *Lettre à M. W. Max Müller sur le mur d'Horemheb à Karnak*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xvii. pp. 41-43. Among others, the names of the Khâti and of Arvad are to be read there.

[3] It would appear, from an Ostracon in the British Museum (Birch, *Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Characters*, pl. xiv., No. 5624, that the year XXI. follows after the year VII. of Harmhabi's reign (Brugsch, *Die Gruppe* ..., in the *Zeitschrift*, 1876, pp. 122-124, and *Gesch. Ægyptens*, pp. 447, 448; cf. Wiedemann, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 411); it is possible that the year XXI. may belong to one of Harmhabi's successors, Seti I. or Ramses II., for example.

[4] The efforts to connect Ramses I. with a family of Semitic origin, possibly the Shepherd-kings themselves, have not been successful (E. de Rougé, *Lettre à M. Guigniaut*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 2nd series, vol. ix. p. 132; Mariette, *Deuxième Lettre à M. le vicomte de Rougé sur les fouilles de Tanis*, p. 2; *La Stèle de l'an 400*, p. 3; Chabas, *Les Ramsès sont-ils de la race des Pasteurs? Études sur la Stèle de l'an 400*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1865, pp. 29-30). Everything goes to prove that the Ramses family was, and considered itself to be, of Egyptian origin. Brugsch (*Gesch. Ægyptens*, p. 456) and Ed. Meyer (*Gesch. Ægyptens*, p. 274) were inclined to see in Ramses I. a younger brother of Harmhabi. This hypothesis has nothing either for or against it up to the present (Wiedemann, *Ægyptische Gesch.*, p. 412).

perhaps the one who governed Thebes under Khûniatonû,[1] or another, who began but never finished his tomb in the hillside above Tel el-Amarna, in the burying-place of the worshippers of the Disk. He had held important offices under Harmhabî,[2] and had obtained in marriage for his son Seti the hand of Tuia, who, of all the royal family, possessed the strongest rights to the crown.[3] Ramses reigned only six or seven years, and associated Seti with himself in the government from his second year.[4] He undertook a short military expedition into Ethiopia, and perhaps a raid into Syria; and we find remains of his monuments in Nubia, at Bohani near Wady Halfa, and at Thebes, in the temple of Amon.[5] He displayed little activity, his advanced age preventing him from entering on any serious undertaking; but his accession nevertheless marks an important date in the history of Egypt. Although Harmhabî was distantly connected with the line of the Ahmessides, it is difficult at the present day to know what position to assign him in the Pharaonic lists; while some regard him as the last of the XVIIIth dynasty, others prefer to place him at the head of the XIXth. No such hesitation, however, exists with regard to Ramses I., who was undoubtedly the founder of a new family. The old familiar names of Thûtmosis and Amenôthes henceforward disappear from the royal lists, and are replaced by others, such as Seti, Minephtah,



RAMSES I.[6]

[1] Cf. what is said about this Ramses, governor of Thebes, pp. 324, 332, *supra*.

[2] Bouriant, *Deux jours de fouilles à Tell el-Amarna*, in *Mémoires de la Mission française*, vol. i. pp. 9-11. This Tel el-Amarna Ramses is, perhaps, identical with the Theban one; he may have followed his master to his new capital, and have had a tomb dug for himself there, which he subsequently abandoned, on the death of Khûniatonû, in order to return to Thebes with Tûtânkhamon and Aï.

[3] Maspero, *Essai sur l'inscription d'Abydos*, pp. 68-70, and *Revue Critique*, 1870, vol. ii. p. 10. The fact that the marriage was celebrated under the auspices of Harmhabî, and that, consequently, Ramses must have occupied an important position at the court of that prince, is proved by the appearance of Ramses II., son of Tuia, as early as the first year of Seti, among the ranks of the combatants in the war carried on by that prince against the Tihonu (Champollion, *Monuments*, pl. ccxcvii. 2); even granting that he was then ten years old (cf. p. 380, *infra*), we are forced to admit that he must have been born before his grandfather came to the throne. There is in the Vatican a statue of Tuia which has been remarked on by Lepsius, *Notes sur deux statues égyptiennes*, in the *Annales de l'Institut de Correspondance Archéologique*, vol. ix. pp. 5-11, and pl. xl.; other statues have been discovered at Sân (Mariette, *Notice des principaux Monuments du Musée de Boulaq*, 1864, p. 267, and *Fragments et Documents relatifs aux Fouilles de Sân*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ix. pp. 14, 15; Petrie, *Tanis*, vol. i. pl. ii., No. 11, and vol. ii. p. 17).

[4] Stele C 57 in the Louvre, published in Champollion, *Monuments*, pls. 1, 2; cf. Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. xlv. 1.

[5] He began the great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (Mariette, *Karnak*, pp. 21, 22, 24, 25, 38); E. de Rougé thinks that the idea of building this was first conceived under the XVIIIth dynasty (*Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. i. p. 66).

[6] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a sketch in Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. v., No. 17.

and, especially, Ramses, which now figure in them for the first time. The princes who bore these names showed themselves worthy successors of those who had raised Egypt to the zenith of her power; like them they were successful on the battle-field, and like them they devoted the best of the spoil to building innumerable monuments. No sooner had Seti celebrated his father's obsequies, than he assembled his army and set out for war.

It would appear that Southern Syria was then in open revolt. "Word had been brought to His Majesty: 'The vile Shaûsû have plotted rebellion; the chiefs of their tribes, assembled in one place on the confines of Kharû, have been smitten with blindness and with the spirit of violence; every one cutteth his neighbour's throat.'"[1] It was imperative to send succour to the few tribes who remained faithful, to prevent them from succumbing to the repeated attacks of the insurgents. Seti crossed the frontier at Zalû, but instead of pursuing his way along the coast, he marched due east in order to attack the Shaûsû in the very heart of the desert. The road ran through wide wadys, tolerably well supplied with water, and the length of the stages necessarily depended on the distances between the wells. This route was one frequented in early times, and its security was ensured by a number of fortresses and isolated towers built along it, such as "The House of the Lion"—*ta ait pa maû*—near the pool of the same name, the Migdol of the springs of Huzina, the fortress of Uazit, the Tower of the Brave, and the Migdol of Seti at the pools of Alsakaba.[2] The Bedawin, disconcerted by the rapidity of this movement, offered no serious resistance. Their flocks were carried off, their trees cut down, their harvests destroyed, and they surrendered their strongholds at discretion. Pushing on from one halting-place to another, the conqueror soon reached Rabbiti, and finally Pakanâna.[3] The latter town occupied a splendid

[1] The pictures of this campaign and the inscriptions which explain them were engraved by Seti I. on the outside of the north wall of the great hypostyle hall at Karnak. They were collected and published by CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, pls. cclxxxix.–ccci., and vol. ii. pp. 86–112; then by ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, pls. xlvi.–lxi.; and by LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, iii. 126–130. They have been tabulated and examined by BRUGSCH, *Reiseberichte aus Ægypten*, pp. 142–157, and *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 458–469; then by LAUTH, *Ueber Sethosis' Triumphzug*, in the Reports of the Proceedings of the Munich Academy of Sciences, 1869, vol. i. pp. 319–355; and by LUSHINGTON, *The Victories of Seti I. recorded in the Great Temple of Karnak*, in the *Transactions* of the Society of Biblical Archæology, vol. vii. pp. 509–534; lastly, the texts have been carefully edited and translated by GUIEYSSE, *Inscription Historique de Séti Ier*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xi. pp. 52–77.

[2] Brugsch has endeavoured to map out the route followed by Seti I., and his deductions led him to carry it to the south of the Dead Sea (*Dictionnaire Géographique*, pp. 290–297, and *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 459, 460). I agree with Tomkins (*The Fortress of Canaan*, in the *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statements*, 1884, pp. 59, 60) in thinking that the line followed by the Egyptian army coincided for the most part with the route explored by Holland (*A Journey on Foot through Arabia Petræa*, in the *Quart. Stat.*, 1879, pp. 70–72; cf. WILSON, *Notes to accompany a Map of the late Rev. F. W. Holland's Journey*, in the *Quart. Stat.*, 1884, pp. 4–15).

[3] The site of Pakanâna has, with much probability, been fixed by Conder (*The Fortress of Canaan*, in the *Quart. Statements*, 1883, pp. 175, 176; cf. TOMKINS, *The Fortress of Canaan*, in the *Quart. Statements*, 1884, pp. 57–61) at El-Kenân or Khurbet-Kanâan, to the south of Hebron. Brugsch had previously taken this name to indicate the country of Canaan (*Geographische Inschriften*, vol. i. pp. 53,

position on the slope of a rocky hill, close to a small lake, and defended the approaches to the vale of Hebron. It surrendered at the first attack, and by its fall the Egyptians became possessed of one of the richest provinces in the southern part of Kharû. This result having been achieved, Seti took the caravan road to his left, on the further side of Gaza, and pushed forward at full speed towards the Hittite frontier. It was probably unprotected by any troops,



THE RETURN OF THE NORTH WALL OF THE HYPOSTYLE HALL AT KARNAK, WHERE SETI I. REPRESENTS SOME EPISODES IN HIS FIRST CAMPAIGN.[2]

and the Hittite king was absent in some other part of his empire. Seti pillaged the Amurru, seized Iannâmu and Qodshû by a sudden attack, marched in an oblique direction towards the Mediterranean, forcing the inhabitants of the Lebanon to cut timber from their mountains for the additions which he was premeditating in the temple of the Theban Amon, and finally returned by the coast road, receiving, as he passed through their territory, the homage of the Phœnicians. His entry into Egypt was celebrated by solemn festivities. The nobles, priests, and princes of both south and north hastened to meet him at the bridge of Zalu, and welcomed, with their chants, both the king and

201, vol. ii. p. 51; cf. LAUTH, *Ueber Sethosis' Triumphzug*, pp. 337, 338), but Chabas rightly contested this view (*Voyage d'un Égyptien*, pp. 112, 113). W. Max Müller took up the matter afresh; he pointed out that we have here an allusion to the first town encountered by Seti I. in the country of Canaan to the south-west of Raphia, the name of which is not mentioned by the Egyptian sculptor (*Asien und Europa*, pp. 148, 200, 206); it seems to me that this name should be Pakanâna, and that the town bore the same name as the country.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey.

the troops of captives whom he was bringing back for the service of his father Amon at Karnak.[1] The delight of his subjects was but natural, since for many years the Egyptians had not witnessed such a triumph, and they no doubt believed that the prosperous era of Thûtmosis III. was about to return, and that the wealth of Naharaim would once more flow into Thebes as of old. Their illusion was short-lived, for this initial victory was followed by no other. Maurusaru, King of the Khâti, and subsequently his son Mautallu, withstood the Pharaoh with such resolution that he was forced to treat with them. A new alliance was concluded on the same conditions as the old one, and the boundaries of the two kingdoms remained the same as under Harmhabî, a proof that neither sovereign had gained any advantage over his rival.[2] Hence the campaign did not in any way restore Egyptian supremacy, as had been hoped at the moment; it merely served to strengthen her authority in those provinces which the Khâti had failed to take from Egypt. The Phœnicians of Tyre and Sidon had too many commercial interests on the banks of the Nile to dream of breaking the slender tie which held them to the Pharaoh, since independence, or submission to another sovereign, might have ruined their trade. The Kharu and the Bedawin, vanquished wherever they had ventured to oppose the Pharaoh's troops, were less than ever capable of throwing off the Egyptian yoke. Syria fell back into its former state. The local princes once more resumed their intrigues and quarrels, varied at intervals by appeals to their suzerain for justice or succour. The "Royal Messengers" appeared from time to time with their escorts of archers and chariots to claim tribute, levy taxes, to make peace between quarrelsome vassals, or, if the case required it, to supersede some insubordinate chief by a governor of undoubted loyalty; in fine, the entire administration of the empire was a continuation of that of the preceding century.[3] The peoples of Kûsh meanwhile had remained quiet during the campaign in Syria, and on the western frontier the Tihonû had suffered so severe a defeat that they were not likely to recover from it for some time.[4] The bands of pirates, Shardana and others, who infested the Delta, were hunted down, and the prisoners taken from among them

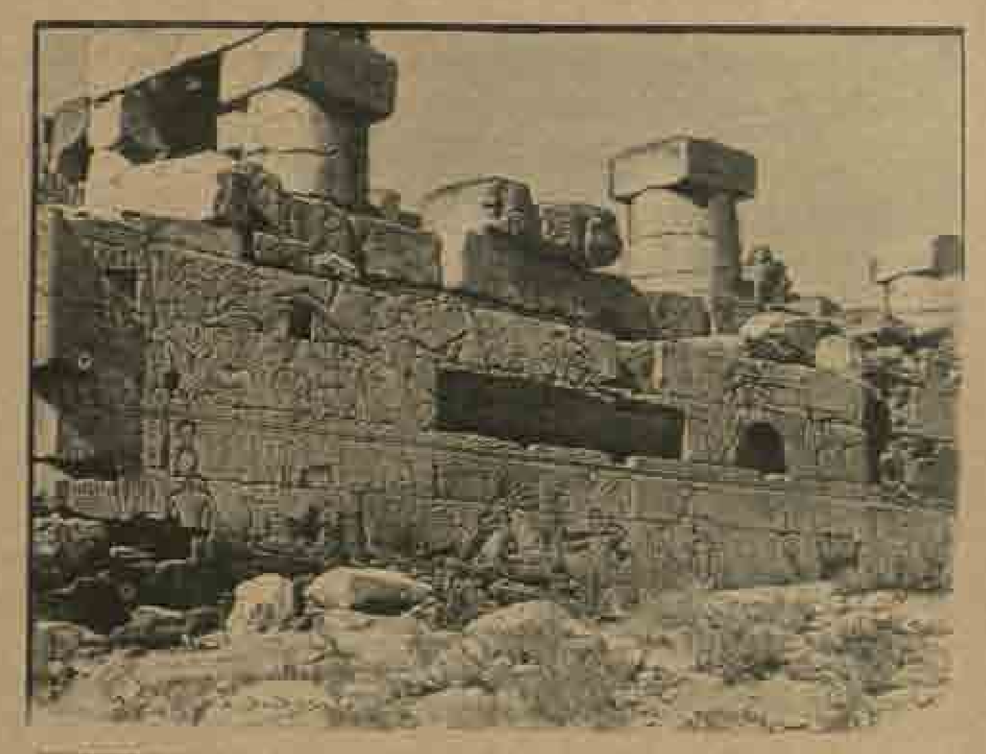
[1] A part of this picture, that showing the bridge thrown across the canal at Zalû, is reproduced on p. 122, *supra*.

[2] Treaty of Ramses II. with the Prince of Khâti, ll. 5–7. The name is written *Mautanaru*, but the combination *nr* in the Egyptian texts, more often than not, represents an *r* or strong *l* sound. It has been rightly connected with the name Mutallu, borne by a King of Kummukh, under Sargon of Assyria (Sayce, *The Monuments of the Hittites*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. vii. pp. 290; cf. Jensen, *Grundlagen für eine Entzifferung der hittitischen Inschriften*, pp. 7, 8).

[3] As to the boundaries of these provinces, cf. what is said by W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 200, 270. The organisation of the provinces is briefly described on pp. 271–277 of the present work.

[4] This war is represented at Karnak, and Ramses II. figures there among the children of Seti I. Champollion, *Monuments*, pl. ccxcvii. 2; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. liv.; cf. Brugsch, *Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens*, vol. i. pl. xlvii. 2).

were incorporated into the royal guard.[1] Seti, however, does not appear to have had a confirmed taste for war. He showed energy when occasion required it, and he knew how to lead his soldiers, as the expedition of his first year amply proved: but when the necessity was over, he remained on the defensive, and made no further attempt at conquest. By his own choice he was "the jackal who prowls about the country to protect it," rather than "the wizard



REPRESENTATION OF SETI I. VANQUISHING THE LIBYANS AND ASIATICS ON THE WALLS, KARNAK.[2]

lion marauding abroad by hidden paths,"[3] and Egypt enjoyed a profound peace in consequence of his ceaseless vigilance.

A peaceful policy of this kind did not, of course, produce the amount of spoil and the endless relays of captives which had enabled his predecessors to raise temples and live in great luxury without overburdening their subjects with taxes. Seti was, therefore, the more anxious to do all in his power to develop the internal wealth of the country. The mining colonies of the Sinaitic Peninsula had never ceased working since operations had been resumed

[1] We gather this, as E. de Rougé points out (*Extrait d'un Mémoire sur les attaques dirigées par les peuples de la mer*, pp. 20, 21), from passages in the inscriptions from the year V. onwards, in which Ramses II. boasts that he has a number of Shardana prisoners in his guard; Rougé was, perhaps, mistaken in magnifying these piratical raids into a war of invasion.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey.

[3] These phrases are taken direct from the inscriptions of Seti I. (BRUGSCH, *Recueil de Monuments*, vol. i. pl. xlv. c, ll. 11, 12, cf. xlvi. d, ll. 1, 2; cf. GUIEYSSE, *La Campagne de Séti I^er*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xi. pp. 70, 71, 72).

there under Hâtshopsitû and Thûtmosis III., but the output had lessened during the troubles under the heretic kings.[1] Seti sent inspectors thither, and endeavoured to stimulate the workmen to their former activity, but apparently with no great success.[2] We are not able to ascertain if he continued the revival of trade with Pûanit inaugurated by Harmhabî;[3] but at any rate he concentrated his attention on the regions bordering the Red Sea and the gold-mines which they contained. Those of Etbai, which had been worked as early as the XII[th] dynasty, did not yield as much as they had done formerly; not that they were exhausted, but owing to the lack of water in their neighbourhood and along the routes leading to them, they were nearly deserted. It



A FORTIFIED STATION ON THE ROUTE BETWEEN THE NILE AND THE RED SEA.[4]

was well known that they contained great wealth, but operations could not be carried on, as the workmen were in danger of dying of thirst. Seti despatched engineers to the spot to explore the surrounding wadys, to clear the ancient cisterns or cut others, and to establish victualling stations at regular intervals for the use of merchants supplying the gangs of miners with commodities. These stations generally consisted of square or rectangular enclosures, built of stones without mortar, and capable of resisting a prolonged attack. The entrance was by a narrow doorway of stone slabs, and in the interior were a few huts and one or two reservoirs for catching rain or storing the water of neighbouring springs. Sometimes a chapel was built close at hand, consecrated to the divinities of the desert, or to their compeers, Minû of Coptos, Horus, Maut, or Isis. One of these, founded by Seti, still exists near the modern town of Redesieh, at the entrance to one of the valleys which furrow this gold region. It is built against, and partly excavated in, a wall of rock, the face

[1] Cf., as to the resumption of these works, what is said on pp. 253, 254, supra.

[2] Inscriptions at Sarbut el-Khadim, one dated the year VII., in Lottin de Laval, *Voyage dans la Péninsule Arabique du Sinaï*, pl. ii. 6, iii. 1; cf. *Survey of Sinai*, pl. iv.

[3] Cf. what is said in regard to these journeys to Pûanit on pp. 249, 250, supra.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by M. de Bock; plans of a certain number of these fortified stations will be found in Cailliaud, *Voyage à l'Oasis de Thèbes*, pls. ii.–vii., and pp. 3–10, and more especially in Golénischeff, *Excursion à Bérénice*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiii. pp. 78, 80, 82, 83, 85. Cf., in regard to other similar forts, the remarks of Du Bois-Aymé, *Mémoire sur la ville de Qoçéyr et ses environs*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xi. p. 398.

of which has been roughly squared, and it is entered through a four-columned portico, giving access to two dark chambers, whose walls are covered with scenes of adoration and a lengthy inscription. In this latter the sovereign relates how, in the IXth year of his reign, he was moved to inspect the roads of the desert; he completed the work in honour of Amon-Râ, of Phtah of Memphis, and of Harmakhis, and he states that travellers were at a loss to express their gratitude and thanks for what he had done. "They repeated from mouth to mouth: 'May Amon give him an endless existence, and may he prolong for him the length of eternity!' O ye gods of fountains, attribute to him your life, for he has rendered back to us accessible roads, and he has opened that which was closed to us. Henceforth we can take our way in peace, and reach our destination alive; now that the difficult paths are open and the road has become good, gold can be brought back, as our lord and master has commanded."[2]



THE TEMPLE OF SETI I. AT REDESIEH.[1]

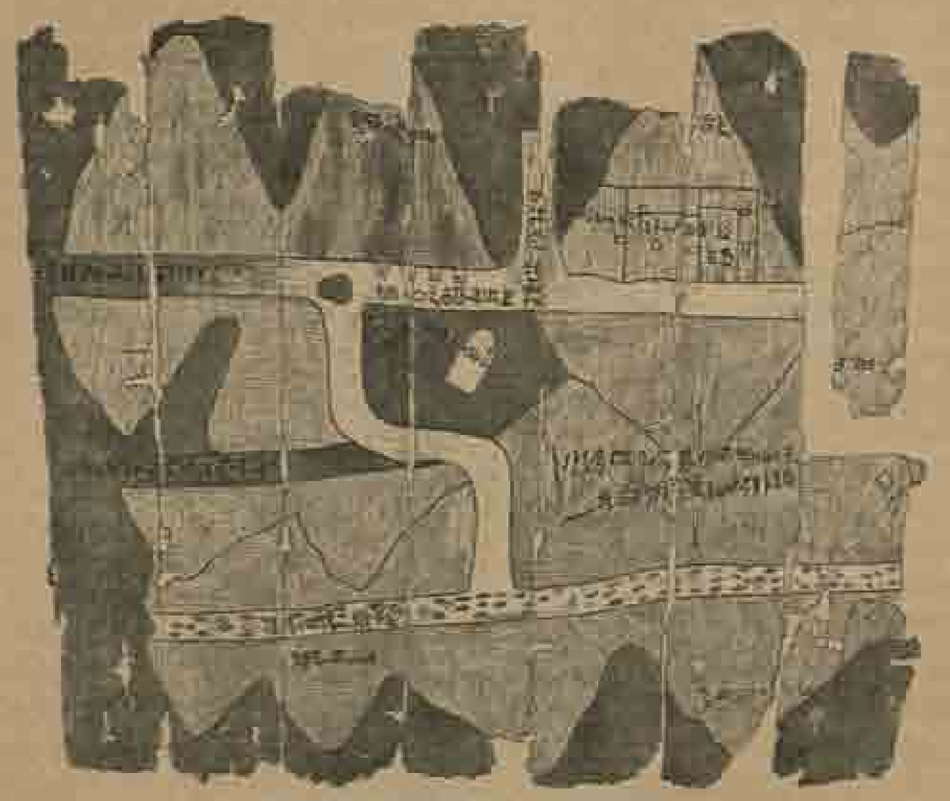
Plans were drawn on papyrus of the configuration of the district, of the beds of precious metal, and of the position of the stations. One of these plans has come down to us, in which the districts are coloured bright red, the mountains dull ochre, the roads dotted over with footmarks to show the direction to be taken, while the superscriptions give the local names, and inform

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Golenischeff: cf. the drawing of the temple and its plan given in Cailliaud, *Voyage à l'Oasis de Thèbes*, pl. ii., and the plan of the temple in Lepsius, *Denkm.*, i. 101.

[2] The inscriptions in the temple at Redesieh have been published by Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 139-141, afterwards more correctly by Golénischeff, *Excursion à Bérénice*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiii. pp. 77, 78, pls. i., ii. They have been annotated and translated by Chabas, *Une Inscription historique du règne de Séti Ier*, and *Les Inscriptions des Mines d'or*, pp. 5, 6; by Lauth, *Die älteste Landkarte*, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Munich Academy of Sciences, 1871, vol. ii. pp. 204-210; by Birch, *Inscriptions of the Gold Mines at Rhedesieh and Kubân*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. viii. pp. 69-72; by Brugsch, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 475-477; and finally by Schiaparelli, *La Catena Orientale dell' Egitto*, pp. 82-85.

us that the map represents the Bukhui mountain and a fortress and stele of Seti. The whole thing is executed in a rough and naïve manner, with an almost childish minuteness which provokes a smile; we should, however, not despise it, for it is the oldest map in the world.[1]

The gold extracted from these regions, together with that brought from



FRAGMENT OF THE MAP OF THE GOLD-MINES.[2]

Ethiopia, and, better still, the regular payment of taxes and custom-house duties, went to make up for the lack of foreign spoil all the more opportunely, for, although the sovereign did not share the military enthusiasm of Thûtmosis III., he had inherited from him the passion for expensive temple-building. He did not neglect Nubia in this respect, but repaired several of the monuments at which the XVIII[th] dynasty had worked—among others, Kalabsheh,[3]

[1] It has been published by LEPSIUS, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, pl. xxii. (cf. BIRCH, *Upon a Historical Tablet of Ramses II.*, p. 25); by CHABAS, *Les Inscriptions des Mines d'or*, pp. 30–32, and pl. II.; finally by LAUTH, *Die älteste Landkarte nubischer Goldminen*, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Munich Academy of Sciences, 1870, vol. ii. pp. 337–372. The fragments of a second map are to be found in LIEBLEIN-CHABAS, *Deux Papyrus hiératiques*, pp. 41–45, and pl. v.; and in LAUTH, *Die ältesten Landkarte nebst Gräberplänen*, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Munich Academy of Sciences, 1871, vol. i. pp. 190–238.

[2] Facsimile by Faucher-Gudin of coloured chalk-drawing by CHABAS, *Les Inscriptions des Mines d'or*, pl. II.

[3] GAU, *Antiquités de la Nubie*, pl. 13 f.

Dakkeh,[1] and Amada,[2] besides founding a temple at Sesebi, of which three columns are still standing.[3] The outline of these columns is not graceful, and the decoration of them is very poor, for art degenerated rapidly in these distant provinces of the empire, and only succeeded in maintaining its vigour and spirit in the immediate neighbourhood of the Pharaoh, as at Abydos, Memphis, and above all at Thebes. Seti's predecessor Ramses, desirous of obliterating all



THE THREE STANDING COLUMNS OF THE TEMPLE OF SESEBI.[4]

traces of the misfortunes lately brought about by the changes effected by the heretic kings, had contemplated building at Karnak, in front of the pylon of Amenôthes III., an enormous hall for the ceremonies connected with the cult of Amon, where the immense numbers of priests and worshippers at festival times could be accommodated without inconvenience. It devolved on Seti to carry out what had been merely an ambitious dream of his father's.[5] We long to know who was the architect possessed of such confidence in his powers that he

[1] Lepsius, *Briefe aus Ægypten und Æthiopien*, p. 113.

[2] Champollion, *Monuments*, pl. xlv. 3, and vol. i. p. 161; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, vol. iii. pt. i. p. 311.

[3] Lepsius, *Briefe aus Ægypten und Æthiopien*, p. 256. In Lepsius's time there were still four columns standing; Insinger shows us only three.

[4] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Insinger, taken in 1881, during one of the last journeys which he was able to take prior to the Mahdist invasion.

[5] As to the construction and decoration of the great hypostyle hall, cf. the remarks of Mariette, *Karnak, Texte*, pp. 23–27. It was cleared, and the columns were strengthened in the winter of 1895–6, as far, at least, as it was possible to carry out the work of restoration without imperilling the stability of the whole.

ventured to design, and was able to carry out, this almost superhuman undertaking. His name would be held up to almost universal admiration beside those of the greatest masters that we are familiar with, for no one in Greece or Italy has left us any work which surpasses it, or which with such simple means could produce a similar impression of boldness and immensity. It is almost impossible to convey by words to those who have not seen it the impression which it makes on the spectator. Failing description, the dimensions speak for themselves. The hall measures one hundred and sixty-two feet in length, by three hundred and twenty-five in breadth. A row of twelve columns, the largest ever placed inside a building, runs up the centre, having capitals in the form of inverted bells. One hundred and twenty-two columns with lotiform capitals fill the aisles, in rows of nine each. The roof of the central bay is seventy-four feet above the ground, and the cornice of the two towers rises sixty-three feet higher. The building was dimly lighted from the roof of the central colonnade by means of stone gratings, through which the air and the sun's rays entered sparingly. The daylight, as it penetrated into the hall, was rendered more and more obscure by the rows of columns; indeed, at the further end a perpetual twilight must have reigned, pierced by narrow shafts of light falling from the ventilation holes which were placed at intervals in the roof. The whole building now lies open to the sky, and the sunshine which floods it, pitilessly reveals the mutilations



AN AVENUE OF ONE OF THE AISLES OF THE HYPOSTYLE HALL AT KARNAK.[1]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Beato. Cf. the general view of the hypostyle hall at the heading to the present chapter, p. 341.

which it has suffered in the course of ages; but the general effect, though less mysterious, is none the less overwhelming. It is the only monument in which the first *coup d'œil* surpasses the expectations of the spectator instead of disappointing him. The size is immense, and we realise its immensity the more fully as we search our memory in vain to find anything with which to compare it. Seti may have entertained the project of building a *replica* of this hall in Southern Thebes. Amenôthes III. had left his temple at Luxor unfinished. The sanctuary and its surrounding buildings were used for purposes of worship, but the court of the customary pylon was wanting, and merely a thin wall concealed the mysteries from the sight of the vulgar. Seti resolved to extend the building in a northerly direction, without interfering with the thin screen which had satisfied his predecessors. Starting from the entrance in this wall, he planned an avenue of giant columns rivalling those of Karnak, which he destined to become the central colonnade of a hypostyle hall as vast as that of the sister temple. Either money or time was lacking to carry out his intention. He died before the aisles on either side were even begun.[2] At Abydos, however, he was more successful. We do not know the reason of Seti's particular affection for this



THE GRATINGS OF THE CENTRAL COLONNADE IN THE HYPOSTYLE HALL AT KARNAK.[1]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Beato; in the background, on the right, may be seen a column which for several centuries has been retained in a half-fallen position by the weight of the architrave.

[2] As to this colonnade at Luxor, cf. Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. i. p. 373; in regard to the building of the temple, see what is said on pp. 306–308, *supra*.

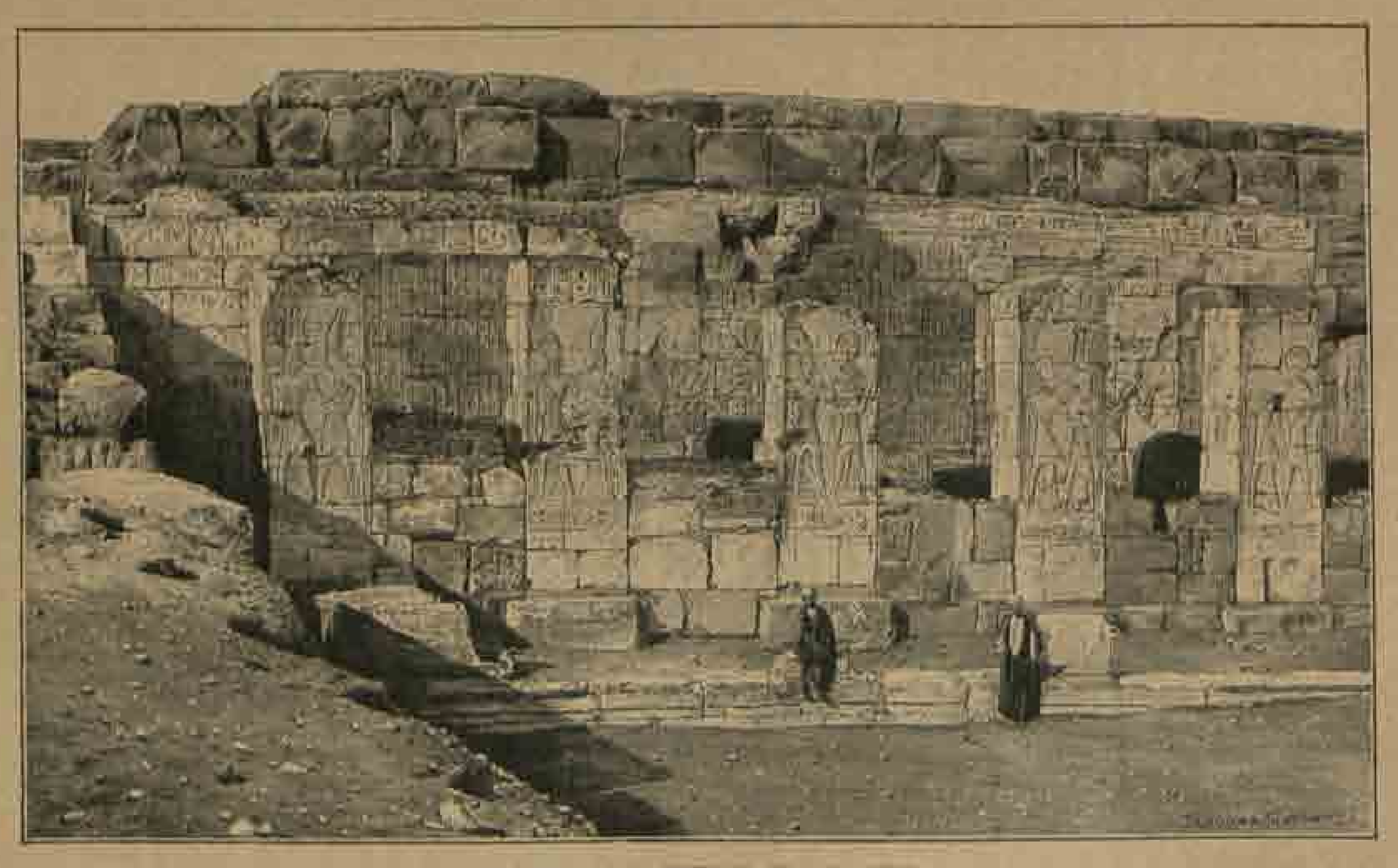
town; it is possible that his family held some fief there, or it may be that he desired to show the peculiar estimation in which he held its local god, and intended, by the homage that he lavished on him, to cause the fact to be forgotten that he bore the name of Sit the accursed. The king selected a favourable site for his temple to the south of the town, on the slope of a sand-hill bordering the canal, and he marked out in the hardened soil a ground plan



ONE OF THE COLONNADES OF THE HYPOSTYLE HALL IN THE TEMPLE OF SETI I. AT ABYDOS.[1]

of considerable originality.[2] The building was approached through two pylons, the remains of which are now hidden under the houses of Aarabat el-Madfûneh. A fairly large courtyard, bordered by two crumbling walls, lies between the second pylon and the temple façade, which was composed of a portico resting on square pillars. Passing between these, we reach two halls supported by columns of graceful outline, beyond which are eight chapels arranged in a line, side by side, in front of two chambers built in to the hill-side, and destined for the reception of Osiris. The holy of holies in ordinary temples is surrounded by chambers of lesser importance, but here it is concealed behind them. The building-material mainly employed here was the white limestone of Tûrah, but of a most beautiful quality, which lent itself to

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Beato.
[2] In regard to the temple of Seti I. at Abydos, see Mariette, *Abydos*, vol. i. p. 6, et seq.; cf. Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. i. pp. [illegible], and Maspero, *Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 83, 84.



THE FAÇADE OF THE TEMPLE OF SETI I. AT ABYDOS.
Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Beato.

the execution of bas-reliefs of great delicacy, perhaps the finest in ancient Egypt. The artists who carved and painted them belonged to the Theban school, and while their subjects betray a remarkable similarity to those of the monuments dedicated by Amenôthes III., the execution surpasses them in freedom and perfection of modelling; we can, in fact, trace in them the influence of the artists who furnished the drawings for the scenes at Tel el-Amarna. They have represented the gods and goddesses with the same type of profile as that of the king—a type of face of much purity and gentleness, with its aquiline nose, its decided mouth, almond-shaped eyes, and melancholy smile. When the decoration of the temple was completed, Seti regarded the building as too small for its divine inmate, and accordingly added to it a new wing, which he built along the whole length of the southern wall; but he was unable to finish it completely. Several parts of it are lined with religious representations, but in others the subjects have been merely sketched out in black ink with corrections in red, while elsewhere the walls are bare, except for a few inscriptions, scribbled over them after an interval of twenty centuries by the monks who turned the temple chambers into a convent. This new wing was connected with the second hypostyle hall of the original building by a passage, on one of the walls of which is a list of seventy-five royal names, representing the ancestors of the sovereign traced back to Mini. The whole temple must be regarded as a vast funerary chapel, and no one who has studied the religion of Egypt can entertain a doubt as to its purpose. Abydos was the place where the dead assembled before passing into the other world. It was here, at the mouth of the "Cleft," that they received the provisions and offerings of their relatives and friends who remained on this earth. As the dead flocked hither from all quarters of the world, they collected round the tomb of Osiris, and there waited till the moment came to embark on the Boat of the Sun.[1] Seti did not wish his soul to associate with those of the common crowd of his vassals, and prepared this temple for himself, as a separate resting-place, close to the mouth of Hades. After having dwelt within it for a short time subsequent to his funeral, his soul could repair thither whenever it desired, certain of always finding within it the incense and the nourishment of which it stood in need.

Thebes possessed this king's actual tomb. The chapel was at Qurnah, a little to the north of the group of pyramids in which the Pharaohs of the XI[th] dynasty lay side by side with those of the XIII[th] and XVII[th]. Ramses had begun to build it, and Seti continued the work, dedicating it to the cult of his father and of himself. Its pylon has altogether disappeared, but the façade with lotus-bud columns is nearly perfect, together with several

[1] Cf. what is said of the "Cleft" in Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 196–198, 232.

of the chambers in front of the sanctuary. The decoration is as carefully carried out and the execution as delicate as that in the work at Abydos: we are tempted to believe from one or two examples of it that the same hands have worked at both buildings.[1] The rock-cut tomb is some distance away up in the mountain, but not in the same ravine as that in which Amenôthes III., Aï, and probably Tûtankhamon and Harmhabi, are buried.[2] There then existed,



THE TEMPLE OF QURNAH.[3]

behind the rock amphitheatre of Deir el-Bahari, a kind of enclosed basin, which could be reached from the plain only by dangerous paths above the temple of Hâtshopsîtû. This basin is divided into two parts, one of which runs in a south-easterly direction, while the other trends to the south-west, and is sub-divided into minor branches. To the east rises a barren peak, the outline of which is not unlike that of the step-pyramid of Saqqâra, reproduced on a colossal scale. No spot could be more appropriate to serve as a cemetery for a family of kings. The difficulty of reaching it and of conveying thither the heavy accessories and of providing for the endless processions of the Pharaonic funerals, prevented any attempt being made to cut tombs in it during the

[1] The temple at Qurnah has been described by CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, vol. i. pp. 296–313, 692–703; cf. PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. i. pp. 398–401. The inscriptions which refer to it as the funerary chapel of Ramses I. and of Seti I. have been collected in CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, pl. cli. 2–5, and vol. i. pp. 296, 298, 307, 704–707.

[2] There are, in fact, close to those of Aï and Amenôthes III., three other tombs, two at least of which have been decorated with paintings, now completely obliterated, and which may have served as the burying-places of Tûtankhamon and Harmhabi: the earlier Egyptologists believed them to have been dug by the first kings of the XVIIIth dynasty (CHAMPOLLION, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, 2nd edit., p. 247; WILKINSON, *Topography of Thebes and General View of Egypt*, pp. 122, 123).

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Beato.

Ancient and Middle Empires. About the beginning of the XIX[th] dynasty, however, some engineers, in search of suitable burial sites, at length noticed that this basin was only separated from the wady issuing to the north of Qurnah by a rocky barrier barely five hundred cubits in width. This presented no formidable obstacle to such skilful engineers as the Egyptians. They cut a trench into the living rock some fifty or sixty cubits in depth, at the bottom of which they tunnelled a narrow passage giving access to the valley.[1] It is not known whether this herculean work was accomplished during the reign of Harmhabî or in that of Ramses I. The latter was the first of the Pharaohs to honour the spot by his presence. His tomb is simple, almost coarse in its workmanship, and comprises a gently inclined passage, a vault and a sarcophagus of rough stone.[2] That of Seti, on the contrary, is a veritable palace, extending to a distance of 325 feet into the mountain-side. It is entered by a wide and lofty door, which opens on to a staircase of twenty-seven steps, leading to an inclined corridor; other staircases of shallow steps follow with their landings; then come successively a hypostyle hall, and, at the extreme end, a vaulted chamber, all of which are decorated with mysterious scenes and covered with inscriptions. This is, however, but the first storey, containing the antechambers of the dead, but not their living-rooms. A passage and steps, concealed under a slab to the left of the hall, lead to the real vault, which held the mummy and its funerary furniture. As we penetrate further and further by the light of torches into this subterranean abode, we see that the walls are covered with pictures and formulæ, setting forth the voyages of the soul through the twelve hours of the night, its trials, its judgment, its reception by the departed, and its apotheosis—all depicted on the rock with the same perfection as that which characterises the bas-reliefs on the finest slabs of Turah stone at Qurnah and Abydos. A gallery leading out of the last of these chambers extends a few feet further and then stops abruptly; the engineers had contemplated the excavation of a third storey to the tomb, when the death of their master obliged them to suspend their task.[3] The king's sarcophagus consists of a block of alabaster, hollowed out, polished, and carved with figures and hieroglyphs, with all the minuteness which we associate with the cutting of a gem.[4] It contained a wooden coffin,

[1] French scholars recognised from the beginning of this century that the passage in question had been made by human agency (COSTAZ, *Description des Tombeaux des Rois*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. iii. pp. 189, 190). I attribute the execution of this work to Ramses I., as I believe Harmhabî to have been buried in the western valley, near Amenôthes III.

[2] CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, vol. i. pp. 124-126; chalk-drawings of the paintings were on view for a long time in the Egyptian Museum at the Louvre.

[3] The tomb was discovered in 1818 by BELZONI, *Operations and Discoveries within the Pyramids*; it was afterwards described and the greater part of it copied by CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, vol. i. pp. 126-149, 755-802, and by ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, vol. iii. pt. 1, pp. 447, 448, and completely by LEFÉBURE, *Les Hypogées Royaux de Thèbes*, I[re] *partie: le tombeau de Seti I*[er], in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française du Caire*, vol. ii.

[4] The sarcophagus was brought to London, and has been reproduced by SHARPE-BONOMI, *The*

shaped to the human figure and painted white, the features picked out in black, and enamel eyes inserted in a mounting of bronze. The mummy is that of a thin elderly man, well preserved: the face was covered by a mask made of linen smeared with pitch, but when this was raised by means of a chisel, the fine kingly head was exposed to view. It was a masterpiece of the art of the embalmer, and the expression of the face was that of one who had only a few hours previously breathed his last. Death had slightly drawn the nostrils and contracted the lips, the pressure of the bandages had flattened the nose a little, and the skin was darkened by the pitch; but a calm and gentle smile still played over the mouth, and the half-opened eyelids allowed a glimpse to be seen from under their lashes of an apparently moist and glistening line,—the reflection from the white porcelain eyes let in to the orbit at the time of burial.[2]



ONE OF THE PILLARS OF THE TOMB OF SETI I.[1]

Seti had had several children by his wife Tuia, and the eldest had already reached manhood when his father ascended the throne, for he had accompanied him on his Syrian campaign.[3] The young prince died.

Alabaster Sarcophagus of Oimenepthah; cf. PIERRET, *Étude sur le Sarcophage de Séti Ier*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1870, vol. xxi. p. 281, et seq.; and LEFÉBURE, *The Book of Hades*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. x. pp. 79–134, and vol. xii. pp. 1–35.

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Insinger, taken in 1881.

[2] MASPERO, *Les Momies Royales de Déir el-Baharî*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pp. 553–556; cf. the frontispiece of this volume, which reproduces the head of the mummy of Seti I.

[3] As to this personage, whose name has been mutilated, cf. WIEDEMANN, *On a Forgotten Prince*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1888–89, vol. xi. pp. 258–261, and *Remarques et Notes*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xviii. pp. 121, 122; as also LEFÉBURE, *Le Nom du frère de Ramsès II.*, in the *Proceedings*, vol. xii. pp. 446–448.

however, soon after his return, and his right to the crown devolved on his younger brother, who, like his grandfather, bore the name of Ramses. This prince was still very young,[1] but Seti did not on that account delay enthroning with great pomp this son who had a better right to the throne than himself. "From the time that I was in the egg," Ramses writes later on, "the great ones sniffed the earth before me; when I attained to the rank of eldest son and heir upon the throne of Sibû, I dealt with affairs, I commanded as chief the foot-soldiers and the chariots. My father having appeared before the people, when I was but a very little boy in his arms, said to me: 'I shall have him crowned king, that I may see him in all his splendour while I am still on this earth!' The nobles of the court having drawn near to place the pschent upon my head: 'Place the diadem upon his forehead!' said he."[2] As Ramses increased in years, Seti delighted to confer upon him, one after the other, the principal attributes of power; "while he was still upon this earth, regulating everything in the land, defending its frontiers, and watching over the welfare of its inhabitants, he cried: 'Let him reign!' because of the love he had for me." Seti also chose for him wives, beautiful "as are those of his palace,"[3] and he gave him in marriage his sisters Nofritari II. Mimût and Isitnofrit,[4] who, like Ramses himself, had claims to the throne. Ramses was allowed to attend the State councils at the age of ten; he commanded armies, and he administered justice under the direction of his father and his viziers.[5] Seti, however, although making use of his son's youth and activity, did not in any sense retire in his favour; if he permitted Ramses to adopt the insignia of royalty—the cartouches, the pschent, the bulbous-shaped helmet, and the various sceptres—he still remained to the day of his death the principal State official, and he reckoned all the years of this dual sovereignty as those of his sole reign.[6] Ramses repulsed the incursions of

[1] The history of the youth and the accession of Ramses II. is known to us from the narrative given by himself in the temple of Seti I. at Abydos, which has been published by MARIETTE, *Abydos*, vol. i. pls. 5–9; it has been examined, and the inscription translated by MASPERO, *Essai sur l'Inscription dédicatoire du Temple d'Abydos et la jeunesse de Sésostris*, 1867; afterwards by LAUTH, *Der grosse Sesostristext aus Abydos*, in the *Zeitschrift der D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, vol. xxix. p. 456, et seq.; and by BRUGSCH, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 479–490, who has, for the most part, adopted the opinions of his predecessors (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 469–471). Wiedemann (*Ægyptische Geschichte*, pp. 418–420) has corrected some of the exaggerations of which previous historians were guilty, but the bulk of the narrative is confirmed by the evidence of the Kubân Inscription (ll. 16, 17; cf. CHABAS, *Les Inscriptions des Mines d'or*, pp. 24, 25), especially as to the extreme youth of Ramses at the time when he was first associated with the crown.

[2] *Great Dedicatory Inscription at Abydos*, ll. 44–48, where the passage has been somewhat mutilated.

[3] *Great Inscription of Abydos*, ll. 47, 48.

[4] The evidence in regard to these two princesses, and the monuments of them which have come down to us, have been collected in an almost complete form by WIEDEMANN, *Ægypt. Gesch.*, pp. 463, 464.

[5] *Kubân Inscription*, ll. 16, 17, which contain the address presented to Ramses himself by the royal councillors.

[6] Brugsch is wrong in reckoning the reign of Ramses II. from the time of his association in the crown (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 471); the great inscription of Abydos, which has been translated by Brugsch himself, dates events which immediately followed the death of Seti I. as belonging to the first year of Ramses II. (ll. 22, 23, 73; cf. MASPERO, *La Grande Inscription d'Abydos et la jeunesse de Sésostris*, pp. 14, 17, 48).

the Tihonû,[1] and put to the sword such of their hordes as had ventured to invade Egyptian territory.[2] He exercised the functions of viceroy of Ethiopia, and had on several occasions to chastise the pillaging negroes. We see him at Beit-Wally and at Abu Simbel charging them in his chariot: in vain they flee in



RAMSES II. PUTS THE NEGROES TO FLIGHT.[3]

confusion before him: their flight, however swift, cannot save them from captivity and destruction.[4] He was engaged in Ethiopia when the death of Seti recalled him to Thebes.[5] He at once returned to the capital, celebrated the king's funeral obsequies with suitable pomp, and after keeping the festival of Amon, set out for the north in order to make his authority felt in that part of his domains. He stopped on his way at Abydos to give the necessary orders for

[1] Mariette, *Abydos*, vol. ii. pp. 13, 15.

[2] Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pls. lxix.–lxx.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph taken by Insinger at Beit-Wally; cf. Champollion, *Monuments*, pls. lxxi., lxxii., and vol. i. p. 146; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pls. lxxiv., lxxv.; Arundale-Bonomi-Birch, *Gallery of Antiquities*, pl. 38, fig. 153.

[4] Champollion, *Monuments*, pls. xii.–xvi., and vol. i. pp. 63, 64; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pls. lxiv., lxx.–lxxv.

[5] Maspero, *Essai sur l'inscription dédicatoire du temple d'Abydos*, pp. 78, 79. We do not know how long Seti I. reigned; the last date is that of his IXth year at Redesieh (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 140 b, l. 1) and at Assuan (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 141 i), and that of the year XXVII. sometimes attributed to him (Wiedemann, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 421, corrected in the *Supplement*; Stern…, *Rechnungen aus der Zeit Seti's I., Text*, p. 67) belongs to one of the later Ramessides. I had at first supposed his reign to have been a long one, merely on the evidence afforded by Manetho's lists (*Revue Critique*, 1870, vol. ii. p. 41), but the presence of Ramses II. as a stripling, in the campaign of Seti's 1st year, forces us to limit its duration to fifteen or twenty years at most, possibly to only twelve or fifteen.

completing the decoration of the principal chambers of the resting-place built by his father, and chose a site some 320 feet to the north-west of it for a similar Memnonium for himself. He granted cultivated fields and meadows in the Thinite nome for the maintenance of these two mausolea, founded a college of priests and soothsayers in connexion with them, for which he provided endowments, and also assigned them considerable fiefs in all parts of the valley of the Nile.[1] The Delta next occupied his attention. The increasing importance of the Syrian provinces in the eyes of Egypt, the growth of the Hittite monarchy, and the migrations of the peoples of the Mediterranean, had obliged the last princes of the preceding dynasty to reside more frequently at Memphis than Amenôthes I. or Thûtmosis III. had done. Amenôthes III. had set to work to restore certain cities which had been abandoned since the days of the Shepherds, and Bubastis, Athribis, and perhaps Tanis, had, thanks to his efforts, revived from their decayed condition.[2] The Pharaohs, indeed, felt that at Thebes they were too far removed from the battle-fields of Asia; distance made it difficult for them to counteract the intrigues in which their vassals in Kharû and the lords of Naharaim were perpetually implicated, and a revolt which might have been easily anticipated or crushed had they been advised of it within a few days, gained time to increase and extend during the interval occupied by the couriers in travelling to and from the capital. Ramses felt the importance of possessing a town close to the Isthmus where he could reside in security, and he therefore built close to Zalû, in a fertile and healthy locality, a stronghold to which he gave his own name,[3] and of which the poets of the time have left us an enthusiastic description. "It extends," they say, "between Zahi and Egypt—and is filled with provisions and victuals.—It resembles Hermonthis,—it is strong like Memphis,—and the sun rises—and sets in it—so that men quit their villages and establish themselves in its territory."[4]—"The dwellers on the coasts bring conger eels and fish in homage,—they pay it the tribute of their marshes.—The inhabitants don their festal garments every day,—perfumed oil is on their heads and new wigs;—they stand at their doors, their hands full of bunches of flowers,—green branches from the village of Pihathor,—garlands of Pahûrû,—on the day when Pharaoh makes his entry.—Joy then reigns and spreads, and nothing can stay it,—O Usirmarî-sotpûnirî, thou who art Montû

[1] *Dedicatory Inscription in the Temple of Abydos*, ll. 63-75, 81-89; cf. Maspero, *Essai sur l'inscription dédicatoire d'Abydos et la jeunesse de Sésostris*, pp. 47-49, 55-57.

[2] Cf. what is said in regard to the revival in the Delta on pp. 304, 305, *supra*.

[3] An allusion to the foundation of this residence occurs in an inscription at Abu Simbel, dated in his XXV[th] year (ll. 16-18; cf. Naville, *La Stèle de Phtah Totunen*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. vii. p. 124.

[4] *Papyrus Anastasi II.*, pl. i. ll. 2-3; *Papyrus Anastasi IV.*, pl. vi. ll. 2-4; cf. Chabas, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 2nd series, p. 151, and *Études sur l'Antiquité Historique*, 2nd edit., p. 277; Maspero, *Du Genre Épistolaire chez les Anciens Égyptiens de l'époque Pharaonique*, p. 102; Erman, *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben im Altertum*, p. 242.

in the two lands,—Ramses-Miamûn, the god."[1] The town acted as an advance post, from whence the king could keep watch against all intriguing adversaries, whether on the banks of the Orontes or the coast of the Mediterranean.

Nothing appeared for the moment to threaten the peace of the empire. The Asiatic vassals had raised no disturbance on hearing of the king's accession, and Mautallu continued to observe the conditions of the treaty which he had signed with Seti. Two military expeditions undertaken beyond the isthmus in the IInd and IVth years of the new sovereign were accomplished almost without fighting. He repressed by the way the marauding Shaûsu, and on reaching the Nahr el-Kelb, which then formed the northern frontier of his empire, he inscribed at the turn of the road, on the rocks which overhang the mouth of the river, two triumphal stelæ in which he related his successes.[2] Towards the end of his IVth year a rebellion broke out among the Khâti, which caused a rupture of relations between the two kingdoms and led to some irregular fighting. Khâtusaru, a younger brother of Maurusaru, murdered the latter and made himself king in his stead.[3] It is not certain whether the Egyptians took up arms against him, or whether he judged it wise to oppose them in order to divert the attention of his subjects from his crime. At all events, he convoked his Syrian vassals and collected his mercenaries; the whole of Naharaim, Khalupu, Carchemish, and Arvad sent their quota, while bands of Dardanians, Mysians, Trojans, and Lycians, together with the people of Pedasos and Girgashu,[4] furnished further contingents, drawn from an area extending from the most distant coasts of the Mediterranean to the mountains of Cilicia. Ramses, informed

[1] *Anastasi Papyrus III.*, pl. iii. ll. 1–9; cf. Chabas, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 2nd series, pp. 132–134; Maspero, *Du Genre Épistolaire*, pp. 105, 106; Brugsch, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 548.

[2] The stelæ have been published by Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 197 a–c, and are all of them in a very bad condition; in the last of them the date is no longer legible, and Lepsius is doubtful whether the first is dated in the IInd or Xth year (*Briefe aus Ægypten und Æthiopien*, p. 403).

[3] *Treaty of Ramses II. with the Prince of Khâti*, ll. 7, 8, where the writer is content to use a discreet euphemism, and states that Mautallu succumbed "to his destiny." The name of the Prince of the Khâti is found later on under the form Khatusaru, in that of a chief defeated by Tiglath-pileser I. in the country of Kummukh, though this name has generally been read Kilianteru (Winckler, *Geschichte Israels*, vol. i. p. 139, note 2).

[4] The name of this nation is written Karkisha, Kalkisha, or Kashkisha (*Raifet Papyrus*, l. 6, and *Sallier Papyrus III.*, pl. i. l. 10, and Brugsch, *Recueil de Monuments*, vol. ii. pl. liii.; Naville, *Bubastis*, pl. xxxvi.), by one of those changes of *sh* into *r-l* which occur so frequently in Assyro-Chaldæan before a dental; the two different spellings seem to show that the writers of the inscriptions bearing on this war had before them a list of the allies of Khâtusaru, written in cuneiform characters (cf. W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 355). If we may identify the nation, not with the Cilicians, as W. Max Müller wishes to do (*ibid.*, pp. 353–355), but with the Kashki = Kaskku of the Assyrian texts, the ancestors of the people of Colchis of classical times, the termination *-isha* of the Egyptian word would be the inflexion *-ash* or *-esh* of the Eastern Asiatic tongues which we find in so many race-names, e.g. Adanash, Sinnuash, Ammuash. Rougé (*Extrait d'un mémoire sur les attaques des peuples de la mer*, p. 1) and Brugsch (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 422) identified them with the Girgashites of the Bible. Brugsch, adopting the spelling Kashki, endeavoured to connect them with Colchis (*Geograph. Inschr.*, vol. ii. p. 92, note 2); later on he identified them with the people of Gergis in Troas (Schliemann's *Ilios*, p. 747). Ramsay recognises in them the Kiskisos of Cilicia (*The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. xiii., note 2).

of the enemy's movement by his generals and the governors of places on the frontier, resolved to anticipate the attack. He assembled an army almost as incongruous in its component elements as that of his adversary; besides Egyptians of unmixed race, divided into four corps bearing the names of Amon, Phtah, Harmakhis and Sûtkhû, it contained Ethiopian auxiliaries, Libyans, Mazaiû, and Shardana.[1] When preparations were completed, the force crossed the canal at Zalû, on the 9th of Payni in his V^th^ year, marched rapidly across Canaan till they reached the valley of the Litâny, along which they took their way, and then followed up that of the Orontes.[2] They encamped for a few days at Shabtuna, to the south-west of Qodshû,[3] in the midst of the Amorite country, sending out scouts and endeavouring to discover the position of the enemy, of whose movements they possessed but vague information. Khâtusaru lay concealed in the wooded valleys of the Lebanon; he was kept well posted by his spies, and only waited an opportunity to take the field; as an occasion did not immediately present itself, he had recourse to a ruse with which the generals of the time were familiar. Ramses, at length uneasy at not falling in with the enemy, advanced to the south of Shabtuna, where he endeavoured to obtain information from two Bedawîn. "Our brethren," said they, "who are

[1] In the account of the campaign the Shardana only are mentioned; but we learn from a list in the *Anastasi Papyrus I.*, pl. xvii. l. 2, that the army of Ramses II. included, in ordinary circumstances, in addition to the Shardana, a contingent of Mashauasha, Kahaka, and other Libyan and negro mercenaries (Chabas, *Voyage d'un Égyptien*, pp. 51–72).

[2] The history of these events has been preserved to us in two documents of widely different character: 1st, that which E. de Rougé described as the *Bulletin de la Campagne* (or Despatch) (Rougé, *Ramsès d'après les nouveaux documents*, in the *Revue Contemporaine*, 2nd series, 1868, vol. lxv. pp. 485–488); 2nd, the poem of Pentaûirît on the battle of Qodshû. Here I follow the *Bulletin* and the pictures which accompany it. Texts of these still in existence at Abu Simbel (Champollion, *Monuments*, pls. xxvii.–ix., and vol. i. pp. 64, 65; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pls. c.–ciii.; Lepsius, *Denkm.* iii. 187), at Luxor (Bouriant, *Recueil de Monuments*, vol. ii. pl. iii. 1), at the Ramesseum (Lepsius, *Denkm.* iii. 153; Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, 2nd series, pl. 52); it has been critically examined by Charles and François Lenormant (*Les Livres chez les Égyptiens*, pp. 28–38), translated by Chabas (*Traduction et Analyse de l'inscription hiéroglyphique d'Ibsamboul*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1859, vol. xv. pp. 573–598, 701–730), critically restored from the various copies, and translated by Guieysse (*Textes historiques d'Ipsamboul*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. viii. pp. 126–132). The pictures and their inscriptions have also been collected: those at Abu Simbel by Champollion (*Monuments*, pls. x.–xxxvii.) and by Rosellini (*Monumenti Storici*, pls. lxxxvii.–ciii.); those in the Ramesseum by Champollion (pls. cccxxii.–cccxxxi.), Rosellini (pls. cviii.–cx.), and Lepsius (*Denkm.* iii. 153–155, 157–161, 164–165); those at Luxor by Rosellini (pls. civ.–cvii.); those at Karnak by Champollion (*Monuments*, vol. ii. pp. 119–125). The whole has been studied by E. de Rougé (Rougé, *Ramsès d'après les nouveaux documents*, in the *Revue Contemporaine*, 2nd series, 1868, vol. lxv. pp. 482–490), by Brugsch (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 495–500), by Pleyte (*De Veldslag van Ramses tegen de Cheta*, Leyden, 1878), by Tomkins (*On the Campaign of Rameses the Second in his 5th year against Kadesh on the Orontes*, in the *Transactions* of the Soc. Bibl. Arch., vol. vii. pp. 390–406, and in the *Proceedings* of the same Society, 1881–82, vol. iv. pp. 6–9), lastly by Guieysse (*Textes historiques d'Ipsamboul*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. viii. pp. 126–143).

[3] Shabtuna had been placed on the Nahr es-Sebâa, on the site now occupied by Kalaat el-Hosn (Blancard, *Note sur le Kalaat el-Hosson*, in the *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 1st series, 1874, vol. xiii. pp. 115, 116, 138–143), a conjecture approved by Mariette; it was more probably a town situated in the plain, to the south of Bahr el-Kades, a little to the south-west of Tell Neby Mindoh which represents Qodshû, and close to some forests which at that time covered the slopes of Lebanon, and, extending as they did to the bottom of the valley, concealed the position of the Khâti from the Egyptians.

the chiefs of the tribes united under the vile Prince of Khâti, send us to give information to your Majesty: We desire to serve the Pharaoh. We are deserting the vile Prince of the Khâti; he is close to Khalupu (Aleppo), to the north of the city of Tunipa, whither he has rapidly retired from fear of the Pharaoh."[1] This story had every appearance of probability; and the distance—Khalupu was at least forty leagues away—explained why the reconnoitring parties of the



THE SHARDANA GUARD OF RAMSES II.[2]

Egyptians had not fallen in with any of the enemy. The Pharaoh, with this information, could not decide whether to lay siege to Qodshû and wait until the Hittites were forced to succour the town, or to push on towards the Euphrates and there seek the engagement which his adversary seemed anxious to avoid. He chose the latter of the two alternatives. He sent forward the legions of Amon, Phrâ, Phtah, and Sûtkhu, which constituted the main body of his troops, and prepared to follow them with his household chariotry. At the very moment when this division was being effected, the Hittites, who had been represented by the spies as being far distant, were secretly massing their forces to the north-east of Qodshû, ready to make an attack upon the Pharaoh's flank as soon as he should set out on his march towards Khalupu. The enemy

[1] Guieysse, *Textes Historiques d'Ipsamboul*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. viii. p. 137, ll. 4-9, and p. 131.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Insinger, taken at the temple of Ramses II. at Abydos; cf. Mariette, *Voyage dans la Haute-Égypte*, vol. i. pl. 31.

had considerable forces at their disposal, and on the day of the engagement they placed 18,000 to 20,000 picked soldiers in the field.[1] Besides a well-disciplined infantry, they possessed 2500 to 3000 chariots, containing, as was the Asiatic custom, three men in each.[2]

The Egyptian camp was not entirely broken up, when the scouts brought in two spies whom they had seized—Asiatics in long blue robes arranged



TWO HITTITE SPIES BEATEN BY THE EGYPTIAN SOLDIERS.[3]

diagonally over one shoulder, leaving the other bare. The king, who was seated on his throne delivering his final commands, ordered them to be beaten till the truth should be extracted from them. They at last confessed that they had been despatched to watch the departure of the Egyptians, and admitted that the enemy was concealed in ambush behind the town. Ramses hastily called a council of war and laid the situation before his generals, not without severely reprimanding them for the bad organisation of the intelligence department. The officers excused themselves as best they could, and threw the blame on the provincial governors, who had not been able to discover what was going on. The king cut short these useless recriminations, sent swift

[1] An army corps is reckoned as containing 5000 men on the wall scenes at Luxor, and 8000 at the Ramesseum (Guieysse, Textes historiques d'Ipsamboul, in the Recueil de Travaux, vol. viii. p. 128); the 3000 chariots were manned by 9000 men (Id., ibid., p. 130). In allowing four to five thousand men for the rest of the soldiers engaged, we are not likely to be far wrong, and shall thus obtain the modest total mentioned in the text, contrary to the opinion current among historians. In regard to the strength of the Egyptian army, cf. what is said on p. 242, supra.

[2] The mercenaries are included in these figures, as is shown by the reckoning of the Lycians, Dardanians, and Pedasian allies who were in command of the chariots during the charges against Ramses II. (E. and J. de Rougé, Le Poème de Pentaour, in the Revue Égyptol., vol. iv. pp. 129–130).

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the picture in the temple at Abu Simbel; cf. Champollion, Monuments, pl. xx.; Rosellini, Monumenti Storici, pls. lxxxvii., ciii.; Lepsius, Denkm., iii. 153.

messengers to recall the divisions which had started early that morning,[1] and gave orders that all those remaining in camp should hold themselves in readiness to attack. The council were still deliberating when news was



THE EGYPTIAN CAMP AND THE COUNCIL OF WAR ON THE MORNING OF THE BATTLE OF QODSHÛ.[2]

brought that the Hittites were in sight. Their first onslaught was so violent that they threw down one side of the camp wall, and penetrated into the enclosure. Ramses charged them at the head of his household troops. Eight times he engaged the chariotry which threatened to surround him, and each time he broke their ranks. Once he found himself alone with Manna, his shield-bearer, in the midst of a knot of warriors who were bent on his destruction, and he escaped solely by his coolness and bravery. The tame lion which accompanied him on his expeditions did terrible work by his side, and felled many an Asiatic with his teeth and claws.[3] The soldiers, fired by the king's

[1] Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. i. pl. xviii., and p. 66; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. civ., where the messenger is seen galloping on horseback across the plain.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph taken by Beato of the west front of the Ramesseum; cf. Champollion, *Mon. de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pls. xxvii.–xxix., cccxxvii. *bis*; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 160; and for the same scene at Luxor, Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cvi.

[3] The lion is represented and named in the battle-scenes at Abu Simbel (Champollion, *Mon. de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pls. xv., xxv.; Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pl. lxxxvii.), at Derr (Lepsius, *Denkm.* iii. 183 b, 184 a), and at Luxor, where we see it in camp on the eve of the battle, with its two front paws tied, and its keeper threatening it (Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. cccviii.; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cviii.).

example, stood their ground resolutely during the long hours of the afternoon; at length, as night was drawing on, the legions of Phrâ and Sûtkhû, who had hastily retraced their steps, arrived on the scene of action. A large body of Khâti, who were hemmed in in that part of the camp which they had taken in the morning, were at once killed or made prisoners, not a man of them escaping. Khâtusaru, disconcerted by this sudden reinforcement of the enemy, beat a retreat, and nightfall suspended the struggle. It was recommenced at dawn the following morning with unabated fury, and terminated in the rout of the confederates. Garbatusa, the shield-bearer of the Hittite prince, the generals in command of his infantry and chariotry, and Khalupsaru, the "writer of books," fell during the action. The chariots, driven back to the Orontes, rushed into the river in the hope of fording it, but in so doing many lives were lost. Mazraima, the Prince of Khâti's brother,

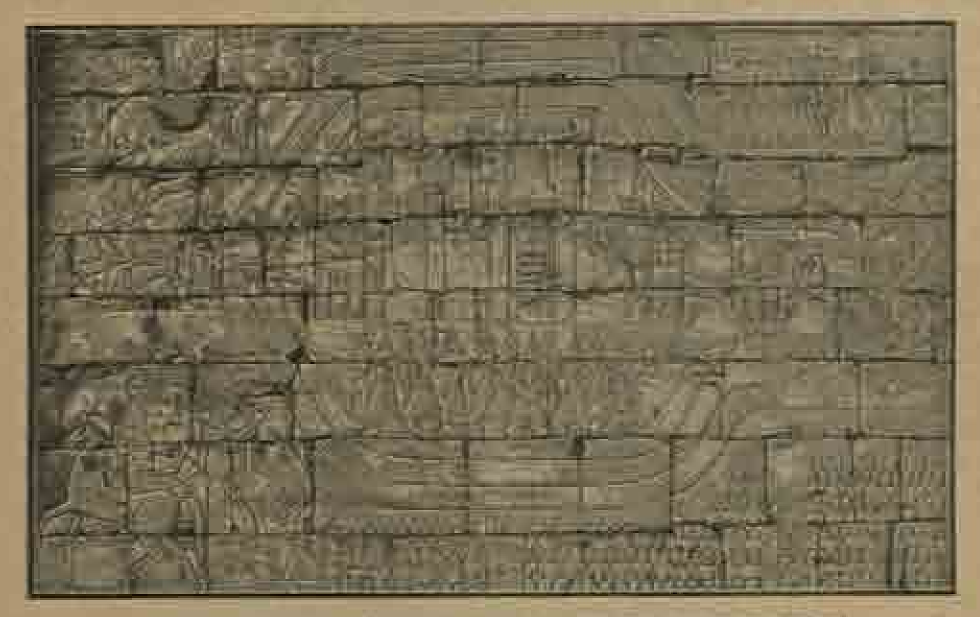


THE FUGITIVES WELCOMED BY THE GARRISON OF QODSHU.[1]

reached the opposite bank in safety, but the Chief of Tounip was drowned, and the lord of Khalupu was dragged out of the water more dead than alive, and had to be held head downwards to disgorge the water he had swallowed before he could be restored to consciousness. Khâtusaru himself was on the point of perishing, when the troops which had been shut up in Qodshû, together with the inhabitants, made a general sortie; the Egyptians were for a moment held in check, and the fugitives meanwhile were able to enter the town. Either there was insufficient provision for so many mouths, or the enemy had lost all heart from the disaster; at any rate, further resistance appeared useless. The next morning Khâtusaru sent to propose a truce or peace to the victorious Pharaoh. The Egyptians had probably suffered at least as much as their

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Beato; cf. CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. cccxxix.; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cx.; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 164.

adversaries, and perhaps regarded the eventuality of a siege with no small distaste; Ramses, therefore, accepted the offers made to him and prepared to return to Egypt. The fame of his exploits had gone before him, and he himself was not a little proud of the energy he had displayed on the day of battle. His predecessors had always shown themselves to be skilful generals and brave soldiers, but none of them had ever before borne, or all but borne, single-handed the brunt of an attack. Ramses loaded his shield-bearer Manna with rewards for having stood by him in the hour of danger, and ordered abundant provender and sumptuous harness for the good horses—"Strength-in-Thebaid" and "Nurit



THE GARRISON OF QODSHÛ ISSUING FORTH TO HELP THE PRINCE OF KHÂTI.[1]

the satisfied"—who had drawn his chariot.[2] He determined that the most characteristic episodes of the campaign—the beating of the spies, the surprise of the camp, the king's repeated charges, the arrival of his veterans, the flight of the Syrians, and the surrender of Qodshû—should be represented on the walls and pylons of the temples. A poem in rhymed strophes in every case accompanies these records of his glory, whether at Luxor, at the Ramesseum, at the Memnonium of Abydos, or in the heart of Nubia at Abu Simbel. The author of the poem must have been present during the campaign, or must have had the account of it from the lips of his sovereign, for his work bears no traces of the coldness of

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Beato; cf. CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. cccxxix., and ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. civ.

[2] *Sallier Papyrus III.*, pl. x. ll. 7, 8. A gold ring in the Louvre bears in relief on its bezel two little horses, which are probably "Strength-in-Thebaid" and "Nurit satisfied" (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Notice des principaux Monuments*, 1855, p. 62; PIERRET, *Catalogue de la Salle historique de la Galerie Égyptienne*, p. 110, No. 480); it was published by MASPERO, *L'Archéologie Égyptienne*, p. 315, and is also inserted as the tail-piece at the end of this chapter, on p. 430.

official reports, and a warlike strain runs through it from one end to the other, so as still to invest it with life after a lapse of more than thirty centuries.[1]

But little pains are bestowed on the introduction, and the poet does not give free vent to his enthusiasm until the moment when he describes his hero, left almost alone, charging the enemy in the sight of his followers. The Pharaoh was surrounded by two thousand five hundred chariots, and his retreat was cut off by the warriors of the "perverse" Khâti and of the other nations who accompanied them—the peoples of Arvad, Mysia, and Pedasos; each of their chariots contained three men, and the ranks were so serried that they formed but one dense mass. "No other prince was with me, no general officers, no one in command of the archers or chariots. My foot-soldiers deserted me, my charioteers fled before the foe, and not one of them stood firm beside me to fight against them." Then said His Majesty: "Who art thou, then, my father Amon? A father who forgets his son? Or have I committed aught against thee? Have I not marched and halted according to thy command? When he does not violate thy orders, the lord of Egypt is indeed great, and he overthrows the barbarians in his path! What are these Asiatics to thy heart? Amon will humiliate those who know not the god. Have I not consecrated innumerable offerings to thee? Filling thy holy dwelling-place with my prisoners, I build thee a temple for millions of years, I lavish all my goods on thy storehouses, I offer thee the whole world to enrich thy domains. . . . A miserable fate indeed awaits him who sets himself against thy will, but happy is he who finds favour with thee by deeds done for thee with a

[1] The author is unknown. Pentaür, or rather Pentauirit, to whom E. de Rougé attributed the poem (*Le Poème de Pen-ta-our*, pp. 6, 7, 39), is merely the transcriber of the copy we possess on papyrus (Erman, *Neuægyptische Grammatik*, pp. 6, 7). The poem of Qodshû was discovered at Aix in Provence by Champollion (*Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, 2nd edit., p. 37), who at once made a précis of the contents, and it was edited later on by Salvolini (*Campagne de Rhamsès-le-Grand contre les Schéta*, Paris, 1835); the manuscript, acquired by the Brit. Museum, was published in facsimile in *Select Papyri*, vol. i. pls. xxiv.–xxxiv., with a notice by Birch (*Ibid.*, text, pp. 3, 4). The poem was translated, just as it was found in the papyrus, by E. de Rougé (*Le Poème de Pen-ta-our*, 1856), and it is from this masterly work that the analyses and translations of Goodwin (*On the Hieratic Papyri*, in the *Cambridge Essays*, 1858, pp. 233–243), of Brugsch (*Hist. d'Égypte*, pp. 140–155, and *Gesch. Ægyptens*, pp. 501–513), and of Lushington (*The Third Sallier Papyrus, the War of Ramses II. with the Khita, or Poème de Pentaour*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. ii. pp. 65–78) are derived. A new fragment discovered at M. Raifet's, and given by him to the Louvre, enabled E. de Rougé to correct his first translation (*Le Poème de Pentaour, nouvelle traduction*, in the *Rec. de Travaux*, vol. i. pp. 1–9) while preparing a critical edition of the text, in which were inserted the fragments found at Karnak (Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. ii. p. 124; Brugsch, *Recueil de Monuments*, vol. ii. pls. xxix.–xxxii.; Mariette, *Karnak*, pls. 49–51; E. and J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, pls. ccvi.–ccxxxi.), at Luxor (Brugsch, *Recueil de Monuments*, vol. i. pls. xl.–xlii.; E. and J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions recueillies en Égypte*, pls. cxxxii.–cxxxviii.), and in the temple at Abydos (Mariette, *Abydos*, vol. ii. pls. 4, 5). The two principal versions of the poem have been fully treated of by E. de Rougé, in his Lectures at the Collège de France from 1868 to 1870; a part of this work has appeared, thanks to the labours of J. de Rougé (*Le Poème de Pentaour*, in the *Revue Égyptologique*, vol. iii. pp. 149–161; vol. iv. pp. 89–91, 124–151; vol. v. pp. 15–23, 157–161; vol. vi. pp. 38–42, 81–89, 100–112; vol. vii. pp. 21–28).

loving heart. I invoke thee, O my father Amon! Here am I in the midst of people so numerous that it cannot be known who are the nations joined together against me, and I am alone among them, none other is with me. My many soldiers have forsaken me, none of my charioteers looked towards me when I called them, not one of them heard my voice when I cried to them. But I find that Amon is more to me than a million soldiers, than a hundred thousand charioteers, than a myriad of brothers or young sons, joined all together, for the number of men is as nothing, Amon is greater than all of them. Each time I have accomplished these things, Amon, by the counsel of thy mouth, as I do not transgress thy orders, I rendered thee glory even to the ends of the earth."[1] So calm an invocation in the thick of the battle would appear misplaced in the mouth of an ordinary man, but Pharaoh was a god, and the son of a god, and his actions and speeches cannot be measured by the same standard as that of a common mortal. He was possessed by the religious spirit in the hour of danger, and while his body continued to fight, his soul took wing to the throne of Amon. He contemplates the lord of heaven face to face, reminds him of the benefits which he had received from him, and summons him to his aid with an imperiousness which betrays the sense of his own divine origin. The expected help was not delayed. "While the voice resounds in Hermonthis, Amon arises at my behest, he stretches out his hand to me, and I cry out with joy when he hails me from behind: 'Face to face with thee, face to face with thee, Ramses Miamun, I am with thee! It is I, thy father! My hand is with thee, and I am worth more to thee than hundreds of thousands. I am the strong one who loves valour; I have beheld in thee a courageous heart, and my heart is satisfied; my will is about to be accomplished!' I am like Montû; from the right I shoot with the dart, from the left I seize the enemy. I am like Baal in his hour, before them; I have encountered two thousand five hundred chariots, and as soon as I am in their midst, they are overthrown before my mares. Not one of all these people has found a hand wherewith to fight; their hearts sink within their breasts, fear paralyses their limbs; they know not how to throw their darts, they have no strength to hold their lances. I precipitate them into the water like as the crocodile plunges therein; they are prostrate face to the earth, one upon the other, and I slay in the midst of them, for I have willed that not one should look behind him, nor that one should return; he who falls rises not again."[2] This sudden descent of the god has, even at the present day, an effect upon the reader,

[1] *Sallier Papyrus III.*, pl. i. l. 8–pl. iii. l. 3; cf. E. de Rougé, *Le Poème de Pentaour*, in the *Revue Égyptologique*, vol. iv. pp. 128–131; vol. v. pp. 15–23, 157.

[2] *Sallier Papyrus III.*, pl. iii. l. 3–pl. iv. l. 2; cf. E. de Rougé, *Le Poème de Pentaour*, in the *Revue Égyptologique*, vol. v. pp. 158–163.

prepared though he is by his education to consider it as a literary artifice; but on the Egyptian, brought up to regard Amon with boundless reverence, its influence was irresistible. The Prince of the Khâti, repulsed at the very moment when he was certain of victory, "recoiled with terror. He sends against the enemy the various chiefs, followed by their chariots and skilled warriors,—the chiefs of Arvad, Lycia, and Ilion, the leaders of the Lycians and Dardanians, the lords of Carchemish, of the Girgashites, and of Khalupu; these allies of the Khâti, all together, comprised three thousand chariots." Their efforts, however, were in vain. "I fell upon them like Montû, my hand devoured them in the space of a moment, in the midst of them I hewed down and slew. They said one to another: This is no man who is amongst us; it is Sûtkhû the great warrior, it is Baal incarnate! These are not human actions which he accomplishes: alone, by himself, he repulses hundreds of thousands, without leaders or men. Up, let us flee before him; let us seek to save our lives, and let us breathe again!" When at last, towards evening, the army again rallies round the king, and finds the enemy completely defeated, the men hang their heads with mingled shame and admiration as the Pharaoh reproaches them: "What will the whole earth say when it is known that you left me alone, and without any to succour me? that not a prince, not a charioteer, not a captain of archers, was found to place his hand in mine? I fought, I repulsed millions of people by myself alone. 'Victory-in-Thebes' and 'Nûrit satisfied' were my glorious horses; it was they that I found under my hand when I was alone in the midst of the quaking foe. I myself will cause them to take their food before me, each day, when I shall be in my palace, for I was with them when I was in the midst of the enemy, along with the Prince Manna my shield-bearer, and with the officers of my house who accompanied me, and who are my witnesses for the combat; these are those whom I was with. I have returned after a victorious struggle, and I have smitten with my sword the assembled multitudes."[1]

The ordeal was a terrible one for the Khâti; but when the first moment of defeat was over, they again took courage and resumed the campaign. This single effort had not exhausted their resources, and they rapidly filled up the gaps which had been made in their ranks. The plains of Naharaim and the mountains of Cilicia supplied them with fresh chariots and foot-soldiers in the place of those they had lost, and bands of mercenaries were furnished from the table-lands of Asia Minor, so that when Ramses II. reappeared in Syria, he found himself confronted by a completely fresh army. Khâtusaru, having profited by experience, did not again attempt a general engagement, but

[1] *Sallier Papyrus III.*, pl. viii. l. 6, et seq.; E. de Rougé, *Le Poème de Pentaour*, in the *Revue Égyptologique*, vol. vii. pp. 27, 28.



THE TAKING OF DAPUR IN GALILEE.

Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Beato.

contented himself with disputing step by step the upper valleys of the Litâny and Orontes. Meantime his emissaries spread themselves over Phœnicia and Kharû, sowing the seeds of rebellion, often only too successfully. In the king's VIII[th] year there was a general rising in Galilee, and its towns—Galupu in the hill-country of Bit-Anati, Merom, Shalama, Dapur, and Anamaim[1]—had to be reduced one after another. Dapur was the hardest to carry. It crowned the top of a rocky eminence, and was protected by a double wall, which followed the irregularities of the hillside. It formed a rallying-point for a large force, which had to be overcome in the open country before the investment of the town could be attempted. The siege was at last brought to a conclusion, after a series of skirmishes, and the town taken by scaling, four Egyptian princes having been employed in conducting the attack. In the Pharaoh's IX[th] year a revolt broke out on the Egyptian frontier, in the Shephelah, and the king placed himself at the head of his troops to crush it. Ascalon, in which the peasantry and their families had found, as they hoped, a safe refuge, opened its gates to the Pharaoh, and its fall brought about the submission of several neighbouring places.[2] This, it appears, was the first time since the beginning of the conquests in Syria that the inhabitants of these regions attempted to take up arms, and we may well ask what could have induced them thus to renounce their ancient loyalty. Their defection reduced Egypt for the moment almost to her natural frontiers. Peace had scarcely been resumed when war again broke out with fresh violence in Cœle-Syria, and one year it reached even to Naharaim, and raged around Tunipa as in the days of Thûtmosis III. "Pharaoh assembled his foot-soldiers and chariots, and he commanded his foot-soldiers and his chariots to attack the perverse Khâti who were in the neighbourhood of Tunipa, and he put on his armour and mounted his chariot, and he waged battle against the town of the perverse Khâti at the head of his foot-soldiers and his chariots, covered with his armour;" the fortress, however, did not yield till the second attack.[3] Ramses

[1] Episodes from this war are represented at Karnak, and the existing scenes have been reproduced more or less completely by Burton (*Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, pl. xvi.), by Cailliaud (*Voyage à Méroé*, Atlas, vol. ii. pl. 73), by Champollion (*Mon. de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. cccxxxi., and vol. ii. pp. 880-881), by Lepsius (*Denkm.*, iii. 156), and by Mariette (*Itinéraire de la Haute Égypte*, vol. ii. pl. 59, and p. 221). Brugsch identified Bit-Anati with the Beth-Anath of Nephtali, and Shalama with Shalem, near to Bethshan (*Gesch. Ægyptens*, p. 515); W. Max Müller prefers to connect the latter place with Sulamis-Selimeh to the south-west of Hamat (*Asien und Europa*, p. 220). He places the Dapur here mentioned in the neighbourhood of Qodshu (*ibid.*, pp. 221, 222); I believe it to be Dapur-Thabor of Galilee (cf. p. 128 of the present work). The site of Anamaim is unknown, but it must be sought in Galilee; the list of the towns taken, now much mutilated, comprised twenty-four names, which proves the importance of the revolt.

[2] Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., vol. ii. pp. 194, 195; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 145 c.

[3] Champollion, *ibid.*, vol. i. p. 888; Bouriant, *Recueil de Monuments*, vol. ii. pl. lix. 2, and Texte, pp. 65, 66; *Gesch. Ægyptens*, p. 514; cf. Guieysse, *Textes historiques d'Ipsamboul*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xi. p. 143.

carried his arms still further afield, and with such results, that, to judge merely from the triumphal lists engraved on the walls of the temple of Karnak, the inhabitants on the banks of the Euphrates, those in Carchemish, Mitanni, Singar, Assyria, and Mannus found themselves once more at the mercy of the Egyptian battalions.[1] These victories, however brilliant, were not decisive; if after any one of them the princes of Assyria and Singar may have sent presents to the Pharaoh, the Hittites, on the other hand, did not consider themselves beaten, and it was only after fifteen campaigns that they were at length sufficiently subdued to propose a treaty. At last, in the Egyptian king's XXIst year, on the 21st of the month Tybi, when the Pharaoh, then residing in his good town of Âmakhitâ, was returning from the temple where he had been offering prayers to his father Amon-Râ, to Harmakhis of Heliopolis, to Phtah, and to Sûtkhû the valiant son of Nûit, Ramses, one of the "messengers" who filled the office of lieutenant for the king in Asia, arrived at the palace and presented to him Tartisubu, who was authorised to make peace with Egypt in the name of Khâtusaru.[2] Tartisubu carried in his hand a tablet of silver, on which his master had prescribed the conditions which appeared to him just and equitable. A short preamble recalling the alliances made between the ancestors of both parties, was followed by a declaration of friendship, and a reciprocal obligation to avoid in future all grounds of hostility. Not only was a perpetual truce declared between both peoples, but they agreed to help each other at the first demand. "Should some enemy march against the countries subject to the great King of Egypt, and should he send to the great Prince of the Khâti, saying: 'Come, bring me forces against them,' the great Prince of the Khâti shall do as he is asked by the great King of Egypt, and the great Prince of the Khâti shall destroy his enemies. And if the great Prince of the Khâti shall prefer not to come himself, he shall send his archers and his chariots to the great King of Egypt to destroy his enemies."[3] A similar clause ensured aid in return from Ramses to Khâtusaru, "his

[1] Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 145 c, 176; Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 38 *f*; *Abydos*, vol. ii. p. 10, where these names are mentioned in the various lists of the conquests of Ramses II.

[2] The treaty of Ramses II. with the Prince of the Khâti was sculptured at Karnak (Burton, *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, pl. xvii.; Champollion, *Mon. de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. ii. pp. 195–201; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cxvi.; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 146; Brugsch, *Recueil de Monuments*, vol. i. pl. xxviii.; Bouriant, *Notes de Voyage*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiii. pp. 153–160) and in the Ramesseum (Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. ii. pp. 585, 586; Bouriant, *Notes de Voyage*, in the *Recueil*, vol. xiv. pp. 67–70): it has been partly translated by Rosellini (*Mon. storici*, vol. iii. pt. 2, pp. 268–282), by Brugsch (*Reiseberichte aus Ægypten*, pp. 117–121, and *History of Egypt*, pp. 140–148), and *in extenso* by E. de Rougé (in Egger, *Études sur les traités publics*, pp. 243–252; cf. *Revue Archéologique*, 2nd series, vol. xiii. p. 258, et seq.), by Chabas (*Le Voyage d'un Égyptien*, pp. 332–340), by Goodwin (*Treaty of Peace between Ramses II. and the Hittites*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. iv. pp. 25–32), by Brugsch (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 518–520), and by Wiedemann (*Ægyptische Geschichte*, pp. 438–440).

[3] *Treaty of Ramses with the Prince of the Khâti*, l. 13.

brother," while two articles couched in identical terms made provision against the possibility of any town or tribe dependent on either of the two sovereigns withdrawing its allegiance and placing it in the hands of the other party. In this case the Egyptians as well as the Hittites engaged not to receive, or at least not to accept, such offers, but to refer them at once to the legitimate lord. The whole treaty was placed under the guarantee of the gods both of Egypt and of the Khâti, whose names were given at length: "Whoever shall fail to observe the stipulations, let the thousand gods of Khâti and the thousand gods of Egypt strike his house, his land, and his servants. But he who shall observe the stipulations engraved on the tablet of silver, whether he belong to the Hittite people or whether he belong to the people of Egypt, as he has not neglected them, may the thousand gods of Khâti and the thousand gods of Egypt give him health, and grant that he may prosper, himself, the people of his house, and also his land and his servants."[1] The treaty itself ends by a description of the plaque of silver on which it was engraved. It was, in fact, a facsimile in metal of one of those clay tablets on which the Chaldæans inscribed their contracts. The preliminary articles occupied the upper part in closely written lines of cuneiform characters, while in the middle, in a space left free for the purpose, was the impress of two seals, that of the Prince of the Khâti and of his wife Pûnkhîpa. Khâtusaru was represented on them as standing upright in the arms of Sûtkhû, while around the two figures ran the inscription, "Seal of Sûtkhû, the sovereign of heaven." Pûnkhîpa leaned on the breast of a god, the patron of her native town of Aranna in Qazanadana, and the legend stated that this was the seal of the Sun of the town of Aranna, the regent of the earth.[2] The text of the treaty was continued beneath, and probably extended to the other side of the tablet.[3] The original draft had terminated after the description of the seals, but, to satisfy the Pharaoh, certain additional articles were appended for the protection of the commerce and industry of the two countries, for the prevention of the emigration of artisans, and for ensuring that steps taken against them should be more effectual and less cruel. Any criminal attempting to evade the laws of his country, and taking refuge in that of the other party to the agreement, was to be expelled without delay and consigned to the officers of his lord; any fugitive

[1] *Treaty of Ramses II. with the Prince of the Khâti*, ll. 22–34.

[2] The text of these last lines has been restored by Bouriant from the *débris* of the copy at the Ramesseum (*Notes de Voyage*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiv. pp. 68–70); cf. C. de Cara, *Rock-Carvings at Yazili Kaia*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. xiii., 1890–91, pp. 196–199.

[3] The monument reproduced in the *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 690, 691, representing the Chaldæan Bull, furnishes an example of a metal tablet similar to that on which the treaty was engraved. A clay tablet, inscribed in the manner noted in the text, is shown in the *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 733.

not a criminal, any subject carried off or detained by force, any able artisan quitting either territory to take up permanent residence in the other, was to be conducted to the frontier, but his act of folly was not to expose him to judicial condemnation. "He who shall thus act, his fault shall not be brought up against him; his house shall not be touched, nor his wife, nor his children; he shall not have his throat cut, nor shall his eyes be touched, nor his mouth, nor his feet; no criminal accusation shall be made against him."[1]

This treaty is the most ancient of all those of which the text has come down to us; its principal conditions were—perfect equality and reciprocity between the contracting sovereigns, an offensive and defensive alliance, and the extradition of criminals and refugees. The original was drawn up in Chaldæan script by the scribes of Khâtusaru, probably on the model of former conventions between the Pharaohs and the Asiatic courts,[2] and to this the Egyptian ministers had added a few clauses relative to the pardon of emigrants delivered up by one or other of the contracting parties. When, therefore, Tartisebu arrived in the city of Ramses, the acceptance of the treaty was merely a matter of form, and peace was virtually concluded. It did not confer on the conqueror the advantages which we might have expected from his successful campaigns; it enjoined, on the contrary, the definite renunciation of those countries, Mitanni, Naharaim, Alasia, and Amurru, over which Thûtmosis III. and his immediate successors had formerly exercised an effective sovereignty. Sixteen years of victories had left matters in the same state as they were after the expedition of Harmhabî, and, like his predecessor, Ramses was able to retain merely those Asiatic provinces which were within the immediate influence of Egypt, such as the Phœnician coast proper, Kharû, Peræa beyond Jordan, the oases of the Arabian desert, and the peninsula of Sinai.[3] This apparently unsatisfactory result, after such supreme efforts, was, however, upon closer examination, not so disappointing. For more than half a century at least, since the Hittite kingdom had been developed and established under the impulse given to it by Sapalulu, everything had been in its favour. The campaign of Seti had opposed

[1] *Treaty of Ramses II.*, ll. 31, 32. Cf. what is said on this subject on pp. 277–288 of the present work.

[2] Cf., for the existence of analogous treaties concluded between Egypt and Asiatic powers under the XVIII[th] dynasty, what is said on p. 238 of the present volume.

[3] W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 222–224, 276. The *Anastasi Papyrus I.*, pl. xviii. l. 8, mentions a place called *Zerk of Sesetsu*, in the neighbourhood of Aleppo (Chabas, *Voyage d'un Égyptien*, pp. 99, 100), in a part of Syria which was not in Egyptian territory: the frontier in this locality must have passed between Arvad and Byblos on the coast, and between Qodshû and Hamath from Marusa inland. Egyptian rule on the other side of the Jordan seems to be proved by the monument discovered a few years ago in the Haurân, and known under the name of the "Stone of Job" by the Bedawin of the neighbourhood (*Zeitschrift des Palästina Vereins*, vol. xiv. p. 142, et seq.; cf. Erman, *Der Hiobstein*, ibid., vol. xiv. pp. 210, 211).

merely a passing obstacle to its expansion, and had not succeeded in discouraging its ambitions, for its rulers still nursed the hope of being able one day to conquer Syria as far as the isthmus. The check received at Qodshû, the abortive attempts to foment rebellion in Galilee and the Shephelah, the obstinate persistence with which Ramses and his army returned year after year to the attack, the presence of the enemy at Tunipa, on the banks of the Euphrates, and in the provinces then forming the very centre of the Hittite kingdom—in short, all the incidents of this long struggle—at length convinced Khâtusaru that he was powerless to extend his rule in this direction at the expense of Egypt. Moreover, we have no knowledge of the events which occupied him on the other frontiers of his kingdom, where he may have been engaged at the same time in a conflict with Assyria, or in repelling an incursion of the tribes on the Black Sea. The treaty with Pharaoh, if made in good faith and likely to be lasting, would protect the southern extremities of his kingdom, and allow of his removing the main body of his forces to the north and east in case of attack from either of these quarters. The security which such an alliance would ensure made it, therefore, worth his while to sue for peace, even if the Egyptians should construe his overtures as an acknowledgment of exhausted supplies or of inferiority of strength. Ramses doubtless took it as such, and openly displayed on the walls at Karnak and in the Ramesseum a copy of the treaty so flattering to his pride, but the indomitable resistance which he had encountered had doubtless given rise to reflections resembling those of Khâtusaru, and he had come to realise that it was his own interest not to lightly forego the good will of the Khâti. Egypt had neighbours in Africa who were troublesome though not dangerous: the Timihu, the Tihonû, the Mashauasha, the negroes of Kûsh and of Pûanit, might be a continual source of annoyance and disturbance, even though they were incapable of disturbing her supremacy. The coast of the Delta, it is true, was exposed to the piracy of northern nations, but up to that time this had been merely a local trouble, easy to meet if not to obviate altogether. The only real danger was on the Asiatic side, arising from empires of ancient constitution like Chaldæa, or from hordes who, arriving at irregular intervals from the north, and carrying all before them, threatened, after the example of the Hyksôs, to enter the Delta. The Hittite kingdom acted as a kind of buffer between the Nile valley and these nations, both civilized and barbarous; it was a strongly armed force on the route of the invaders, and would henceforth serve as a protecting barrier, through which if the enemy were able to pass it would only be with his strength broken or weakened by a previous encounter. The sovereigns loyally observed the peace which they had sworn to each other, and in his XXXIVth year the marriage of Ramses with the eldest daughter of Khâtusaru

strengthened their friendly relations. Pharaoh was not a little proud of this union, and he has left us a naïve record of the manner in which it came about. The inscription is engraved on the face of the rock at Abu Simbel in Nubia; and Ramses begins by boasting, in a heroic strain, of his own energy and exploits, of the fear with which his victories inspired the whole world, and of the anxiety of the Syrian kinglets to fulfil his least wishes. The Prince of the Khâti had sent him sumptuous presents at every opportunity, and, not knowing how further to make himself agreeable to the Pharaoh, had finally addressed the great lords of his court, and reminded them how their country had formerly been ruined by war, how their master Sûtkhû had taken part against them, and how they had been delivered from their ills by the clemency of the Sun of Egypt. "Let us therefore take our goods, and placing my eldest daughter at the head of them, let us repair to the domains of the great god, so that the King Sesostris may recognise us." He accordingly did as he had proposed, and the embassy set out with gold and silver, valuable horses, and an escort of soldiers, together with cattle and provisions to supply them with food by the way. When they reached the borders of Kharu, the governor wrote immediately to the Pharaoh as follows: "Here is the Prince of the Khâti, who brings his eldest daughter with a number of presents of every kind; and now this princess and the chief of the country of the Khâti, after having crossed many mountains and undertaken a difficult journey from distant parts, have arrived at the frontiers of His Majesty. May we be instructed how we ought to act with regard to them." The king was then in residence at Ramses. When the news reached him, he officially expressed his great joy at the event, since it was a thing unheard of in the annals of the country that so powerful a prince should go to such personal inconvenience in order to marry his daughter to an ally. The Pharaoh, therefore, despatched his nobles and an army to receive them, but he was careful to conceal the anxiety which he felt all the while, and, according to custom, took counsel of his patron god Sutkhû: "Who are these people who come with a message at this time



KHÂTUSARU, PRINCE OF KHÂTI, AND HIS DAUGHTER.[1]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the plate in Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 196 *a*; the triad worshipped by Khatusaru and his daughter is composed of Ramses II., seated between Amon-Râ and Phtah-Totunen.

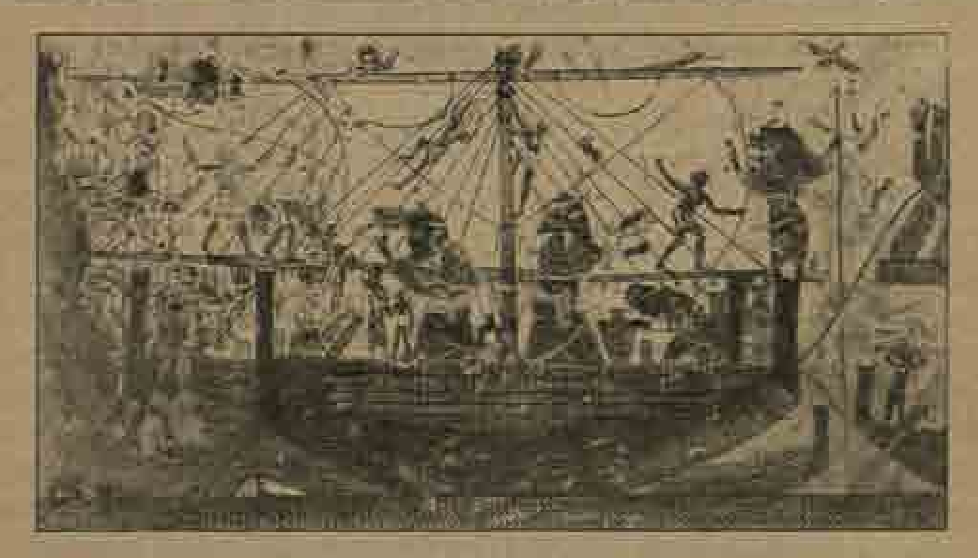
to the country of Zahi?'" The oracle, however, reassured him as to their intentions, and he thereupon hastened to prepare for their proper reception. The embassy made a triumphal entry into the city, the princess at its head, escorted by the Egyptian troops told off for the purpose, together with the foot-soldiers and charioteers of the Khâti, comprising the flower of their army and militia. A solemn festival was held in their honour, in which food and drink were served without stint, and was concluded by the celebration of the marriage in the presence of the Egyptian lords and of the princes of the whole earth.[1] Ramses, unwilling to relegate a princess of such noble birth to the companionship of his ordinary concubines, granted her the title of queen, as if she were of solar blood, and with the cartouche gave her the new name of Uirimaunofiruri—"She who sees the beauties of the Sun." She figures henceforth in the ceremonies and on the monuments in the place usually occupied by women of Egyptian race only, and these unusual honours may have compensated, in the eyes of the young princess, for the disproportion in age between herself and a veteran more than sixty years old.[2] The friendly relations between the two courts became so intimate that the Pharaoh invited his father-in-law to visit him in his own country. "The great Prince of Khâti informed the Prince of Qodi: 'Prepare thyself that we may go down into Egypt. The word of the king has gone forth, let us obey Sesostris. He gives the breath of life to those who love him; hence all the earth loves him, and Khâti forms but one with him.'" They were received with pomp at Ramses-Anakhitu, and perhaps at Thebes. It was with a mixture of joy and astonishment that Egypt beheld her bitterest foe become her most faithful ally, "and the men of Qimit having but one heart with the chiefs of the Khâti, a thing which had not happened since the ages of Râ."[3]

[1] The fact of the marriage is known to us by the decree of Phtah-Totunen at Abu Simbel in the XXXVth year of the king's reign (l. 25; cf. NAVILLE, *Le Décret de Phtah-Totunen*, in the *Transactions* of the Soc. of Bibl. Archæology, vol. vii. p. 126). The account of it in the text is taken from the stele at Abu Simbel, imperfectly published in the *Denkm.*, iii. 196 a. The last lines, which had escaped the notice of Lepsius, were copied by Bouriant (*Notes de Voyage*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xviii. pp. 164–166); they are so mutilated that I have been obliged to paraphrase them. The stele of the Princess of Bakhtan has preserved the romantic version of this marriage, such as was current about the Saite period. The King of the Khâti must have taken advantage of the expedition which the Pharaoh made into Asia to send him presents by an embassy, at the head of which he placed his eldest daughter; the princess found favour with Ramses, who married her (ll. 4–8; cf. E. DE ROUGÉ, *Étude sur une stèle égyptienne appartenant à la Bibliothèque Impériale*, pp. 23–24).

[2] This princess is mentioned on the monuments of Tanis (MARIETTE, *Fragments et Documents relatifs aux fouilles de Sân*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ix. p. 13; E. and J. DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiées en Égypte*, pl. lxxiv.; PETRIE, *Tanis*, vol. i. pl. v. 36 a, and p. 23), and also at Abu Simbel (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 196 a).

[3] *Anastasi Papyrus II.*, pl. ii. ll. 1–5, and *Anastasi Papyrus IV.*, pl. vi. ll. 7–9. The connection between this document and the visit of the year XXXIV. was pointed out by MASPERO, *Du Genre épistolaire*, p. 102; cf. CHABAS, *Mélanges égyptologiques*, 2nd series, pp. 151, 152; ERMAN, *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben*, p. 707.

The half-century following the conclusion of this alliance was a period of world-wide prosperity. Syria was once more able to breathe freely, her commerce being under the combined protection of the two powers who shared her territory. Not only caravans, but isolated travellers, were able to pass through the country from north to south without incurring any risks beyond those occasioned by an untrustworthy guide or a few highwaymen. It became in time a common task in the schools of Thebes to describe the typical Syrian tour of some soldier or functionary, and we still possess one of these imaginative



PHOENICIAN BOATS LANDING AT THEBES.[1]

stories in which the scribe takes his hero from Qodshu across the Lebanon to Byblos, Berytus, Tyre, and Sidon, "the fish" of which latter place "are more numerous than the grains of sand;" he then makes him cross Galilee and the forest of oaks to Jaffa, climb the mountains of the Dead Sea, and following the maritime route by Raphia, reach Pelusium.[2] The Egyptian galleys thronged the Phoenician ports, while those of Phoenicia visited Egypt. The latter drew so little water that they had no difficulty in coming up the Nile,[3] and the paintings in one of the tombs represent them at the moment of their reaching Thebes. The hull of these vessels was similar to that of the Nile boats, but the bow and stern were terminated by structures which rose at right angles, and respectively gave support to a sort of small platform. Upon this the pilot maintained

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from the photograph published by Daressy in the *Revue Archéologique*.

[2] This is the *Anastasi Papyrus I.*, published in the *Select Papyri*, vol. i. pls. xxxv.–lxii., used by Hincks and Birch in several of their early works, and completely translated by Chabas-Goodwin, *Le Voyage d'un Égyptien*, 1866; and since then by Brugsch, *Le Voyage d'un Égyptien*, in the *Revue Critique*, 1867, vol. i. pp. 97–109, 193–204, and *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 544–551; cf. Erman, *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben im Altertum*, pp. 508–513.

[3] *The Great Dedicatory Inscription of Abydos*, ll. 83, 84.

his position by one of those wondrous feats of equilibrium of which the Orientals were masters. An open rail ran round the sides of the vessel, so as to prevent goods stowed upon the deck from falling into the sea when the vessel lurched.[1] Voyages to Pûanît were undertaken more frequently in quest of incense and precious metals. The working of the mines of Akiti had been the source of considerable outlay at the beginning of the reign. The measures taken by Seti to render the approaches to them practicable at all seasons had not produced the desired results;[2] as far back as the IIIrd year of Ramses the overseers of the south had been forced to acknowledge that the managers of the convoys could no longer use any of the cisterns which had been hewn and built at such great expense. "Half of them die of thirst, together with their asses, for they have no means of carrying a sufficient number of skins of water to last during the journey there and back." The friends and officers whose advice had been called in, did not doubt for a moment that the king would be willing to complete the work which his father had merely initiated. "If thou sayest to the water, 'Come upon the mountain,' the heavenly waters will spring out at the word of thy mouth, for thou art Râ incarnate, Khopri visibly created, thou art the living image of thy father Tûmû, the Heliopolitan"— "If thou thyself sayest to thy father the Nile, father of the gods," added the Viceroy of Ethiopia, "'Raise the water up to the mountain,' he will do all that thou hast said, for so it has been with all thy projects which have been accomplished in our presence, of which the like has never been heard, even in the songs of the poets." The cisterns and wells were thereupon put into such a condition that the transport of gold was rendered easy for years to come.[3] The war with the Khâti had not suspended building and other works of public utility; and now, owing to the establishment of peace, the sovereign was able to devote himself entirely to them. He deepened the canal at Zalû;[4] he repaired the walls and the fortified places which protected the frontier on the

[1] Daressy, *Une Flottille phénicienne d'après une peinture égyptienne*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1896, vol. xxvii. pp. 286–292.

[2] Cf. what is said on the subject of the works of Seti I. on pp. 373–376 of this volume.

[3] Stele of Kubbân, discovered and published by Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, pl. xxi., translated and commented on by Birch, *Upon an Historical Tablet of Rameses II.*, in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv. pp. 357–369 (cf. *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. viii. pp. 75–80); by Chabas, *Les Inscriptions des Mines d'or*, pp. 13–33; by Lauth, *Die zweitälteste Landkarte nebst Gräberplänen*, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Academy of Sciences of Munich, 1871, vol. i. pp. 198–234; by Brugsch, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 531–537; by Virey, *The Stele of Kuban*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. v. pp. 1–16, and *Notes sur quelques passages de la Stèle de Kouban*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiv. pp. 96–99; and finally by Schiaparelli, *La Catena Orientale dell' Egitto*, pp. 96–98. Cf. Erman, *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben*, pp. 617–619.

[4] Classical authors say that he wished to establish communication between the Nile and the Red Sea (Aristotle, *Meteorol.*, I. xiv.; Strabo, I. ii. § 31, p. 38, XVII. i. § 25, p. 804; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 29, § 165); all affirm that this canal of Sesostris was never completed; a similar fate befell that of Pharaoh Necho (Herod., ii. 158).

side of the Sinaitic Peninsula,[1] and he built or enlarged the strongholds along the Nile at those points most frequently threatened by the incursions of nomad tribes. Ramses was the royal builder *par excellence*, and we may say without fear of contradiction that, from the second cataract to the mouths of the Nile, there is scarcely an edifice on whose ruins we do not find his name. In Nubia,



THE PROJECTING COLUMNS OF THE SPEOS OF GERF-HOSSEIN.[2]

where the desert approaches close to the Nile, he confined himself to cutting in the solid rock the monuments which, for want of space, he could not build in the open. The idea of the cave-temple must have occurred very early to the Egyptians; they were accustomed to house their dead in the mountain-side, why then should they not house their gods in the same manner? The oldest forms of speos, those near to Beni-Hasan, at Deir el-Bahari, at El-Kab, and at Gebel Silsileh,[3] however, do not date further back than the time of the XVIII[th] dynasty. All the forms of architectural plan observed in isolated

[1] For this line of fortifications, cf. what is said in the *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 351, 352, 469, and also p. 122 of this volume. Some writers of the classical period attribute its foundation to Ramses II., and speak of it as "The Wall of Sesostris" (Diodorus Siculus, i. 57).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph taken in 1881 by Insinger.

[3] Upon the speos of Deir el-Baharî and that of Gebel Silsileh, see pp. 240–242, 248–250 of this volume: the Speos Artemidos, at Beni-Hasan, is of the date of Queen Hâtshopsîtû, but it was restored by Seti I. (Golénischeff, *Notice sur un texte hiéroglyphique du Stabl Antar*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. iii. pp. 1–3); that of El-Kab goes back to the reign of Amenôthes III.

temples were utilised by Ramses and applied to rock-cut buildings with more or less modification, according to the nature of the stratum in which he had to work. Where space permitted, a part only of the temple was cut in the rock, and the approaches to it were built in the open air with blocks brought to the spot, so that the completed speos became only in part a grotto—a hemi-speos of varied construction. It was in this manner that the architects of Ramses arranged the court and pylon at Beit-Wally,[1] the hypostyle hall, rectangular court and pylon at Gerf-Hossein,[2] and the avenue of sphinxes at Wady es-Sebuah, where the entrance to the avenue was guarded by two statues overlooking the river.[3] The pylon at Gerf-Hossein has been demolished, and merely a few traces of the foundations appear here and there above the soil, but a portion of the portico which surrounded the court is still standing, together with its massive architraves and statues, which stand


THE CARYATIDES OF GERF-HOSSEIN.[4]

[1] The description of the temple of Beit-Wally is given by GAU, *Monuments de la Nubie*, pls. 12, 14-16; by CHAMPOLLION, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, 2nd edit. pp. 159, 160, and *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. i. pp. 143-150, and pls. lxi. 1, lxii.-lxxiv., xcvi. 4; by ROSELLINI, *Mon. Storici*, pls. lxx.-lxxv.; for the battle-scenes, cf. ARUNDALE-BONOMI-BIRCH, *The Gallery of Egyptian Antiquities*, pl. 33, and pp. 92-107, and also LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 176, 177.

[2] GAU, *Monuments de la Nubie*, pls. 28-32; CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. i. pp. 129-137, and pl. lvii. 3; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 178 *a-c*; PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Hist. de l'Art Égyptien*, Text, p. 379, 380.

[3] GAU, *Mon. de la Nubie*, pls. 45-47; CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. i. pp. 107-109, and pls. i. 3, cxii. *bis* 1; ROSELLINI, *Mon. Storici*, pl. lxxviii.; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 179-182.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph taken in 1881 by Insinger and Daniel Héron.

with their backs against the pillars. The sanctuary itself comprised an antechamber, supported by two columns and flanked by two oblong recesses; this led into the Holy of Holies, which was a narrow niche with a low ceiling,



THE TWO COLOSSI OF ABU SIMBEL TO THE SOUTH OF THE DOORWAY.[1]

placed between two lateral chapels. A hall, nearly square in shape, connected these mysterious chambers with the propylæa, which were open to the sky and faced with Osiride caryatides. These appear to keep rigid and solemn watch over the approaches to the tabernacle, and their faces, half hidden in the shadow, still present such a stern appearance that the semi-barbaric Nubians of the neighbouring villages believe them to be possessed by implacable genii. They are supposed to move from their places during the hours of night, and the fire which flashes from their eyes destroys or fascinates whoever is rash enough to watch them.

Other kings before Ramses had constructed buildings in these spots, and their memory would naturally become associated with his in the future; he wished, therefore, to find a site where he would be without a rival, and to this end he transformed the cliff at Abu Simbel into a monument of his greatness. The rocks here project into the Nile and form a gigantic conical promontory,

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph taken in 1881 by Insinger and Daniel Héron.

the face of which was covered with triumphal stelæ, on which the sailors or troops going up or down the river could spell out as they passed the praises of the king and his exploits.[1] A few feet of shore on the northern side, covered with dry and knotty bushes, affords in winter a landing-place for tourists. At the spot where the beach ends near the point of the promontory, sit four colossi, with their feet nearly touching the water, their backs leaning against a sloping wall of rock, which takes the likeness of a pylon. A band of hieroglyphs runs above their heads underneath the usual cornice, over which again is a row of crouching cynocephali looking straight before them, their hands resting upon their knees, and above this line of sacred images rises the steep and naked rock. One of the colossi is broken, and the bust of the statue, which must have been detached by some great shock, has fallen to the ground; the others rise to the height of 63 feet, and appear to look across the Nile as if watching the wadys leading to the gold-mines. The pschent crown surmounts their foreheads, and the two ends of the head-dress fall behind their ears; their features are of a noble type, calm and serious; the nose slightly aquiline, the under lip projecting above a square, but rather heavy, chin. Of such a type we may picture Ramses, after the conclusion of the peace with the Khâti, in the full vigour of his manhood and



THE INTERIOR OF THE SPEOS OF ABU SIMBEL.[2]

[1] Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. i. pp. 77–79, and pls. vii. 4; ix. 1, 2; x., xxxiii.; Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, vol. iii. pt. 2, pp. 177–198. The general outline of these stelæ may be distinguished in the illustration on the opposite page.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph taken in 1881 by Insinger and Daniel Héron.



THE FACE OF THE ROCK AT ABU SIMBEL.

Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Beato.

at the height of his power. The doorway of the temple is in the centre of the façade, and rises nearly to a level with the elbows of the colossi; above the lintel, and facing the river, stands a figure of the god Râ, represented with a human body and the head of a sparrow-hawk, while two images of the king in profile, one on each side of the god, offer him a figure of Truth. The first hall, 130 feet long by 58 feet broad, takes the place of the court surrounded by a colonnade which in other temples usually follows the pylon. Here eight Osiride figures, standing against as many square pillars, appear to support the weight of the superincumbent rock. Their profile catches the light as it enters through the open doorway, and in the early morning, when the rising sun casts a ruddy ray over their features, their faces become marvellously lifelike. We are almost tempted to think that a smile plays over their lips as the first beams touch them. The remaining chambers consist of a hypostyle hall nearly square in shape, the sanctuary itself being between two smaller apartments, and of eight subterranean chambers excavated at a lower level than the rest of the temple. The whole measures 178 feet from the threshold to the far end of the Holy of Holies.[2] The walls are covered with bas-reliefs in which the Pharaoh has vividly depicted the wars which he carried on in the four corners of his kingdom; here we see raids against the negroes, there the war with the Khâti, and further on an encounter with some Libyan tribe. Ramses, flushed by the heat of victory, is seen attacking two Timihu chiefs: one has already fallen to the ground and is being trodden underfoot; the other, after vainly letting fly his arrows, is about to perish from a blow of the conqueror.



RAMSES II. PIERCES A LIBYAN CHIEF WITH HIS LANCE.[1]

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Mons. de Bock; cf. CHAMPOLLION, Monuments, etc., pl. xvii.; ROSELLINI, Mon. Storici, pl. lxxxiii., in which the colours are represented as they still appeared in the first half of the present century.

[2] GAU, Monuments de la Nubie, pls. 55, 57–61; CHAMPOLLION, Monuments, etc., vol. i. pp. 56–77; ROSELLINI, Mon. Storici, vol. iii. pt. 2, pp. 85–105; LEPSIUS, Denkm., iii. 185–191; cf. DÜMICHEN, Die Ægyptische Felsentempel von Abu-Simbel, 1869.

His knees give way beneath him, his head falls heavily backwards, and the features are contracted in his death-agony. Pharaoh with his left hand has seized him by the arm, while with his right he points his lance against his enemy's breast, and is about to pierce him through the heart. As a rule, this type of bas-relief is executed with a conventional grace which leaves the spectator unmoved, and free to consider the scene merely from its historical point of view, forgetful of the artist. An examination of most of the other wall-decorations of the speos will furnish several examples of this type: we see Ramses with a suitable gesture brandishing his weapon above a group of prisoners, and the composition furnishes us with a fair example of official sculpture, correct, conventional, but devoid of interest. Here, on the contrary, the drawing is so full of energy that it carries the imagination back to the time and scene of those far-off battles. The indistinct light in which it is seen helps the illusion, and we almost forget that it is a picture we are beholding, and not the action itself as it took place some three thousand years ago. A small speos, situated at some hundred feet further north, is decorated with standing colossi of smaller size, four of which represent Ramses, and two of them his wife, Isit Nofritari.[2] This speos possesses neither peristyle nor crypt, and the chapels are placed at the two extremities of the transverse passage, instead of being in a parallel line with the sanctuary; on the other hand,



RAMSES II. STRIKES A GROUP OF PRISONERS.[1]

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph taken by Insinger in 1881; cf. CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. xl., and ROSELLINI, *Mon. Storici*, pl. lxxix.

[2] GAU, *Monuments de la Nubie*, pls. 54-56; CHAMPOLLION, *Mon. de l'Égypte*, etc., vol. i. pp. 49-55, and pls. v.-xi., xxxvii. bis; ROSELLINI, *Mon. Storici*, vol. iii. pt. 2, pp. 165-170; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 192, 195.

the hypostyle hall rests on six pillars with Hathor-headed capitals of fine proportions. A third excavated grotto of modest dimensions served as an accessory chamber to the two others.[1] An inexhaustible stream of yellow sand poured over the great temple from the summit of the cliff, and partially covered it every year. No sooner were the efforts to remove it relaxed, than it spreads



THE FAÇADE OF THE LITTLE SPEOS OF HÂTHOR AT ABU SIMBEL.[2]

into the chambers, concealing the feet of the colossi, and slowly creeping upwards to their knees, breasts, and necks; at the beginning of this century they were entirely hidden. In spite of all that was done to divert it, it ceaselessly reappeared, and in a few summers regained all the ground which had been previously cleared. It would seem as if the desert, powerless to destroy the work of the conqueror, was seeking nevertheless to hide it from the admiration of posterity.[3]

Seti had worked indefatigably at Thebes, but the shortness of his reign prevented him from completing the buildings he had begun there. There existed everywhere, at Luxor, at Karnak, and on the left bank of the Nile, the remains of his unfinished works; sanctuaries partially roofed in, porticoes incomplete, columns raised to merely half their height, halls as yet imperfect with blank walls, here and there covered with only the outlines in red and black

[1] It was discovered in 1874, and an account of it is published by Miss Amelia B. Edwards, in *A Thousand Miles up the Nile*, pp. 476–480.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the plates in Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. ix. 1, and Prisse d'Avennes, *Hist. de l'Art Égyptien*, vol. ii., and Text, p. 412.

[3] The English engineers have succeeded in turning out the sand, and have prevented it from pouring over the cliff any more.—Ed.

ink of their future bas-reliefs, and statues hardly blocked out, or awaiting the final touch of the polisher.[1] Ramses took up the work where his father had relinquished it. At Luxor there was not enough space to give to the hypostyle hall the extension which the original plans proposed, and the great colonnade



THE CHAPEL OF THÛTMOSIS III. AND ONE OF THE PYLONS OF RAMSES II. AT LUXOR.[2]

has an unfinished appearance. The Nile, in one of its capricious floods, had carried away the land upon which the architects had intended to erect the side aisles; and if they wished to add to the existing structure a great court and a pylon, without which no temple was considered complete, it was necessary to turn the axis of the building towards the east. In their operations the architects came upon a beautiful little edifice of rose granite, which had been either erected or restored by Thûtmosis III. at a time when the town was an independent municipality and was only beginning to extend its suburban dwellings to meet those of Karnak. They took care to make no change in this structure, but set to work to incorporate it into their final

[1] This is the description which Ramses gave of the condition in which he found the Memnonium of Abydos (*Great Inscription of Abydos*, ll. 32, 33); an examination of the inscriptions existing in the Theban temples which Seti I. had constructed, shows that it must have applied also to the appearance of certain portions of Qurnah, Luxor, and Karnak in the time of Ramses II.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph taken in 1886 by Beato.

plans. It still stands at the north-west corner of the court, and the elegance of its somewhat slender little columns contrasts happily with the heaviness of the structure to which it is attached. A portion of its portico is hidden by the brickwork of the mosque of Abu'l Haggag; the part brought to light in the course of the excavations contains between each row of columns a colossal statue of Ramses II. We are accustomed to hear on all sides of the degeneracy of the sculptor's art at this time, and of its having fallen into irreparable neglect. Nothing can be further from the truth than this sweeping statement. There are doubtless many statues and bas-reliefs of this epoch which shock us by their crudity and ugliness, but these owed their origin for the most part to provincial workshops which had been at all times of mediocre repute, and where the artists did not receive orders enough to enable them to correct by practice the defects of their education. We find but few productions of the Theban school exhibiting bad technique, and if we had only this one monument of Luxor from which to form our opinion of its merits, it would be sufficient to prove that the sculptors of Ramses II. were not a whit behind those of Harmhabi or Seti I. Adroitness in cutting the granite or hard sandstone had in no wise been lost, and the same may be said of the skill in bringing out the contour and life-like action of the figure, and of the art of infusing into the features and demeanour of the Pharaoh something of the superhuman majesty with which the Egyptian people were accustomed to invest their monarchs. If the statues of Ramses II. in the portico are not perfect models of sculpture, they have many good points, and their bold treatment makes them effectively decorative.[1] Eight other statues of Ramses are arranged along the base of the façade, and two obelisks—one of which has been at Paris for half a century[2]—stood on either side of the entrance. The whole structure lacks unity, and there is nothing corresponding to it in this respect anywhere else in Egypt. The northern half does not join on to the southern, but seems to belong to quite a distinct structure, or the two parts might be regarded as having once formed a single edifice which had become divided by an accident, which the architect had endeavoured to unite together again by a line of columns running between two walls. The masonry of the hypostyle hall at Karnak was squared and dressed, but the walls had been left undecorated, as was also the case with the majority of the shafts of the columns and the surface of the architraves.

[1] Three of these colossal figures, one of them seated, are represented on p. 419; and another is given in Maspero, *Archéologie Égyptienne*, p. 223, fig. 198.

[2] The colonnade and the little temple of Thutmosis III. were concealed under the houses of the village; they were first brought to light in the excavations of 1884–86. The transportation of the obelisk to Paris was the occasion of a flood of literature, of which Wiedemann gives an account in *Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 448, n. 5.

Ramses covered the whole with a series of sculptured and painted scenes which had a rich ornamental effect; he then decorated the pylon, and inscribed on the outer wall to the south the list of cities which he had captured.[1] The temple of Amon then assumed the aspect which it preserved henceforward for centuries. The Ramessides and their successors occupied



THE COLONNADE OF SETI I. AND THE THREE COLOSSAL STATUES OF RAMSES II. AT LUXOR.[2]

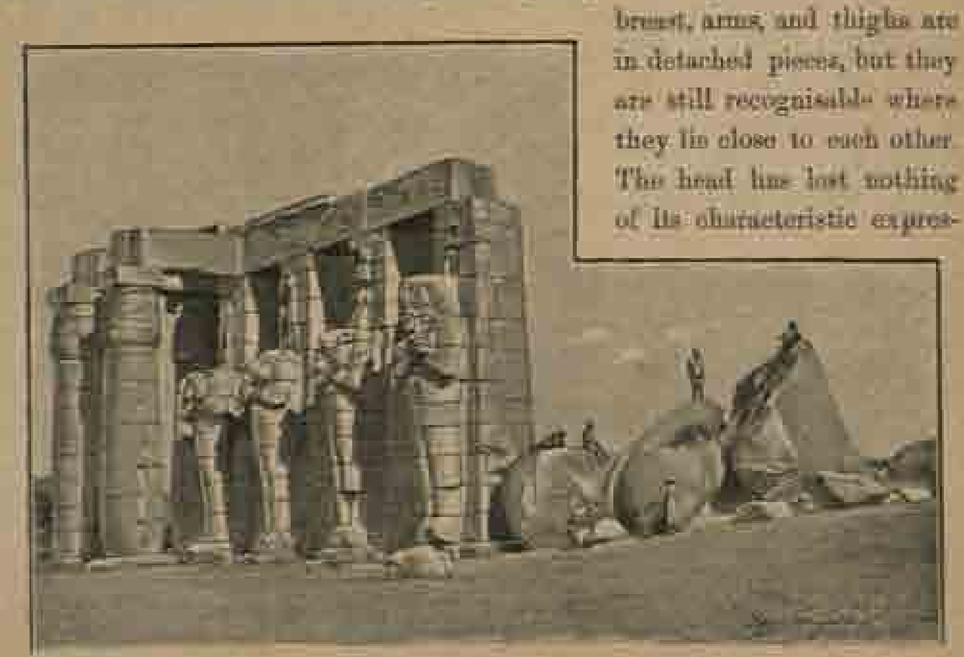
themselves in filling it with furniture, and in taking steps for the repair of any damage that might accrue to the hall or pillars; they had their cartouches or inscriptions placed in vacant spaces, but they did not dare to modify its arrangement. It was reserved for the Ethiopian and Greek Pharaohs, in presence of the hypostyle and pylon of the XIXth dynasty, to conceive of others on a still vaster scale. Ramses, having completed the funerary chapel of Seti at Qurneh upon the left bank of the river,[3] then began to think of preparing the edifice destined for the cult of his "double"—that Ramesseum whose majestic ruins still stand at a short distance to the north

[1] MARIETTE, *Karnak*, *Texte*, pp. 21, 22-25, 40, 41. The list of the captured cities is found in CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., vol. ii. pp. 119-123; in ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, vol. iii. pt. 2, pp. 259-268; and in LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 146 *a*.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Beato.

[3] CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., vol. i. p. 296; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, vol. iii. pt. 2, pp. 282, 283. See pp. 382, 383 of the present work for what is known about this chapel.

of the giants of Amenothes. Did these colossal statues stimulate his spirit of emulation to do something yet more marvellous? He erected here, at any rate, a still more colossal figure. The earthquake which shattered Memnon brought it to the ground, and fragments of it still strew the soil where they fell some nineteen centuries ago. There are so many of them that the spectator would think himself in the middle of a granite quarry.[1] The portions forming the breast, arms, and thighs are in detached pieces, but they are still recognisable where they lie close to each other. The head has lost nothing of its characteristic expres-



THE REMAINS OF THE COLOSSAL STATUE OF RAMSES II. AT THE RAMESSEUM.[2]

sion, and its proportions are so enormous, that a man could sleep crouched up in the hollow of one of its ears as if on a sofa. Behind the court overlooked by this colossal statue lay a second court, surrounded by a row of square pillars, each having a figure of Osiris attached to it. The god is represented as a mummy, the swathings throwing the body and limbs into relief. His hands are freed from the bandages and are crossed on the breast, and hold respectively the flail and crook; the smiling face is surmounted by an enormous head-dress. The sanctuary with the buildings attached to it has perished, but enormous brick structures extend round the ruins, forming an enclosure of storehouses. Here the priests of the "double" were accustomed to dwell with their wives and slaves, and here they stored up the products of

[1] This is the actual expression employed by Jollois-Devilliers, *Description du tombeau d'Osymandyas, désigné par quelques voyageurs sous la dénomination de Palais de Memnon*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. ii. p. 243. The ear measures 3 feet 4 inches in length; the statue is 58 feet high from the top of the head to the sole of the foot, and the weight of the whole has been estimated at over a thousand tons (Id., *ibid.*, p. 240).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Beato.

their domains—meat, vegetables, corn, fowls dried or preserved in fat, and wines procured from all the vineyards of Egypt.

These were merely the principal monuments put up by Ramses II. at Thebes during the sixty-seven years of his rule. There would be no end to the enumeration of his works if we were to mention all the other edifices which



THE RAMESSEUM.[1]

he constructed in the necropolis or among the dwellings of the living, all those which he restored, or those which he merely repaired or inscribed with his cartouches. These are often cut over the name of the original founder, and his usurpations of monuments are so numerous that he might be justly accused of having striven to blot out the memory of his predecessors, and of claiming for himself the entire work of the whole line of Pharaohs. It would seem as if, in his opinion, the glory of Egypt began with him, or at least with his father, and that no victorious campaigns had been ever heard of before those which he conducted against the Libyans and the Hittites.

The battle of Qodshû, with its attendant episodes—the flogging of the spies, the assault upon the camp, the charge of the chariots, the flight of the Syrians —is the favourite subject of his inscriptions; and the poem of Pentaûirît adds to the bas-reliefs a description worthy of the acts represented. This Epic reappears everywhere, in Nubia and in the Saîd, at Abu Simbel, at Beit-Wally, at Derr, at Luxor, at Karnak, and on the Ramesseum, and the same battle-scenes, with the same accompanying texts, reappear in the Memnonium,

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Beato; the great blocks in the foreground are the fragments of the colossal statue of Ramses II.

whose half-ruined walls still crown the necropolis of Abydos.[1] He had decided upon the erection of this latter monument at the very beginning of his reign, and the artisans who had worked at the similar structure of Seti I. were employed to cover its walls with admirable bas-reliefs. Ramses also laid claim to



THE RUINS OF THE MEMNONIUM OF RAMSES II. AT ABYDOS.[2]

have his own resting-place at "the Cleft;" in this privilege he associated all the Pharaohs from whom he imagined himself to be descended, and the same list of their names, which we find engraved in the chapel of his father, appears on his building also.[3] Some ruins, lying beyond Abydos, are too formless to do more than indicate the site of some of his structures. He enlarged the temple of Harshafitû and that of Osiris at Heracleopolis, and, to accomplish these works the more promptly, his workmen had recourse for material to the royal towns of the IV^th^ and XII^th^ dynasties; the pyramids of Usirtasen II. and Snofrûi at Medûm suffered accordingly the loss of the best part of their covering.[4] He finished the mausoleum at Memphis,[5] and dedicated the statue which Seti had merely blocked out; he then set to work to fill the city with buildings of his own device—granite and sandstone chambers to the east of the Sacred Lake,[6] monumental gateways to the

[1] MARIETTE, *Abydos*, vol. ii. pp. 8-12, and pls. 4, 5.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey.

[3] This is the list now in the British Museum; see p. 226 of the *Dawn of Civilization* for information on these two tables.

[4] NAVILLE, *Ahnas el-Medineh*, pp. 2, 9-11, and pls. i. a, ii. a, c, v., vi.; cf. PETRIE, *Medum*, pp. 5-9, and *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, p. 22. [For the nature of this "resting-place," which was not his tomb, see *supra*, p. 362.—TR.]

[5] *The Great Inscription of Abydos*, l. 32.

[6] Partly excavated and published by Mariette (*Monuments divers*, pl. 31; cf. BRUGSCH, *As the*

south,[1] and before one of them a fine colossal figure in granite.[2] It lay not long ago at the bottom of a hole among the palm trees, and was covered by the inundation every year; it has now been so raised as to be safe from the waters. Ramses could hardly infuse new life into all the provinces which had been devastated years before by the Shepherd-kings;[3] but Heliopolis,[4] Bubastes,[5] Athribis,[6] Patûmû,[7] Mendis,[8] Tell Moqdam,[9] and



THE COLOSSAL STATUE OF RAMSES II. AT MITRAHINEH.[10]

all the cities of the eastern corner of the Delta, constitute a museum of his monuments, every object within them testifying to his activity. He colonised these towns with his prisoners, rebuilt them, and set to work to rouse them from the

[illegible], in the *Zeitschrift*, 1869, p. 23, and partly by M. de Morgan. This is probably the temple mentioned in the *Great Inscription of Abu Simbel*, ll. 31–36 (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., pl. xxxviii.; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. ciii.; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 194), translated by NAVILLE, *The Decree of Phtah-Totunen in favour of Ramses II.*, in the *Transactions* of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. vii. pp. 117–138; cf. BRUGSCH, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 537–540.

[1] These are probably those mentioned by Herodotus (II. cviii., cx.), when he says that Sesostris constructed a propylon in the temple of Hephæstos: cf. WIEDEMANN, *Herodot's zweites Buch*, pp. 415, 426, 427.

[2] This is the Abu-l-hôl of the Arabs. It was raised in 1888 by Major BAGNOLD, *Account of the Manner in which Two Colossal Statues of Ramses II. at Memphis were raised*, in the *Proceedings* Bibl. Arch. Soc., 1887–88, vol. x. pp. 452–463.

[3] Compare on this subject BRUGSCH, *Die Ægyptologie*, pp. 289, 290, where, although the alleged facts are indisputable, the author seems to me to go too far in assuming the existence of a foreign power which prevented Ramses II. from bearing rule in this part of the country.

[4] Ruins of the temple of Râ bearing the cartouches of Ramses II.; see MASPERO, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire*, etc., in the *Zeitschrift*, 1881, p. 141, and GRIFFITH, *The Antiquities of Tell el-Yahûdîyeh*, pp. 64–66. "Cleopatra's Needle," transported to Alexandria by one of the Ptolemies, had been set up by Ramses at Heliopolis; it is probably one of the four obelisks which the traditional Sesostris is said to have erected in that city, according to PLINY, *H. Nat.*, XXXVI. viii. 14.

[5] NAVILLE, *Bubastis*, pp. 9, 11, 13, 14, 17–19, 35–31, and pls. xvii., xxi., xxxvi.–xxxviii.

[6] BRUGSCH, *Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens*, vol. i. pl. x. 1, 2.

[7] NAVILLE, *The Store-City of Pithom*, pp. 1–4, 11, 13, and pl. iii. a.; cf. MASPERO, *Sur deux Monuments nouveaux du règne de Ramses II.*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 2nd series, vol. xxxiv. pp. 319–325.

[8] NAVILLE, *Ahnas el-Medineh*, p. 18. [9] ID., *ibid.*, p. 31, and pl. iv. c. 1, 2.

[10] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph brought back by Benedite.

torpor into which they had fallen after their capture by Âhmosis. He made a third capital of Tanis, which rivalled both Memphis and Thebes.[1] Before this it had been little more than a deserted ruin: he cleared out the *débris*, brought a population to the place; rebuilt the temple, enlarging it by aisles which extended its area threefold; and here he enthroned, along with the local divinities, a triad, in which Amonrâ and Sûtkhû sat side by side with his own deified "double." The ruined walls, the overturned stelæ, the obelisks recumbent in the dust, and the statues of his usurped predecessors, all bear his name. His colossal figure of statuary sandstone, in a sitting attitude like that at the Ramesseum, projected from the chief court, and seemed to look down upon the confused ruin of his works.[2]

We do not know how many wives he had in his harem, but one of the lists of his children which has come down to us enumerates, although mutilated at the end, one hundred and eleven sons, while of his daughters we know of fifty-five.[3] The majority of these were the offspring of mere concubines or foreign princesses, and possessed but a secondary rank in comparison with himself; but by his union with his sisters Nofritari Maritmût and Isîtnofrît, he had at least half a dozen sons and daughters who might aspire to the throne. Death robbed him of several of these before an opportunity was open to them to succeed him, and among them Amenhikhopshûf, Amenhimamif, and Ramses, who had distinguished themselves in the campaign against the Khâti;[4] and some of his daughters—Bitanîti, Maritamon, Nibîttaûi—by becoming his wives lost their right to the throne.[5] About the XXX^th^ year of his reign, when he was close upon sixty, he began to think of an associate, and his choice rested on the eldest surviving son of his queen Isîtnofrît, who was called Khâmuîsît.[6] This prince was born before the succession of his father, and had exhibited distinguished bravery under the walls of Qodshû and at Ascalon.[7] When he was still very young he had been

[1] Mariette, *Lettres à M. le Vicomte de Rougé sur les fouilles de Tanis*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 2nd series, 1860, vol. iv. pp. 97–111, 297–215, and *Fragments et Documents relatifs aux fouilles de Sân*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ix. pp. 1–20. The results of the excavations of the Egypt Exploration Fund are recorded in Petrie, *Tanis*, i., ii., 1885–88.

[2] Petrie, *Tanis*, pp. 13, 14, 22–24. The fragments of the colossus were employed in the Græco-Roman period as building material, and used in the masonry of a boundary wall.

[3] The list of Abydos enumerates thirty-three of his sons and thirty-two of his daughters (Mariette, *Abydos*, vol. i. pl. 4, and p. 19), that of Wady-Sebua one hundred and eleven of his sons and fifty-one of his daughters (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 179 *b–d*): both lists are mutilated. The remaining lists for the most part record only some of the children living at the time they were drawn up, at Derr (Champollion, *Monuments*, pl. xl.; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 183 *b*, 184 *a*), at the Ramesseum, and at Abu Simbel (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 168, 186).

[4] Wiedemann (*Ægypt. Gesch.*, p. 464) has put together the little that is known of these individuals.

[5] See Wiedemann, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, pp. 466, 467. The marriage of Ramses II. with his daughters was pointed out by E. de Rougé, in his lectures at the Collège de France.

[6] Wiedemann (*Ægyptische Geschichte*, pp. 464–466) has collected all that is known of Khâmuîsît, son of Ramses II.

[7] Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 145 *c*, 156; for the sieges of these towns, see pp. 399–400 of the present work.

invested with the office of high priest of the Memphite Phtah, and thus had secured to him the revenues of the possessions of the god, which were the largest in all Egypt after those of the Theban Amon. He had a great reputation for his knowledge of abstruse theological questions and of the science of magic—a later age attributing to him the composition of several books on magic giving directions for the invocation of spirits belonging to this world and the world beyond.[1] He became the hero also of fantastic romances, in which it was related of him how, in consequence of his having stolen from the mummy of an old wizard the books of Thot, he became the victim of possession by a sort of lascivious and sanguinary ghoul.[2] Ramses relieved himself of the cares of state by handing over to Khâmoîsît the government of the country, without, however, conferring upon him the titles and insignia of royalty. The chief concern of Khâmoîsît was to secure the scrupulous observance of the divine laws. He celebrated at Silsilis[4] the festivals of the inundation; he presided at the commemoration of his father's apotheosis,[5] and at the funeral rites of the Apis who died in the XXX[th] year of the king's reign.[6] Before his time each sacred bull had its separate tomb in a quarter of the Memphite Necropolis known to the Greeks as the Serapeion. The tomb was a small cone-roofed building erected on a square base, and containing only one chamber. Khâmoîsît substituted for this a rock-tomb similar to those used by ordinary individuals. He had a tunnel cut in the solid rock to a depth of about a hundred yards, and on either side of this a chamber was prepared for each Apis



THE CHAPEL OF THE APIS OF AMENÔTHES III.[3]

[1] One of the works attributed to him is found in the Louvre Papyrus 3248; it was pointed out by DEVÉRIA, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Égyptiens qui sont conservés au Musée du Louvre*, p. 107; cf. REVILLOUT, *Le Roman de Setna*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 2nd series, vol. xxxvii. pp. 337, 338, and PIERRET, *Chapitres supplémentaires du Livre des Morts*, pp. 67–69.

[2] This is the romance of Satni-Khâmoîsît, discovered by MARIETTE, *Les Papyrus Égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq*, vol. i. pls. 29–33; translated for the first time by BRUGSCH, *Le Roman Démotique de Setnau*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 2nd series, vol. xvi. pp. 161–179; cf. the translation and bibliography of the subject by MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires de l'ancienne Égypte*, 2nd edit., pp. 161–208.

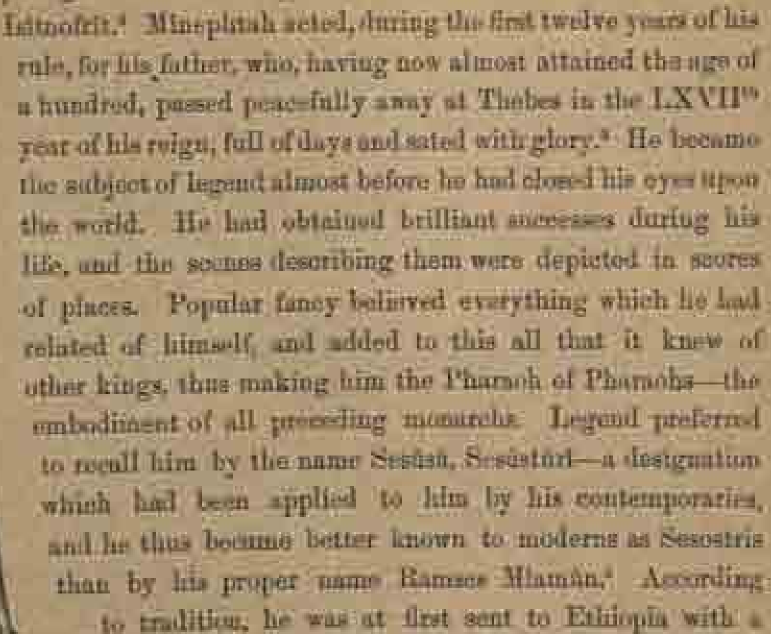
[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a sketch by MARIETTE, *Renseignements sur les soixante-quatre Apis*, in the *Bulletin Archéologique de l'Athénæum Français*, 1855, p. 47.

[4] Festivals of the years XXX., XXXIV., XXXVII., and XL. at Gebel Silsileh (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., pls. cxv.–cxvi.; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 175 f; BRUGSCH, *Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens*, vol. ii. pl. lxxxiii. 1, 2).

[5] Festivals of the years XXX., XXXIV., and XXXIX. at Biggeh (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, etc., vol. i. p. 162; BRUGSCH, *Recueil de Monuments*, vol. ii. pl. lxxxiii. 2), of the years XXXIV. and XL. at Sehel (BRUGSCH, *Recueil*, vol. ii. pl. lxxxii. 5; MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, pl. 71, Nos. 32, 33).

[6] MARIETTE, *Choix de Monuments et de dessins du Sérapeum de Memphis*, pp. 8, 9, and *Renseignements sur les soixante-quatre Apis*, in the *Bulletin Archéologique*, 1855, pp. 66–68; cf. BRUGSCH, *Recueil*, vol. i. § 2 viii., No. 1, and pp. 15, 16.

on its death, the masons closing up the wall after the installation of the mummy.[1] His regency had lasted for nearly a quarter of a century, when, the burden of government becoming too much for him, he was succeeded in the LVth year of Ramses by his younger brother Minephtah, who was like himself a son of Isitnofrit.[2] Minephtah acted, during the first twelve years of his rule, for his father, who, having now almost attained the age of a hundred, passed peacefully away at Thebes in the LXVIIth year of his reign, full of days and sated with glory.[3] He became the subject of legend almost before he had closed his eyes upon the world. He had obtained brilliant successes during his life, and the scenes describing them were depicted in scores of places. Popular fancy believed everything which he had related of himself, and added to this all that it knew of other kings, thus making him the Pharaoh of Pharaohs—the embodiment of all preceding monarchs. Legend preferred to recall him by the name Sesûsû, Sesûsturî—a designation which had been applied to him by his contemporaries, and he thus became better known to moderns as Sesostris than by his proper name Ramses Miamûn.[5] According to tradition, he was at first sent to Ethiopia with a fleet of four hundred ships, by which he succeeded in conquering the coasts of the Red Sea as far as the Indus. In later times several stelæ in the cinnamon country were ascribed to him. He is credited after this with having led into the east a great army, with which he conquered Syria,



STATUE OF KHÂMOÎSÎT.[4]

Media, Persia, Bactriana, and India as far as the ocean; and with having on his return journey through the deserts of Scythia reached the Don [Tanais],

[1] Mariette, *Renseignements sur les soixante-quatre Apis*, in the *Bulletin Archéologique*, 1855, pp. 47, 48; cf. *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, ed. Maspero, pp. 138-146. Khâmoîsît was not buried in one of the Apis chambers, as Mariette thought (*op. cit.*, pp. 66-68, 96; cf. Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, pp. 166, 167; Wiedemann, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, pp. 465, 466): following the hints of Vassalli, we found the remains of his tomb at Kafr el-Batran, near the great pyramid of Gizeh.

[2] Minephtah was in the order of birth the thirteenth son of Ramses II. (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 168 *a*, *b*).

[3] A passage on a stele of Ramses IV. formally attributes to him a reign of sixty-seven years (Mariette, *Abydos*, vol. ii. pls. 34, 35; cf. Piehl, *Étude sur une Stèle de Ramsès IV.*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 2nd series, vol. xl. p. 272). I procured at Koptos a stele of his year LXVI (Bouriant, *Petits Monuments et petits Textes*, § 77, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ix. p. 100).

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a statue in the British Museum.

[5] This designation, which is met with at Medinet-Habu (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 208 *c*) and in the Anastasi Papyrus I., pl. xx. l. 3, pl. xxiii. l. 5, pl. xxvii. l. 3, was shown by E. de Rougé (*Athénæum Français*, 1854, p. 1128) to refer to Ramses II.; the various readings Sesû, Sesisû, Sesûsurî, explain the different forms Sesosis, Sesoosis, Sesostris (Maspero, *Nouveau Fragment d'un commentaire sur le livre II. d'Hérodote*, in the *Annuaire de l'Association des Études Grecques*, vol. x. pp. 131-133). Wiedemann sees in this name the mention of a king of the XVIIIth dynasty not yet classified (*Ægyptische Geschichte*, pp. 107, 108; cf. *Herodot's zweites Buch*, pp. 403, 404).

where, on the shore of the Mæotic Sea, he left a number of his soldiers, whose descendants afterwards peopled Colchis. It was even alleged that he had ventured into Europe, but that the lack of provisions and the inclemency of the climate had prevented him from advancing farther than Thrace. He returned to Egypt after an absence of nine years, and after having set up on his homeward journey statues and stelæ everywhere in commemoration of his victories.[1] Herodotus asserts that he himself had seen several of these monuments in his travels in Syria and Ionia. Some of these are of genuine Egyptian manufacture, and are to be attributed to our Ramses; they are to be found near Tyre, and on the banks of the Nahr el-Kelb,[2] where they mark the frontier to which his empire extended in this direction. Others have but little resemblance to Egyptian monuments, and were really the work of the Asiatic peoples among whom they were found. The two figures referred to long ago by Herodotus,[3] which have been discovered near Ninfi between Sardis and Smyrna, are instances of the latter. The shoes of the figures are turned up at the toe, and the head-dress has more resemblance to the high hats of the people of Asia Minor than to the double crown of Egypt, while the lower garment is striped horizontally in place of vertically. The inscription, moreover, is in an Asiatic form of writing, and has nothing Egyptian about it.



STELE OF THE NAHR EL-KELB.[4]

Ramses II. in his youth was the handsomest man of his time. He was tall and straight; his figure was well moulded—the shoulders broad, the arms full and vigorous, the legs muscular; the face was oval, with a firm and smiling mouth, a thin aquiline nose, and large open eyes.[5] Old age and death did

[1] Herodotus, II. cii.–cvii.; Diodorus Siculus, i. 53–57: cf. on the legend of Sesostris the material collected by Wiedemann, *Herodot's zweites Buch*, p. 394, et seq.

[2] Upon the frontier stelæ of the Nahr el-Kelb, see p. 376 of the present work; the stele of Adlun, near Tyre, was pointed out by Renan (*Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 661, 662), whose testimony is challenged by F. de Saulcy (*Voyage en Terre Sainte*, 1865, vol. ii. p. 282).

[3] Herodotus, II. cvi. The first of the two figures was discovered by Charles Texier, *Asie Mineure*, vol. ii. p. 304, and pl. 132; the second by Beddoe in 1856. Sayce was the first to recognise the nature of the inscription on one of them (*Monuments of the Hittites*, in *Trans. Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. vii. pp. 265–268; cf. Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. iv. pp. 742–752).

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph. This is the stele of the year II.; cf. Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 197 a.

[5] The black granite statue at Turin, for instance, presents him thus (Orcurti, *Catalogo illustrato dei Monumenti Egizii del R. Museo di Torino*, vol. i. pp. 60, 61, No. 3), of which the head is reproduced on p. 240 of the present work.

not succeed in marring the face sufficiently to disfigure it. The coffin containing his body is not the same as that in which his children placed him on the day of his obsequies; it is another substituted for it by one of the Ramessides, and the mask upon it has but a distant resemblance to the face of the victorious Pharaoh. The mummy is thin, much shrunken, and light; the bones are brittle, and the muscles atrophied, as one would expect in the case of a man who had attained the age of a hundred; but the figure is still tall and of perfect proportions.[1] The head, which is bald on the top, is somewhat long, and small in relation to the bulk of the body; there is but little hair on the forehead, but at the back of the head it is thick, and in smooth stiff locks, still preserving its white colour beneath the yellow balsams of his last toilet. The forehead is low, the supra-orbital ridges accentuated, the eyebrows thick, the eyes small and set close to the nose, the temples hollow, the cheek-bones prominent; the ears, finely moulded, stand out from the head, and are pierced, like those of a woman, for the usual ornaments pendant from the lobe. A strong jaw and square chin, together with a large thick-lipped mouth, which reveals through the black paste within it a few much-worn but sound teeth, make up the features of the mummied king. His moustache and beard, which were closely shaven in his lifetime, had grown somewhat in his last sickness or after his



THE BAS-RELIEF OF SETI.[2]

[1] Even after the coalescence of the vertebræ and the shrinkage produced by mummification, the body of Ramses II. still measures over 5 feet 8 inches (MASPERO, *Les Momies royales de Déîr el-Baharî*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française du Caire*, vol. i. pp. 556-560).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph.

death; the coarse and thick hairs in them, white like those of the head and eyebrows, attain a length of two or three millimetres. The skin shows an ochreous yellow colour under the black bituminous plaster. The mask of the mummy, in fact, gives a fair idea of that of the living king; the somewhat unintelligent expression, slightly brutish perhaps, but haughty and firm of purpose, displays itself with an air of royal majesty beneath the sombre materials used by the embalmer. The disappearance of the old hero did not produce many changes in the position of affairs in Egypt; Minephtah from this time forth possessed as Pharaoh the power which he had previously wielded as regent. He was now no longer young. Born somewhere about the beginning of the reign of Ramses II., he was now sixty, possibly seventy, years old; thus an old man succeeded another old man at a moment when Egypt must have needed more than ever an active and vigorous ruler. The danger to the country did not on this occasion rise from the side of Asia, for the relations of the Pharaoh with his Kharu[3] subjects continued friendly, and, during a famine which desolated Syria, he sent wheat to his Hittite



COFFIN OF RAMSES II.[1]



RAMSES II.[2]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey, taken in 1881. There may be seen below the cartouche the lines of the official report of inspection written during the XXIst dynasty.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph taken in 1886 from the mummy itself, by Emil Brugsch-Bey; cf. MASPERO, *Les Momies royales de Déir el-Bahari*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pls. xix.–xxi.

[3] A document preserved in the *Anastasi Papyrus III.* (pls. v., vi., *verso*) shows how regular the relations with Syria had become. It is the journal of a custom-house officer, or of a scribe placed at one of the frontier posts, who notes from day to day the letters, messengers, officers, and troops which passed from the 15th to the 25th of Pachons, in the IIIrd year of the reign (CHABAS, *Recherches pour l'histoire de la XIXe dynastie*, pp. 95-97; LAUTH, *Ægyptische Texte aus der Zeit des Pharao Menephtah*, in the *Zeitschrift der D. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, vol. xxxi. p. 652, *et seq.*; BRUGSCH, *Gesch. Ægyptens*, pp. 579-581; ERMAN, *Tagebuch eines Grenzbeamten*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1879, pp. 29-32, and *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben im Altertum*, p. 709).

allies.[1] The nations, however, to the north and east, in Libya and in the Mediterranean islands, had for some time past been in a restless condition, which boded little good to the empires of the old world. The Timihû, some of them tributaries from the XIIth, and others from the first years of the XVIIIth dynasty, had always been troublesome, but never really dangerous neighbours. From time to time it was necessary to send light troops against them, who, sailing along the coast or following the caravan routes, would enter their territory, force them from their retreats, destroy their palm groves, carry off their cattle, and place garrisons in the principal oases—even in Siwah itself. For more than a century, however, it would seem that more active and numerically stronger populations had entered upon the stage. A current of invasion, having its origin in the region of the Atlas, or possibly even in Europe, was setting towards the Nile, forcing before it the scattered tribes of the Sudan. Who were these invaders? Were they connected with the race which had planted its dolmens over the plains of the Maghreb?[2] Whatever the answer to this question may be, we know that a certain number of Berber tribes[3]—the Labû and Mashauasha—who had occupied a middle position between Egypt and the people behind them, and who had only irregular communications with the Nile valley, were now pushed to the front and forced to descend upon it.[4] They were men tall of stature and large of limb, with fair skins, light hair, and blue eyes; everything, in fact, indicating their northern origin. They took pleasure in tattooing the skin, just as the Tuaregs and Kabyles are now accustomed to do, and some, if not all, of them practised circumcision, like a portion of the Egyptians and Semites.[5] In the arrangement of the hair, a curl fell upon the shoulder, while the remainder was arranged in small frizzled locks. Their chiefs and braves wore on their heads two flowering plumes. A loin-cloth, a wild-beast's skin thrown over the back, a mantle, or rather a covering of woollen or dyed cloth, fringed and ornamented with many-coloured needle-work, falling from the left shoulder with no attachment in front, so as to leave the body unimpeded in walking,—these constituted the ordinary

[1] *Triumphal Inscription of Minephtah*, l. 24; cf. Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 52.

[2] Devéria, *La Race supposée proto-celtique est-elle figurée sur les monuments égyptiens?* in the *Revue Archéologique*, 2nd series, vol. ix. pp. 38–42.

[3] The nationality of these tribes is confirmed by the names of their chiefs, which recall exactly those of the Numidians—Masyla, Massinissa, Massiva (Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité historique*, 2nd edit., pp. 186, 237); for Libyan names preserved on the Egyptian monuments, see Halévy, *Études Berbères I., Essai d'épigraphie Libyque*, pp. 167–170.

[4] The Labû, Labû, Lobû, are mentioned for the first time under Ramses II. (*Anastasi Papyrus II.*, pl. iii. l. 2; cf. Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité historique*, 2nd edit., p. 184); these are the Libyans of classical geographers (Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, vol. ii. pp. 79, 80). The Mashauasha answer to the Maxyes of Herodotus (III. cxci.); they furnished mercenaries to the armies of Ramses II. (*Anastasi Papyrus I.*, pl. xvii. l. 4).

[5] W. Max Müller, *Notes on the Peoples of the Sea of Merenptah*, in the *Proceedings* of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., 1887–88, vol. x. pp. 147–154, 287–289.

costume of the people.[1] Their arms were similar to those of the Egyptians, consisting of the lance, the mace, the iron or copper dagger, the boomerang, the bow and arrow, and the sling. They also employed horses and chariots.[2] Their bravery made them a foe not to be despised, in spite of their ignorance of tactics and their want of discipline. When they were afterwards formed into regiments and conducted by experienced generals, they became the best auxiliary troops which Egypt could boast of. The Labû from this time forward were the most energetic of the tribes, and their chiefs prided themselves upon possessing the leadership over all the other clans in this region of the world.[4]



A LIBYAN.[3]

The Labû might very well have gained the mastery over the other inhabitants of the desert at this period, who had become enfeebled by the frequent defeats which they had sustained at the hands of the Egyptians. At the moment when Minephtah ascended the throne, their king, Mâraiû, son of Didi,[5]

[1] For the costume of the Libyans, see the representations on the royal tombs (Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., pls. ccl. 1, 2, ccLxxiii. 1; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pls. clvi., clviii., clix., clx. 4, clix. 5; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 136, 204) and the bas-relief reproduced on p. 414 of the present work, where Ramses II. is seen transfixing with his spear a chief of the Timihu.

[2] Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité historique*, 2nd edit., pp. 243, 244.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph; cf. Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pls. clix., clx. 4.

[4] This was the case in the wars of Minephtah and Ramses III., in which the Labû and their kings took the command of the confederate armies assembled against Egypt (*Triumphal Inscription of Minephtah*, ll. 4, 13, 37, etc.; *Inscription of Ramses III.*, in Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cxxxii. ll. 47, 48; cf. Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, pl. xlviii.).

[5] This name was at first read Marmaiu, son of Didi, by E. de Rougé (*Extrait d'un mémoire*, etc., pp. 6, 7; cf. Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité*, 2nd edit., p. 189), according to the copy published by Brugsch (*Geog. Inschr.*, vol. ii. pl. xxv. l. 5). Dümichen (*Hist. Inschr.*, vol. i. pl. ii. l. 13) had read it Maraiu Baddidi, making one name out of the two words; and Goodwin compared Baddidi, Battia, with Battos, which in the Libyan language (Herodotus, IV. clv.) meant "king" (*On the Name of a King of the Rebu-Libyans*, in *Zeitschrift*, 1868, p. 39); Baddi-Battia would thus be a "Battos," to whom one would assign the title of "First," and who would have lived a long time before the Battos of Cyrene, of whom Herodotus has preserved the semi-legendary history. The name ought to be read Mâraiû, son of Didi (Brugsch, *Gesch. Ægypt.*, p. 569; Wiedemann, *Ægypt. Gesch.*, p. 474). Halévy thought he had discovered Mâraiû and Didi in the Libyan inscriptions which he has deciphered (*Études Berbères*, I., *Essai d'épigr. libyque*, p. 165).

ruled over the immense territory lying between the Fayûm and the two Syrtes: the Timihu, the Kahaka, and the Mashauasha rendered him the same obedience as his own people. A revolution had thus occurred in Africa similar to that which had taken place a century previously in Naharaim, when Sapalulu founded the Hittite empire. A great kingdom rose into being where no state capable of disturbing Egyptian control had existed before. The danger was serious. The Hittites, separated from the Nile by the whole breadth of Kharu, could not directly threaten any of the Egyptian cities; but the Libyans, lords of the desert, were in contact with the Delta, and could in a few days fall upon any point in the valley they chose. Minephtah, therefore, hastened to resist the assault of the westerns, as his father had formerly done that of the easterns, and, strange as it may seem, he found among the troops of his new enemies some of the adversaries with whom the Egyptians had fought under the walls of Qodshû sixty years before. The Shardana, Lycians, and others, having left the coasts of the Delta and the Phœnician seaports owing to the vigilant watch kept by the Egyptians over their waters, had betaken themselves to the Libyan littoral, where they met with a favourable reception. Whether they had settled in some places, and formed there those colonies of which a Greek tradition of a recent age speaks, we cannot say.[1] They certainly followed the occupation of mercenary soldiers, and many of them hired out their services to the native princes, while others were enrolled among the troops of the King of the Khâti or of the Pharaoh himself. Mâraiû brought with him Achæans, Shardana, Tûrsha, Shagalasha,[2] and Lycians in considerable numbers when he resolved to begin the strife.[3] This was not one of those conventional little wars which aimed at nothing further than the imposition of the payment of a tribute upon the conquered, or the conquest of one of their provinces. Mâraiû had nothing less in view than the transport of his whole people into the Nile valley, to settle permanently there as the Hyksôs had done before him.[4] He set out on his march towards the end of

[1] For these traditions, see Thrige, *Res Cyrenensium, a primordiis inde civitatis usque ad ætatem qua in provinciæ formam a Romanis est redacta*, pp. 64–75.

[2] The Shakalasha, Shagalasha, identified with the Siculians by E. de Rougé (*Extrait d'un mémoire*, etc., pp. 24, 25; cf. Lauth, *Homer und Ægypten*, pp. 13, 14, 17, and Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité historique*, 2nd edit., p. 292, *Recherches pour l'histoire de la XIXe dynastie*, pp. 35–39), were a people of Asia Minor whose position there is approximately indicated by the site of the town Sagalassos, named after them (Maspero, *Revue Critique*, 1880, vol. i. pp. 109, 110).

[3] The *Inscription of Minephtah* (ll. 13, 14) distinguishes the Libyans of Mâraiû from "the people of the Sea."

[4] *Triumphal Inscription of Minephtah*, ll. 22, 23. The war was described in an inscription now lost which Minephtah had had engraved in the temple of Phtah at Memphis. A copy exists at Karnak; and the remains of it, pointed out by Champollion (*Monuments*, vol. ii. p. 124), were summarised by Lepsius (*Denkm.*, iii. 199 a) and by Brugsch (*Geog. Inschriften*, vol. ii. pl. xxxv.), published in a complete form by Dümichen (*Hist. Inschr.*, vol. i. pls. ii.–vi.), by Mariette (*Karnak*, pls. 52–55), and by E. de Rougé (*Inscriptions recueillies en Égypte*, pl. clxxix.–clxxxviii.), who also annotated and translated

the IVth year of the Pharaoh's reign, or the beginning of his Vth, surrounded by the *élite* of his troops, "the first choice from among all the soldiers and all the heroes in each land." The announcement of their approach spread terror among the Egyptians. The peace which they had enjoyed for fifty years had cooled their warlike ardour, and the machinery of their military organisation had become somewhat rusty. The standing army had almost melted away; the regiments of archers and charioteers were no longer effective, and the neglected fortresses were not strong enough to protect the frontier. As a consequence, the oases of Farafrah and of the Natron lakes fell into the hands of the enemy at the first attack, and the eastern provinces of the Delta became the possession of the invader before any steps could be taken for their defence. Memphis, which realised the imminent danger, broke out into open murmurs against the negligent rulers who had given no heed to the country's ramparts, and had allowed the garrisons of its fortresses to dwindle away. Fortunately Syria remained quiet. The Khâti, in return for the aid afforded them by Minephtah during the famine, observed a friendly attitude, and the Pharaoh was thus enabled to withdraw the troops from his Asiatic provinces. He could with perfect security take the necessary measures for ensuring "Heliopolis, the city of Tumû," against surprise, "for arming Memphis, the citadel of Phtah-Tonen, and for restoring all things which were in disorder; he fortified Pibailsit, in the neighbourhood of the Shakana canal, on a branch of that of Heliopolis," and he rapidly concentrated his forces behind these quickly organised lines.[2] Mârâiû, however, continued to advance: in the early months of the summer he had crossed the Canopic branch of the Nile, and was now about to encamp not far from the town of Pirâ. When the king heard of this "he became furious against them as a lion that fascinates its victim; he called his officers together and addressed them: 'I am about to make you hear the words of your master, and to teach you this: I am the sovereign shepherd who feeds you; I pass my days in seeking out that which is useful for you: I am your father; is there among you a father like me who makes his children live? You are trembling like geese, you do not know what is good to do: no one gives an answer to the enemy, and our desolated land is

(*Extrait d'un Mémoire sur les attaques*, pp. 6–15), by Lauth (*Ægyptische Texte aus der Zeit Menephthah*, in the *Zeitschrift d. D. Morg. Gesellsch.*, 1867, vol. xxi. pp. 652–690), by Birch (*The Invasion of Egypt by the Greeks*, in *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. iv. pp. 37, 38), by Chabas (*Études sur l'Antiquité*, 2nd edit., pp. 191–201, and *Recherches pour l'hist. de la XIX^{e} dynastie*, pp. 84–97), and lastly by Brugsch (*Gesch. Ægyptens*, pp. 567–577). There are extracts from it on a column at Memphis (Maspero, *Notes sur différents points de Grammaire*, etc., in the *Zeitschrift*, 1881, p. 118), which bears the date of the year V., the 2nd of Epiphi, and upon a stele at Athribis (Maspero, *op. cit.*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1883, pp. 65–67).

[2] With regard to these localities, see Brugsch, *Dict. Géographique*, pp. 30, 77, 107, 797, and Naville, *Goshen and the Shrine of Saft el-Henneh*, pp. 18, 26, and *The Mound of the Jews and the City of Onias*, pp. 22, 23. Chabas would identify Pibailsit with Bubastis (*Études sur l'Antiquité*, pp. 201–202; *Recherches pour l'histoire de la XIX^{e} dynastie*, p. 88); I agree with Brugsch in placing it at Belbeîs.

abandoned to the incursions of all nations. The barbarians harass the frontier, rebels violate it every day, every one robs it, enemies devastate our seaports, they penetrate into the fields of Egypt; if there is an arm of a river they halt there, they stay for days, for months: . . . . they come as numerous as reptiles, and no one is able to sweep them back, these wretches who love death and hate life, whose hearts meditate the consummation of our ruin. Behold, they arrive with their chief; they pass their time on the land which they attack in filling their stomachs every day; this is the reason why they come to the land of Egypt, to seek their sustenance, and their intention is to install themselves there; mine is to catch them like fish upon their bellies. Their chief is a dog, a poor devil, a madman; he shall never sit down again in his place.'"[1] He then announced that on the 14th of Epiphi he would himself conduct the troops against the enemy.

These were brave words, but we may fancy the figure that this king of more than sixty years of age would have presented in a chariot in the middle of the fray, and his competence to lead an effective charge against the enemy. On the other hand, his absence in such a critical position of affairs would have endangered the *morale* of his soldiers and possibly compromised the issue of the battle. A dream settled the whole question.[2] While Mineptah was asleep one night, he saw a gigantic figure of Phtah standing before him, and forbidding him to advance. "'Stay,' cried the god to him, while handing him the curved khopesh: 'put away discouragement from thee!' His Majesty said to him: 'But what am I to do then?' And Phtah answered him: 'Despatch thy infantry, and send before it numerous chariots to the confines of the territory of Piriû.'"[3] The Pharaoh obeyed the command, and did not stir from his position. Mâraiû had, in the mean time, arranged his attack for the 1st of Epiphi, at the rising of the sun: it did not take place, however, until the 3rd. "The archers of His Majesty made havoc of the barbarians for six hours; they were cut off by the edge of the sword." When Mâraiû saw the carnage, "he was afraid, his heart failed him; he betook himself to flight as fast as his feet could bear him to save his life, so successfully that his bow and arrows remained behind him in his precipitation, as well as everything else he had upon him." His treasure, his arms, his wife, together with the cattle which he had brought with him for his

[1] *Triumphal Inscription of Minephtah*, ll. 16–19, 21, 24; cf. Mariette, *Karnak*, pls. 52, 53.

[2] *Triumphal Inscription of Minephtah*, ll. 28–30; cf. Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 53. Ed. Meyer sees in this nothing but a customary rhetorical expression, and thinks that the god spoke in order to encourage the king to defend himself vigorously (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 307, n. 2).

[3] This name was read Pa-ari by E. de Rougé (*Extrait d'un Mémoire sur les attaques*, pp. 7, 8), Pa-ali by Lauth (*Homer und Ægypten*, p. 15), and was transcribed Pa-ari-shop by Brugsch, who identified with Prosopitis (in the *Zeitschrift*, 1867, p. 38). The orthography of the text at Athribis (*verso*, l. 9) shows that we ought to read Piri, Pirû, Piris (W. M. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 357, No. 3); possibly the name is identical with that of Iara which is mentioned in the Pyramid-texts (*Mirinri*, l. 183, *Pepi I.*, l. 145).

use, became the prey of the conqueror; "he tore out the feathers from his head-dress, and took flight with such of those wretched Libyans as escaped the massacre, but the officers who had the care of His Majesty's team of horses followed in their steps" and put most of them to the sword. Mâraiu succeeded, however, in escaping in the darkness, and regained his own country without water or provisions, and almost without escort. The conquering troops returned to the camp laden with booty, and driving before them asses carrying, as bloody tokens of victory, quantities of hands and *phalli* cut from the dead bodies of the slain. The bodies of six generals and of 6359 Libyan soldiers were found upon the field of battle, together with 222 Shagalasha, 724 Tursha, and some hundreds of Shardana and Achæans: several thousands of prisoners passed in procession before the Pharaoh, and were distributed among such of his soldiers as had distinguished themselves.[1] These numbers show the gravity of the danger from which Egypt had escaped: the announcement of the victory filled the country with enthusiasm, all the more sincere because of the reality of the panic which had preceded it. The fellahin, intoxicated with joy, addressed each other: "'Come, and let us go a long distance on the road, for there is now no fear in the hearts of men.' The fortified posts may at last be left; the citadels are now open; messengers stand at the foot of the walls and wait in the shade for the guard to awake after their siesta, to give them entrance. The military police sleep on their accustomed rounds, and the people of the marshes once more drive their herds to pasture without fear of raids, for there are no longer marauders near at hand to cross the river; the cry of the sentinels is heard no more in the night: 'Halt, thou that comest, thou that comest under a name which is not thine own—sheer off!' and men no longer exclaim on the following morning: 'Such or such a thing has been stolen;' but the towns fall once more into their usual daily routine, and he who works in the hope of the harvest, will nourish himself upon that which he shall have reaped."[2] The return from Memphis to Thebes was a triumphal march. "He is very strong, Biuri Minephtah," sang the court poets, "very wise are his projects—his words have as beneficial effect as those of Thot—everything which he does is completed to the end.—When he is like a guide at the head of his armies—his voice penetrates the fortress walls.—Very friendly to those who bow their backs—before Miamun—his valiant soldiers spare him who humbles himself—before his courage and before his strength;—they fall upon the Libyans—they consume the Syrian;—the Shardana whom thou hast brought back

[1] The numbers are partly mutilated in the *Triumphal Inscription*, ll. 53–61; and do not entirely coincide with those on the Athribis inscription (MASPERO, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire*, § xxxv., in the *Zeitschrift*, 1883, pp. 65–67).

[2] *Triumphal Inscription of the Amenephtheum*, in PETRIE, *Egypt and Israel* (*Contemporary Review*, No. 365, p. 622); I have given a paraphrase of the Egyptian text from the English translation of Griffith.



STATUE OF MINEPHTAH.[2]

by thy sword—make prisoners of their own tribes.—Very happy thy return to Thebes—victorious! Thy chariot is drawn by hand—the conquered chiefs march backwards before thee—whilst thou leadest them to thy venerable father—Amon, husband of his mother."[1] And the poets amuse themselves with summoning Mâmiû to appear in Egypt, pursued as he was by his own people and obliged to hide himself from them. "He is nothing any longer but a beaten man, and has become a proverb among the Labû, and his chiefs repeat to themselves: 'Nothing of the kind has occurred since the time of Râ.' The old men say each one to his children: 'Misfortune to the Labû! it is all over with them! No one can any longer pass peacefully across the country; but the power of going out of our land has been taken from us in a single day, and the Tihonû have been withered up in a single year; Sûtkhû has ceased to be their chief, and he devastates their "duars;" there is nothing left but to conceal oneself, and one feels nowhere secure except in a fortress.'" The news of the victory was carried throughout Asia, and served to discourage the tendencies to revolt which were beginning to make themselves manifest there. "The chiefs gave there their salutations of peace, and none among the nomads raised his head after the crushing defeat of the Libyans; Khati is at peace, Canaan is a prisoner as far as the disaffected are concerned, the inhabitant of Ascalon is led away, Gezer is carried into captivity, Ianuâmim is brought to nothing, the Israîlû are destroyed and have no longer seed, Kharu is like a widow of the land of Egypt."[3] Minephtah ought to have followed up his opportunity to the end, but he had no such intention, and his inaction gave Mâraîû time to breathe. Perhaps the effort which he had made had exhausted his resources, perhaps

[1] *Anastasi Papyrus II.*, pl. iv. l. 4, pl. v. l. 6; translated by Maspero (*Du Genre Épistolaire*, pp. 92, 93), and by Chabas (*Recherches pour l'histoire de la XIXe dynastie*, pp. 93, 94). The text was referred to Minephtah by E. de Rougé (*Extrait d'un Mémoire sur les attaques*, p. 3); cf. a passage of a more general character in the *Anastasi Papyrus III.*, pl. vi. l. 11, pl. vii. l. 103 (cf. Maspero, *Du Genre Épistolaire*, pp. 77, 78; Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité*, 2nd edit., pp. 219, 220).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Devéria; the statue is at Gizeh.

[3] This passage is taken from a stele discovered by Petrie in 1896, on the site of the Amenophium at Thebes; cf. Flinders Petrie, in the *Contemporary Review*, No. 365, p. 622. The mention of the Israîlû immediately calls to mind the place-names Yoshaph-ilu, Yakob-ilu, on the lists of Thutmosis III. (Mariette, *Karnak*, pls. 17, 18, 20, Nos. 78, 102) which have been compared with the names Jacob and Joseph (Groff, *Lettre à M. Révillout sur le nom de Jacob et de Joseph en Égypte*, and *Une Question de priorité*, in the *Revue Égyptologique*, vol. iv. pp. 95–101, 146–151, and *Diverses Études*, pp. 7–8, by Ed. Meyer, in the *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1886, pp. 1–16).



THE CHAPELS OF RAMSES II. AND MINEPHTAH AT SILSILEH.[1]

old age prevented him from prosecuting his success; he was content, in any case, to station bodies of pickets on the frontier, and to fortify a few new positions to the east of the Delta. The Libyan kingdom was now in the same position as that in which the Hittite had been after the campaign of Seti I.: its power had been checked for the moment, but it remained intact on the Egyptian frontier, awaiting its opportunity.

Minephtah lived for some time after this memorable year V.,[2] and the number of monuments which belong to this period show that he reigned in peace. We can see that he carried out works in the same places as his father before him: at Tanis as well as Thebes, in Nubia as well as in the Delta.[3] He worked the sandstone quarries for his building materials, and continued the custom of celebrating the feasts of the inundation at Silsileh. One at least of the stelæ which he set up on the occasion of these feasts is really a chapel, with its architraves and columns, and still excites the

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Beato.

[2] The last known year of his reign is the year VIII. (*Bologna Pap.*, No. 1094; cf. Lincke, *Correspondenzen aus der Zeit der Ramessiden*, pp. 2, 30). The lists of Manetho assign to him a reign of from twenty to forty years (Müller-Didot, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, vol. ii. pp. 574, 575, 578, 581); Brugsch makes it out to have been thirty-four years, from 1300 to 1266 B.C. (*Gesch. Ægypt.*, pp. 580, 582), which is evidently too much, but we may attribute to him without risk of serious error a reign of about twenty years.

[3] Monuments of Minephtah at Tanis, see Petrie, *Tanis* i. pp. 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 15, and pls. i., ii., iv.; vol. ii. pp. 11, 15–23, 28, 29, pl. viii.; for Nubia, see Lepsius, *Briefe aus Ægypten und Æthiopien*, p. 113.

admiration of the traveller on account both of its form and of its picturesque appearance. The last years of his life were troubled by the intrigues of princes who aspired to the throne, and by the ambition of the ministers to whom he was obliged to delegate his authority. One of the latter, a man of Semite origin, named Ben-Azana, of Zor-bisana, who had assumed the appellation of his first patron, Ramsesupirniri, appears to have acted for him as regent.[1] Minephtah was succeeded, apparently, by one of his sons, called Seti, after his great-grandfather.[2] Seti II. had doubtless reached middle age at the time of his accession, but his portraits represent him, nevertheless, with the face and figure of a young man.[3] The expression in these is gentle, refined, haughty, and somewhat melancholic. It is the type of Seti I. and Ramses II., but enfeebled and, as it were, saddened. An inscription of his second year attributes to him victories in Asia,[4] but others of the same period indicate the existence of disturbances similar to those which had troubled the last years of his father.



STATUE OF SETI II.[5]

These were occasioned by a certain Aiari, who was high priest of Phtah, and who had usurped titles which belonged ordinarily to the Pharaoh or his eldest son, "heir in the house of Sibû, and hereditary prince of the two lands."[6] Seti died, it would seem, without

[1] This is what Mariette concludes, with great probability, from the titles given to this individual on a stele at Abydos (*Notice des principaux Monuments*, 1864, p. 106; cf. *Abydos*, vol. ii. pl. 50, and *Catalogue général des Monuments d'Abydos*, No. 1136, p. 422).

[2] E. de Rougé introduced Amenmesês and Siphtah between Minephtah and Seti II. (*Étude sur une stèle de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, pp. 185–190), and I had up to the present followed his example (*Hist. Ancienne*, 4th edit., pp. 258, 259); I have come back to the position of Chabas, making Seti II. the immediate successor of Minephtah (*Recherches pour l'histoire de la XIXe dynastie*, pp. 114–120), which is also the view of Brugsch (*Gesch. Ægyptens*, p. 580), Wiedemann (*Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 481), and Ed. Meyer (*Gesch. des alten Ægyptens*, p. 308). The succession as it is now given does not seem to me to be free from difficulties; the solution generally adopted has only the merit of being preferable to that of E. de Rougé, which I previously supported.

[3] The last date known of his reign is the year II. (Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte, etc.*, vol. i. p. 256) which is found at Silsilis; Chabas was, nevertheless, of the opinion that he reigned a considerable time (*Recherches pour l'histoire de la XIXe dynastie*, p. 123).

[4] Champollion, *Monuments, etc.*, vol. i. p. 78; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 204 *a*. The expressions employed in this document do not vary much from the usual protocol of all kings of this period. The triumphal chant of Seti II. preserved in the *Anastasi Papyrus IV.*, pl. v., ll. 6–12, is a copy of the triumphal chant of Minephtah (see p. 436, note 1, of the present work), which is in the same Papyrus (pl. vi. l. 11, pl. vii. l. 10; cf. Maspero, *Du Genre épistolaire*, p. 82).

[5] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph. The original is in the British Museum; cf. Arundale-Bonomi-Birch, *Gallery of Egyptian Antiquities*, pl. 42.

[6] E. de Rougé, *Notice des monuments*, 3rd edit., pp. 37, 38, after the statue A 71 in the Louvre.

having had time to finish his tomb.[1] We do not know whether he left any legitimate children, but two sovereigns succeeded him who were not directly connected with him, but were probably the grandsons of the Amenmesis and the Siphtah, whom we meet with among the children of Ramses.[3] The first of these was also called Amenmesis, and he held sway for several years over the whole of Egypt, and over its foreign possessions.[4] The second, who was named Siphtah - Minephtah, ascended "the throne of his father" thanks to the devotion of his minister Bai,[5] but in a greater degree to his marriage with a certain princess called Tausirit.[6] He maintained himself in this position for at



SETI II.[2]

[1] CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., vol. i. pp. 459–462, 807, 808; LEFÉBURE, *Les Hypogées royaux de Thèbes*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. ii., 2nd book.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey, taken at Bab el-Muluk, in the tomb of the sovereign.

[3] MASPERO, *Lettre à M. Gustave d'Eichthal*, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1873, pp. 11–13; Wiedemann (*Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 484) disputes this hypothesis.

[4] Graffiti of this sovereign have been found at the second cataract (SAYCE, *Gleanings from the Land of Egypt*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xvii. pp. 162, 163). Certain expressions have induced E. de Rougé to believe (*Étude sur une stèle de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, pp. 186, 187) that he, as well as Siphtah, came originally from Khibit in the Aphroditopolite nome (cf. EISENLOHR, *On the Political Condition of Egypt*, in *Trans. of Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. i. pp. 377, 378; WIEDEMANN, *Ægyptische Gesch.*, p. 484). This was an allusion, as Chabas had seen (*Recherches sur l'histoire de la XIXe dynastie*, pp. 132, 133; cf. ED. MEYER, *Gesch. des Alten Ægyptens*, p. 308, n. 3), to the myth of Horus, similar to that which I pointed out further back (p. 234, n. 2) relating to Thûtmosis III., and which we more usually meet with in the cases of those kings who were not marked out from their birth onwards for the throne.

[5] Bai has left two inscriptions behind him, one at Silsilis (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, etc., pl. cxx. 4; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 202 *a*; cf. the translation of the text in BRUGSCH, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 587, 588) and the other at Sehel (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 202 *b*; MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, pl. 71, No. 11), and the titles he assumes on both monuments show the position he occupied at the Theban court during the reign of Siphtah-Minephtah. His office was described by E. de Rougé (*Étude sur une stèle de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, pp. 186, 187); cf. CHABAS, *Recherches pour l'histoire de la XIXe dynastie*, pp. 127–129, who thought that Bai had succeeded in maintaining his rights to the crown against the claims of Amenmesis.

[6] The tomb of this queen, which she probably occupied in common with her husband, was described

least six years,[1] during which he made an expedition into Ethiopia, and received in audience at Thebes messengers from all foreign nations.[2] He kept up so zealously the appearance of universal dominion, that to judge from his inscriptions he must have been the equal of the most powerful of his predecessors at Thebes.

Egypt, nevertheless, was proceeding at a quick pace towards its downfall. No sooner had this monarch disappeared than it began to break up.[3] There were no doubt many claimants for the crown, but none of them succeeded in disposing of the claims of his rivals, and anarchy reigned supreme from one end of the Nile valley to the other. "The land of Qimit began to drift away, and the people within it had no longer a sovereign, and this, too, for many years, until other times came; for the land of Qimit was in the hands of the princes ruling over the nomes, and they put each other to death, both great and small. Other times came afterwards, during years of nothingness, in which Arisu, a Syrian,[4] was chief among them, and the whole country paid tribute before him; every one plotted with his neighbour to steal the goods of others, and it was the same with regard to the gods as with regard to men, offerings were no longer made in the temples."[5] This was in truth the revenge of the feudal system upon Pharaoh. The barons, kept in check by Âhmosis and Amenôthes I., restricted by the successors of these sovereigns to the position of simple officers of the king, profited by the general laxity to recover as many as possible of their ancient privileges. For half a century and more, fortune had given them as masters only aged princes, not capable of maintaining continuous vigilance and firmness.

by Champollion, *Monuments*, etc., vol. i. pp. 448–459, 826–868; with regard to the usurpations of it, see Eisenlohr, *On the Political Condition of Egypt*, in the *Transactions* of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. i. pp. 375–378; *Aus einem Briefe an Dr Ludwig Stern*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1883, p. 55, and *Nachträgliche Bemerkungen*, *ibid.*, 1885, pp. 40, 41, who thinks he can distinguish the cartouche of Seti II. in the places where Lefébure and Champollion saw that of Nakhtsît (*Remarques sur différentes questions historiques*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1883, pp. 121–123).

[1] Graffiti of the years I., III., and VI., at Wady Halfa, in Sayce, *Gleanings from the Land of Egypt*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xvii. pp. 161–163.

[2] Bas-relief at Silsilis, in Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 201 *c*; cf. Chabas, *Recherches*, etc., *sous la XIX^e dynastie*, pp. 120, 121.

[3] The little that we know about this period of anarchy has been obtained from the *Harris Papyrus*, pl. 75, ll. 2–10; cf. Eisenlohr-Birch, *The Annals of Ramses III.*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. viii. pp. 46, 47. The information afforded by it was collected for the first time by Eisenlohr, *Der Grosse Papyrus Harris*, pp. 12–28 (cf. *On the Political Condition of Egypt before the Reign of Ramses III.*, in the *Transactions* of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. i. pp. 355–384), and by Chabas, *Recherches pour l'histoire de l'Égypte sous la XIX^e dynastie*, pp. 5–28, 119, 127.

[4] The name of this individual, which was wrongly read by Eisenlohr (*Der Grosse Papyrus Harris*, p. 5), was deciphered by Chabas (*Recherches*, etc., *sous la XIX^e dynastie*, p. 17); Lauth (*Siphthas und Amenmeses*, p. 63), and after him Krall (*Manetho und Diodor*, pp. 41–45), were inclined to read it as Kel, Ketesh, in order to identify it with the Ketes of Diodorus Siculus (i. 62). A form of the name Arisai in the Bible (*Esther* ix. 9) may be its original, or that of Arish which is found in Phœnician, especially Punic, inscriptions (Nöldeke, *Phönizische Inschrift*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. ix. pp. 403, 404).

[5] *The Great Harris Papyrus*, ed. by Birch, pl. 75, ll. 2–6; Chabas, *Recherches*, etc., *sous la XX^e dynastie*, pp. 6–22; Eisenlohr-Birch, *Annals of Ramses III.*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. viii. p. 46, and Brugsch, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 580.

The invasions of the peoples of the sea, the rivalry of the claimants to the throne, and the intrigues of ministers had, one after the other, served to break the bonds which fettered them, and in one generation they were able to regain that liberty of action of which they had been deprived for centuries. To this state of things Egypt had been drifting from the earliest times. Unity could be maintained only by a continuous effort, and once this became relaxed, the ties which bound the whole country together were soon broken. There was another danger threatening the country beside that arising from the weakening of the hands of the sovereign, and the turbulence of the barons. For some three centuries the Theban Pharaohs were accustomed to bring into the country after each victorious campaign many thousands of captives. The number of foreigners around them had, therefore, increased in a striking manner. The majority of these strangers either died without issue, or their posterity became assimilated to the indigenous inhabitants. In many places, however, they had accumulated in such proportions that they were able to retain among themselves the remembrance of their origin, their religion, and their customs, and with these the natural desire to leave the country of their exile for their former fatherland. As long as a strict watch was kept over them they remained peaceful subjects, but as soon as this vigilance was relaxed rebellion was likely to break out, especially amongst those who worked in the quarries. Traditions of the Greek period contain certain romantic episodes in the history of these captives. Some Babylonian prisoners brought back by Sesostris, these traditions tell us, unable to endure any longer the fatiguing work to which they were condemned, broke out into open revolt. They made themselves masters of a position almost opposite Memphis, and commanding the river, and held their ground there with such obstinacy that it was found necessary to give up to them the province which they occupied: they built here a town, which they afterwards called Babylon. A similar legend attributes the building of the neighbouring village of Troîû to captives from Troy.[2] The scattered barbarian tribes of the Delta,



[illegible][1]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, after a picture in Rosellini's *Monumenti Storici*, pl. ix., No. 35.

[2] Diodorus Siculus, i. 56. The name Babylon comes probably from *Babouna*, *Barbouna*, *Babou*,—a term which, under the form *Hât-Babounou*, served to designate a quarter of Heliopolis, or rather a suburban village of that city (Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, pp. 191, 199). Troja was, as we have seen (p. 383, n. 2, of *Dawn of Civilization*), the ancient city of Trûîû, now Tûrah, celebrated for its quarries of fine limestone. The narratives collected by the historians whom Diodorus had

whether Hebrews or the remnant of the Hyksôs,[1] had endured there a miserable lot ever since the accession of the Ramessides. The rebuilding of the cities which had been destroyed there during the wars with the Hyksôs had restricted the extent of territory on which they could pasture their herds. Ramses II. treated them as slaves of the treasury,[2] and the Hebrews were not long under his rule before they began to look back with regret on the time of the monarchs "who knew Joseph." "The Egyptians set over them taskmasters to afflict them with their burdens. And they built for Pharaoh treasure cities, Pithom and Raamses. But the more they afflicted them, the more they multiplied and grew. And they were grieved because of the children of Israel."[3] Further details on their condition are supplied in the following verses of the Biblical narrative: "They made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field."[4] The unfortunate slaves awaited only an opportunity to escape from the cruelty of their persecutors.

The national traditions of the Hebrews inform us that the king, in displeasure at seeing them increase so mightily notwithstanding his repression, commanded the midwives to strangle henceforward their male children at their birth. A woman of the house of Levi, after having concealed her infant for three months, put him in an ark of bulrushes and consigned him to the Nile, at a place where the daughter of Pharaoh was accustomed to bathe. The princess on perceiving the child had compassion on him, adopted him, called him Moses—saved from the waters—and had him instructed in all the knowledge of the Egyptians. Moses had already attained forty years of age, when he one day encountered an Egyptian smiting a Hebrew, and slew him in his anger, shortly afterwards fleeing into the land of Midian. Here he found an asylum, and Jethro the priest gave him one of his daughters in marriage. After forty years of exile, God, appearing to him in a burning bush, sent him to deliver His people. The old Pharaoh was dead, but Moses and his brother Aaron betook themselves to the court of the new Pharaoh,

mentioned were products of the Saïte period, and intended to explain to Greeks the existence on Egyptian territory of names recalling those of Babylon in Chaldæa and of Homeric Troy.

[1] See pp. 48, 50 of the present work for further information on these captives.

[2] A very ancient tradition identifies Ramses II. with the Pharaoh "who knew not Joseph" (*Exod.* i. 8). Recent excavations showing that the great works in the east of the Delta began under this king, or under Seti II. at the earliest, confirm in a general way the accuracy of the traditional view; I have, therefore, accepted it in part, and placed the Exodus after the death of Ramses II. Other authorities place it further back, and Lepsius in 1858 was inclined to put it under Amenôthes III. (*Ægyptische Chronologie*, pp. 116–123).

[3] *Exod.* i. 11, 12. Excavations made by Naville have brought to light near Tel el-Maskhutah the ruins of one of the towns which the Hebrews of the Alexandrian period identified with the cities constructed by their ancestors in Egypt: the town excavated by Naville is Pitum, and consequently the Pithom of the Biblical account, and at the same time also the Succoth of *Exod.* xii. 37, xiii. 20, the first station of the Bné-Israel after leaving Ramses (NAVILLE, *The Store-City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus*, pp. 1–12).

[4] *Exod.* i. 13, 14.

and demanded from him permission for the Hebrews to sacrifice in the desert of Arabia. They obtained it, as we know, only after the infliction of the ten plagues, and after the firstborn of the Egyptians had been stricken.[1] The emigrants started from Ramses; as they were pursued by a body of troops, the Sea parted its waters to give them passage over the dry ground, and closing up afterwards on the Egyptian hosts, overwhelmed them to a man. Thereupon Moses and the children of Israel sang this song unto Jahveh, saying: "Jahveh is my strength and song—and He has become my salvation.—This is my God, and I will praise Him,—my father's God, and I will exalt Him.—The Lord is a man of war,—and Jahveh is His name.—Pharaoh's chariots and his hosts hath He cast into the sea,—and his chosen captains are sunk in the sea of weeds.—The deeps cover them—they went down into the depths like a stone. . . . The enemy said: 'I will pursue, I will overtake—I will divide the spoil—my lust shall be satiated upon them—I will draw my sword—my hand shall destroy them.'—Thou didst blow with Thy wind—the sea covered them—they sank as lead in the mighty waters."[2] From this narrative we see that the Hebrews, or at least those of them who dwelt in the Delta, made their escape from their oppressors, and took refuge in the solitudes of Arabia.[3] According to the opinion of accredited historians, this Exodus took place in the reign of Minephtah,[4] and the evidence of the triumphal inscription, lately discovered by Prof. Petrie, seems to confirm this view, in relating that the people of Israilû were destroyed, and had no longer a seed.[5] The context indicates pretty clearly that these ill-treated Israilû were then somewhere south of Syria, possibly in the neighbourhood of Ascalon and Gezer. If it is the Biblical

[1] *Exod.* ii.–xiii. I have limited myself here to a summary of the Biblical narrative, without entering into a criticism of the text, which I leave to others.

[2] *Exod.* xv. 1–10 (R.V.).

[3] Chabas proposed to identify with the Hebrews the Apuriu who are mentioned on several occasions in several texts of the Ramesside period (*Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 1st series, pp. 42–54, and 2nd series, pp. 108–165; cf. *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte aux temps de l'Exode*, p. 99, et seq.). His opinion, adopted without hesitation by E. de Rougé (*Moïse et les Hébreux*, in the *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*, 1st series, vol. i. pp. 170, 175) and by Lauth (*Der Hohepriester und Oberbaumeister Bokenchons*, pp. 22–27; *Moses der Hebräer*, pp. 1, 2), was disputed by Eisenlohr (*On the Political Condition of Egypt*, etc., in the *Transactions* of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. i. pp. 355–357), then by Maspero, and by Brugsch himself (*Eine neue Ramessesstadt*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1876, p. 71), who, however, had previously defended it (*La Sortie des Hébreux d'Égypte et les Monuments Égyptiens*, 1874, pp. 8–10, 41). It was maintained by Goodwin (*Translation of a Fragment relating to the Reign of Tothmes III.*, in the *Transactions* Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. iii. p. 341), and by Ebers (*Ægypten und die Bücher Mose's*, p. 316, et seq., and *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 494). It is rejected at present by the majority of Egyptologists—Wiedemann (*Ægyptische Geschichte*, pp. 481, 482), Erman (*Ægypten, etc., im Alterthum*, pp. 681, 682, 714, 715, 724), Brugsch (*Gesch. Ægyptens*, pp. 582, 583, *Dict. géographique*, p. 113, et seq., and with more reserve in *Die Ægyptologie*, p. 38), Ed. Meyer (*Gesch. des Alterthums*, vol. i. pp. 288, 289, and *Geschichte des Alten Ægyptens*, p. 297, n. 2).

[4] E. de Rougé, *Examen critique de l'ouvrage de M. le chevalier de Bunsen*, ii. p. 73, and *Moïse et les Monuments Égyptiens*, in the *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*, 6th series, vol. i. pp. 165–175; Chabas, *Recherches, etc., sous la XIXe dynastie*, p. 138, et seq.; Brugsch, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 581–584; Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 139, et seq., not to mention more authorities.

[5] See the passage from the inscription given on p. 436 of the present work.

Israelites who are here mentioned for the first time on an Egyptian monument; one might suppose that they had just quitted the land of slavery to begin their wanderings through the desert. Although the peoples of the sea and the Libyans did not succeed in reaching their settlements in the land of Goshen, the Israelites must have profited both by the disorder into which the Egyptians were thrown by the invaders, and by the consequent withdrawal to Memphis of the troops previously stationed on the east of the Delta, to break away from their servitude and cross the frontier. If, on the other hand, the Israilū of Minephtah are regarded as a tribe still dwelling among the mountains of Canaan, while the greater part of the race had emigrated to the banks of the Nile,[1] there is no need to seek long after Minephtah for a date suiting the circumstances of the Exodus. The years following the reign of Seti II. offer favourable conditions for such a dangerous enterprise: the break-up of the monarchy, the discords of the barons, the revolts among the captives, and the supremacy of a Semite over the other chiefs,[2] must have minimised the risk. We can readily understand how, in the midst of national disorders, a tribe of foreigners weary of its lot might escape from its settlements and betake itself towards Asia without meeting with strenuous opposition from the Pharaoh, who would naturally be too much preoccupied with his own pressing necessities to trouble himself much over the escape of a band of serfs.

Having crossed the Red Sea, the Israelites pursued their course to the north-east on the usual road leading into Syria, and then turning towards the south, at length arrived at Sinai. It was a moment when the nations of Asia were stirring. To proceed straight to Canaan by the beaten track would have been to run the risk of encountering their moving hordes, or of jostling against the Egyptian troops, who still garrisoned the strongholds of the Shephelah. The fugitives had, therefore, to shun the great military roads if they were to avoid coming into murderous conflict with the barbarians, or running into the teeth of Pharaoh's pursuing army. The desert offered an appropriate asylum to people of nomadic inclinations like themselves; they betook themselves to it as if by instinct, and spent there a wandering life for several generations.[3]

[1] This is the opinion adopted by Petrie, after mature consideration, in an article in which he has published on the *Triumphal Inscription* of Minephtah (*Egypt and Israel*, in the *Contemporary Review*, No. 365, pp. 625-627). [SPIEGELBERG, *Die erste Erwähnung Israels in einem Ægyptischen Texte*, in the *Sitzungsberichte d. K. Preussischen Akad. d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, xxv., gives no opinion, and Prof. SAYCE, *Academy*, July, 1896, disputes the view that the Israelites were in Palestine at the time.—Tr.]

[2] I have given my reasons for assigning the Exodus to this period in a *Lettre à M. G. Ebers sur les conditions de l'histoire d'Égypte, qui peuvent servir à expliquer l'histoire du peuple Hébreu*, in the *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1875, pp. 53-57. They have been accepted only by WIEDEMANN, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 483.

[3] This explanation of the wanderings of the Israelites has been doubted by most historians; it has a cogency, once we admit the reality of the sojourn in Egypt and the Exodus.

The Biblical narrative describes at length their marches and their halting-places, the great sufferings they endured, and the striking miracles which God performed on their behalf.[1] Moses conducted them through all these experiences, continually troubled by their murmurings and seditions, but always ready to help them out of the difficulties into which they were led, on every occasion, by their want of faith. He taught them, under God's direction, how to correct the bitterness of brackish waters by applying to them the wood of a certain tree.[2] When they began to look back with regret to the "fleshpots of Egypt" and the abundance of food there, another signal miracle was performed for them. "At even the quails came up and covered the camp, and in the morning the dew lay round about the host; and when the dew that lay was gone up, behold, upon the face of the wilderness there lay a small round thing, as small as the hoar frost on the ground. And when the children of Israel saw it, they said one to another, 'What is it?' for they wist not what it was. And Moses said unto them, 'It is the bread which the Lord hath given you to eat.'"[3] "And the house of Israel called the name thereof 'manna:' and it was like coriander seed, white; and the taste of it was like wafers made with honey."[4] "And the children of Israel did eat the manna forty years, until they came to a land inhabited; they did eat the manna until they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan."[5] Further on, at Rephidim, the water failed: Moses struck the rocks at Horeb, and a spring gushed out.[6] The Amalekites, in the mean time, began to oppose their passage; and one might naturally doubt the power of a rabble of slaves, unaccustomed to war, to break through such an obstacle. Joshua was made their general, "and Moses, Aaron, and Hur went up to the top of the hill: and it came to pass, when Moses held up his hand, that Israel prevailed, and when he let down his hand, Amalek prevailed. But Moses'

[1] The itinerary of the Hebrew people through the desert contains a very small number of names which were not actually in use. They represent possibly either the stations at which the caravans of the merchants put up, or the localities where the Bedawin and their herds were accustomed to sojourn. The majority of them cannot be identified, but enough can still be made out to give us a general idea of the march of the emigrants (RENAN, *L'Histoire Sainte et la Loi*, vol. ii. p. 279, n. 8, in connexion with *Numb.* xxxiii.).

[2] *Exod.* xv. 23–25. The station Marah, "the bitter waters," is identified by modern tradition with Ain Hawarah. For a similar way of rendering waters potable—still in use among the Bedawin of these regions—see F. DE LESSEPS, *L'Isthme de Suez*, p. 19.

[3] *Exod.* xvi. 13–15.

[4] *Exod.* xvi. 31. From early times the manna of the Hebrews has been identified with the mann-es-samâ, "the gift of heaven," of the Arabs, which exudes in small quantities from the leaves of the tamarisk after being pricked by insects; the question, however, is still under discussion whether another species of vegetable manna may not be meant.

[5] *Exod.* xvi. 35.

[6] *Exod.* xvii. 1–7. There is a general agreement as to the identification of Rephidim with the Wady Feîrân, the village of Pharan of the Græco-Roman geographers (EBERS, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 182, et seq.).

hands were heavy; and they took a stone, and put it under him, and he sat thereon; and Aaron and Hur stayed up his hands, the one on the one side, and the other on the other side, and his hands were steady until the going down of the sun. And Joshua discomfited Amalek and his people with the edge of the sword."[1] Three months after the departure of the Israelites from Egypt they encamped at the foot of Sinai, and "the Lord called unto Moses out of the mountain, saying, 'Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell the children of Israel: Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto Myself. Now therefore, if ye will obey My voice indeed, and keep My covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto Me from among all peoples: for all the earth is Mine: and ye shall be unto Me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation.' The people answered together and said, 'All that the Lord hath spoken we will do.' And the Lord said unto Moses, 'Lo, I come unto thee in a thick cloud, that the people may hear when I speak with thee, and may also believe thee for ever.'" "On the third day, when it was morning, there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of a trumpet exceeding loud; and all the people that were in the camp trembled. And Moses brought forth the people out of the camp to meet God; and they stood at the nether part of the mountain. And Mount Sinai was altogether on smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire: and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount quaked greatly. And when the voice of the trumpet waxed louder and louder, Moses spake, and God answered him by a voice."[2] Then followed the giving of the supreme law, the conditions of the covenant which the Lord Himself deigned to promulgate directly to His people. It was engraved on two tables of stone, and contained, in ten concise statements, the commandments which the Creator of the Universe imposed upon the people of His choice.

"I. I am Jahveh, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt. Thou shalt have none other gods before Me.

II. Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, etc.

III. Thou shalt not take the name of Jahveh thy God in vain.

IV. Remember the sabbath day to keep it holy.

V. Honour thy father and thy mother.

VI. Thou shalt do no murder.

VII. Thou shalt not commit adultery.

VIII. Thou shalt not steal.

[1] Exod. xvii. 8-13.

[2] Exod. xix. 3-6, 9, 16-19.

IX. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

X. Thou shalt not covet."[1]

"And all the people saw the thunderings, and the lightnings, and the voice of the trumpet, and the mountain smoking: and when the people saw it, they trembled, and stood afar off. And they said unto Moses, 'Speak thou with us, and we will hear: but let not God speak with us, lest we die.'"[2] God gave His commandments to Moses in instalments as the circumstances required them: on one occasion the rites of sacrifice, the details of the sacerdotal vestments, the mode of consecrating the priests, the composition of the oil and the incense for the altar; later on, the observance of the three annual festivals, and the orders as to absolute rest on the seventh day, as to the distinctions between clean and unclean animals, as to drink, as to the purification of women, and lawful and unlawful marriages.[3] The people waited from week to week until Jahveh had completed the revelation of His commands, and in their impatience broke the new law more than once. On one occasion, when "Moses delayed to come out of the mount," they believed themselves abandoned by heaven, and obliged Aaron, the high priest, to make for them a golden calf, before which they offered burnt offerings. The sojourn of the people at the foot of Sinai lasted eleven months. At the end of this period they set out once more on their slow marches to the Promised Land, guided during the day by a cloud, and during the night by a pillar of fire, which moved before them. This is a general summary of what we find in the sacred writings.

The Israelites, when they set out from Egypt, were not yet a nation.[4] They were but a confused horde, flying with their herds from their pursuers; with no resources, badly armed, and unfit to sustain the attack of regular troops. After leaving Sinai, they wandered for some time among the solitudes of Arabia Petræa in search of some uninhabited country where they could fix their tents, and at length settled on the borders of Idumæa, in the mountainous region surrounding Kadesh-Barnea.[5] Kadesh had from ancient times a reputation for

[1] We have two forms of the Decalogue—one in *Exod.* xx. 2–17, and the other in *Deut.* v. 6–18.

[2] *Exod.* xx. 18, 19.

[3] This legislation and the history of the circumstances in which it was promulgated are contained in four of the books of the Pentateuch, viz. *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, and *Deuteronomy*. Various works have appeared of late dealing with these books from a critical point of view. I confine myself here and afterwards only to such results as may fitly be used in a general history.

[4] A hasty reconstruction of the history of the Exodus was attempted by WELLHAUSEN, *Abriss der Geschichte Israels*, in the *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vol. i. pp. 6–14; and in a much more conservative fashion by RENAN, *Histoire du peuple d'Israël*, vol. i. pp. 165–210.

[5] The site of Kadesh-Barnea appears to have been fixed with certainty at Ain-Qadis by C. TRUMBULL, *A Visit to Ain Qadis, the supposed Site of Kadesh-Barnea*, in the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1881, pp. 208–212.

sanctity among the Bedawin of the neighbourhood: it rejoiced in the possession of a wonderful well—the Well of Judgment—to which visits were made for the purpose of worship, and for obtaining the "judgment" of God.[1] The country is a poor one, arid and burnt up, but it contains wells which never fail, and wadys suitable for the culture of wheat and for the rearing of cattle. The tribe which became possessed of a region in which there was a perennial supply of water was fortunate indeed, and a fragment of the psalmody of Israel at the time of their sojourn here still echoes in a measure the transports of joy which the people gave way to at the discovery of a new spring: "Spring up, O well; sing ye unto it: the well which the princes digged, which the nobles of the people delved with the sceptre and with their staves."[2] The wanderers took possession of this region after some successful brushes with the enemy, and settled there, without being further troubled by their neighbours or by their former masters. The Egyptians, indeed, absorbed in their civil discords, or in wars with foreign nations, soon forgot their escaped slaves, and never troubled themselves for centuries over what had become of the poor wretches, until in the reign of the Ptolemies, when they had learned from the Bible something of the people of God, they began to seek in their own annals for traces of their sojourn in Egypt and of their departure from the country. A new version of the Exodus was the result, in which Hebrew tradition was clumsily blended with the materials of a semi-historical romance, of which Amenôthes III. was the hero. His minister and namesake, Amenôthes, son of Hâpû, left ineffaceable impressions on the minds of the inhabitants of Thebes: he not only erected the colossal figures in the Amenophium, but he constructed the chapel at Deir el-Medineh, which was afterwards restored in Ptolemaic times, and where he continued to be worshipped as long as the Egyptian religion lasted.[3] Profound knowledge of the mysteries of magic were attributed to him, as in later times to Prince Khâmoîsît, son of Ramses II.[4] On this subject he wrote certain works which maintained their reputation for

[1] *Gen.* xiv. 7 mentions this "Well of Judgment, *En-Mishpat*,—which is Kadesh." S. Jerome, however, *Onomasticon*, s.v. *Fontes Judicii*, distinguishes En-Mishpat from Kadesh-Barnea, and places the former in a locality which he calls Beer-dan, in the valley of Gerar.

[2] *Numb.* xxi. 17, 18. The context makes it certain that this song was sung at Beer, beyond the Arnon, in the land of Moab. It has long been recognised that it had a special reference, and that it refers to an incident in the wanderings of the people through the desert.

[3] With regard to Amenôthes, son of Hâpû, see pp. 299, 301 of the present work. On the worship given to him in the temple of Deir el-Medineh, cf. Erman, *Amenophis, Sohn des Paapis*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1877, pp. 147, 148. The stele of its foundation is in the British Museum, and a translation was made of it by Birch (cf. Chabas, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 2nd series, pp. 324–343).

[4] See, for a notice of Khâmoîsît—son of Ramses II. and Regent of Egypt during part of his father's reign—and of his knowledge of magic, pp. 424, 425 of the present work.

more than a thousand years after his death,[1] and all that was known about him marked him out for the important part he came to play in those romantic stories so popular among the Egyptians. The Pharaoh in whose good graces he lived had a desire, we are informed, to behold the gods, after the example of his ancestor Horus.[2] The son of Hâpû, or Pa-Apis, informed him that he could not succeed in his design until he had expelled from the country all the lepers and unclean persons who contaminated it. Acting on this information, he brought together all those who suffered from physical defects, and confined them, to the number of eighty thousand, in the quarries of Tûrah. There were priests among them, and the gods became wrathful at the treatment to which their servants were exposed; the soothsayer, therefore, fearing the divine anger, predicted that certain people would shortly arise who, forming an alliance with the Unclean, would, together with them, hold sway in Egypt for thirteen years. He then committed suicide, but the king nevertheless had compassion on the outcasts, and granted to them, for their exclusive use, the town of Avaris, which had been deserted since the time of Âhmosis. The outcasts formed themselves into a nation under the rule of a Heliopolitan priest called Osarsyph, or Moses, who gave them laws, mobilised them, and joined his forces with the descendants of the Shepherds at Jerusalem. The Pharaoh Amenôphis, taken by surprise at this revolt, and remembering the words of his minister Amenôthes, took flight into Ethiopia. The shepherds, in league with the Unclean, burned the towns, sacked the temples, and broke in pieces the statues of the gods: they forced the Egyptian priests to slaughter even their sacred animals, to cut them up and cook them for their foes, who ate them derisively in their accustomed feasts. Amenôphis returned from Ethiopia, together with his son Ramses, at the end of thirteen years, defeated the enemy, driving them back into Syria, where the remainder of them became later on the Jewish nation.[3]

[1] One of these books, which is mentioned in several religious texts, is preserved in the Louvre Papyrus, No. 3248; cf. Maspero, *Mémoire sur quelques Papyrus du Louvre*, pp. 23, 58, 59.

[2] Manetho, in Müller-Didot, *Fragmenta Hist. Græcorum*, vol. ii. pp. 578–581; cf. the analogous narratives by Alexandrine writers collected by T. Reinach, *Textes d'auteurs Grecs et Romains relatifs au Judaïsme*, pp. 18–20, 37, 113–120, 125–128, 253, 254, 303, 304. The chief features of the story are taken from the persecution of Khûniatonu, of which there was a lively remembrance in the time of Manetho.

[3] A list of the Pharaohs after Aï, as far as it is possible to make them out, is here given:

Zosirkhoprurî-sotpunrî Harmhabî Miamon.	Banrî Miamon Minephtah Hotpuhimâît.
Manpehtirî Ramsisu I.	Ousirkhopirurî Miamon Sîti II. Minephtah.
Manmâîrî Sîti I. Miamon.	Manmîrî-sotpunrî Amenmesis Haqûîsît.
Usirmârî Ramsisu II. Miamon.	Khûnirî-sotpunrî Siphtah Minephtah.

Harmhabî himself belonged to the XVIIIth dynasty, for he modelled the form of his cartouches on those of the Ahmesside Pharaohs: the XIXth dynasty began only, in all probability, with Ramses I., but the course of the history has compelled me to separate Harmhabî from his predecessors. Not knowing the length of the reigns, we cannot determine the total duration of the dynasty: we shall not, however, be far wrong in assigning to it a length of 150 years or thereabouts, *i.e.* from 1350 to somewhere near 1200 B.C.

This is but a romance, in which a very little history is mingled with a great deal of fable: the scribes as well as the people were acquainted with the fact that Egypt had been in danger of dissolution at the time when the Hebrews left the banks of the Nile, but they were ignorant of the details, of the precise date and of the name of the reigning Pharaoh. A certain similarity in sound suggested to them the idea of assimilating the prince whom the Chroniclers called Menepthes or Amenepthes with Amenôthes, *i.e.* Ammophis III.; and they gave to the Pharaoh of the XIXth dynasty the minister who had served under a king of the XVIIIth: they metamorphosed at the same time the Hebrews into lepers allied with the Shepherds. From this strange combination there resulted a narrative which at once fell in with the tastes of the lovers of the marvellous, and was a sufficient substitute for the truth which had long since been forgotten. As in the case of the Egyptians of the Greek period, we can see only through a fog what took place after the deaths of Minephtah and Seti II. We know only for certain that the chiefs of the nomes were in perpetual strife with each other, and that a foreign power was dominant in the country as in the time of Apôphis. The days of the empire would have been numbered if a deliverer had not promptly made his appearance. The direct line of Ramses II. was extinct, but his innumerable sons by innumerable concubines had left a posterity out of which some at least might have the requisite ability and zeal, if not to save the empire, at least to lengthen its duration, and once more give to Thebes days of glorious prosperity. Egypt had set out some five centuries before this for the conquest of the world, and fortune had at first smiled upon her enterprise. Thûtmosis I., Thûtmosis III., and the several Pharaohs bearing the name of Amenôthes had marched with their armies from the upper waters of the Nile to the banks of the Euphrates, and no power had been able to withstand them. New nations, however, soon rose up to oppose her, and the Hittites in Asia and the Libyans of the Sahara together curbed her ambition. Neither the triumphs of Ramses II. nor the victory of Minephtah had been able to restore her prestige, or the lands of which her rivals had robbed her beyond her ancient frontier. Now her own territory itself was threatened, and her own well-being was in question; she was compelled to consider, not how to rule other tribes, great or small, but how to keep her own possessions intact and independent: in short, her very existence was at stake.





THE CLOSE OF THE THEBAN EMPIRE.

RAMSES III.—THE THEBAN CITY UNDER THE RAMESSIDES—MANNERS AND CUSTOMS—POPULATION—THE PREDOMINANCE OF AMON AND HIS HIGH PRIESTS.

Nakhtsît and Ramses III.: the decline of the military spirit in Egypt—The reorganisation of the army and fleet by Ramses—The second Libyan invasion—The Asiatic peoples, the Pulasati, the Zakkala, and the Tyrseni: their invasions into Syria and their defeat—The campaign of the year XI. and the fall of the Libyan kingdom—Cruising on the Red Sea—The buildings at Medinet-Habu—The conspiracy of Pentaûirît—The mummy of Ramses III.

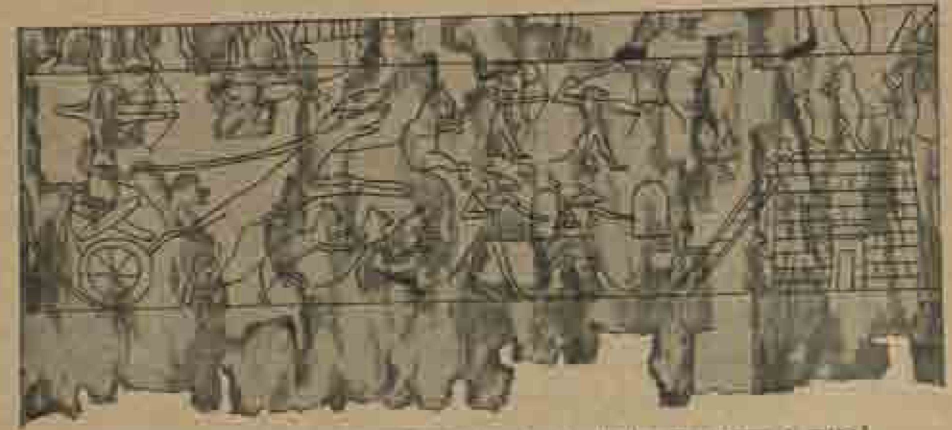
The sons and immediate successors of Ramses III.—Thebes and the Egyptian population: the transformation of the people and of the great lords: the feudal system from being military becomes religious—The wealth of precious metals, jewellery, furniture, costume—Literary education, and the influence of the Semitic language on the Egyptian: romantic stories, the historical novel, fables, adventures and satires, collections of maxims and moral dialogues, love-poems.

The Theban necropolis: funerals—The funeral of a rich Theban: the procession of the offerings and the funerary furniture, the crossing of the Nile, the tomb, the farewell to the dead, the sacrifice, the defunct, the repast of the dead, the song of the Harper—The common ditch—The living inhabitants of the necropolis: draughtsmen, sculptors, painters—The low-

reliefs of the temples and the tombs, wooden statuettes, the smelting of metals, bronze—The religious of the necropolis; the immorality and want of discipline among the people; workmen's strikes.

Amon and the beliefs concerning him: his kingdom over the living and the dead, the soul's destiny according to the teaching of Amon—Khonsu and his temple: the temple of Amon at Karnak, its revenues, its priesthood—The growing influence of the high priests of Amon under the sons of Ramses III.: Ramsesnakhiti, Amenôthes; the violation of the royal burying-places—Hrihor and the last of the Ramses, Smendes and the accession to power of the XXIst dynasty; the division of Egypt into two States—The priest-kings of Amon masters of Thebes under the suzerainty of the Tanite Pharaohs—The close of the Theban empire.





THE BATTLE OF THE RATS AND THE CATS, A PARODY OF THE EGYPTIAN WARS.[1]

CHAPTER V.

THE CLOSE OF THE THEBAN EMPIRE.

Ramses III.—The Theban city under the Ramessides—Manners and customs—Population—The predominance of Amon and his high priests.

AS in a former crisis, Egypt once more owed her salvation to a scion of the old Theban race. A descendant of Seti I. or Ramses II., named Nakhtûsit, rallied round him the forces of the southern nomes, and succeeded, though not without difficulty, in dispossessing the Syrian Arisû. "When he arose, he was like Sûtkhû, providing for all the necessities of the country which, for feebleness, could not stand, killing the rebels which were in the Delta, purifying the great throne of Egypt; he was regent of the two lands in the place of Tûmû, setting himself to reorganise that which had been overthrown, to such good purpose, that each one recognised as brethren those who had been separated from him as by a wall for so long a time, strengthening the temples by pious gifts, so that the traditional rites could be celebrated at the divine cycles."[2] Many were the difficulties that he had to encounter before he could restore to his country

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a facsimile in Lepsius, *Auswahl, etc.*, pl. xxiii. a. The vignette, executed by Faucher-Gudin from a photograph by Lanzone, represents a functionary of the Theban necropolis named Panbûi—"servant of the True Place"—whose wooden statuette is preserved in the Turin Museum (Maspero, *Rapport sur une mission en Italie*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ii. p. 176, No. xxxi., and vol. iii. pp. 111, 112).

[2] *The Great Harris Papyrus*, pl. 75, ll. 6–10; cf. Eisenlohr, *On the Political Condition of Egypt*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. i. pp. 363, 364; Chabas, *Recherches pour servir à*

that peace and wealth which she had enjoyed under the long reign of Sesostris. It seems probable that his advancing years made him feel unequal to the task, or that he desired to guard against the possibility of disturbances in the event of his sudden death; at all events, he associated with himself on the throne his eldest son Ramses—not, however, as a Pharaoh who had full rights to the crown, like the coadjutors of the Amenemhâîts and Usirtasens, but as a prince invested with extraordinary powers, after the example of the sons of the Pharaohs Thûtmosis and Seti I. Ramses recalls with pride, towards the close of his life, how his father "had promoted him to the dignity of heir-presumptive to the throne of Sibû," and how he had been acclaimed as "the supreme head of Qimît for the administration of the whole earth united together."[1] This constituted the rise of a new dynasty on the ruins of the old—the last, however, which was able to retain the supremacy of Egypt over the Oriental world.

We are unable to ascertain how long this double reign lasted. Nakhtûsît, fully occupied by enemies within the country, had no leisure either to build or to restore any monuments;[2] on his death, as no tomb had been prepared for him, his mummy was buried in that of the usurper Siphtah and the Queen Tausirît.[3] He was soon forgotten, and but few traces of his services survived him; his name was subsequently removed from the official list of the kings, while others not so deserving as he—as, for instance, Siphtah-Minephtah and Amenmesis—were honourably inscribed in it.[4] The memory of his son overshadowed his own, and the series of the legitimate kings who formed the XX[th] dynasty did not include him. Ramses III. took for his hero his namesake, Ramses the Great, and endeavoured to rival him in everything. This spirit of imitation was at times the means of leading him to commit somewhat puerile acts, as, for example, when he copied certain triumphal inscriptions word for word,

l'histoire de la XIX[e] dynastie, pp. 25–27; Eisenlohr-Birch, *The Annals of Rameses III.*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. viii. pp. 46, 47. The exact relationship between Nakhtûsît and Ramses II. is not known; he was probably the grandson or great-grandson of that sovereign, though Ed. Meyer thinks he was perhaps the son of Seti II. (*Gesch. des Alten Ægyptens*, p. 310). The name should be read either Nakhtsît, with the singular of the first word composing it, or Nakhîtsît, Nakhtûsît, with the plural, as in the analogous name of the king of the XXX[th] dynasty, Nectanebo.

[1] *The Great Harris Papyrus*, pl. 75, ll. 10–76, l. 1; the only certain monument that we as yet possess of this double reign is a large stele cut on the rock behind Medinet-Habu (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 206 *d*).

[2] Wiedemann (*Ægyptische Gesch.*, p. 490) attributes to him the construction of one of the doors of the temple of Mût at Karnak; it would appear that there is a confusion in his notes between the prenomen of this sovereign and that of Seti II., who actually did decorate one of the doorways of that temple (Champollion, *Mon. de l'Égypte*, etc., vol. ii. p. 263). Nakhtûsît must have also worked on the temple of Phtah at Memphis (Wiedemann, *Ægyptische Gesch.*, p. 490). His cartouche is met with on a statue originally dedicated by a Pharaoh of the XII[th] dynasty, discovered at Tell-Nebesheh (Petrie, *Tanis II. Tell-Nebesheh*, pp. 11, 20, 31, pl. x. 6 *b*).

[3] Champollion, *Mon. de l'Égypte*, etc., vol. i. pp. 418, 439, 496–498; cf. Lefébure, *Les Hypogées royaux de Thèbes*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission du Caire*, vol. ii. pt. 1, pp. 123–145, and pls. 62–68. For further details, cf. the bibliographical information given on p. 433, note 5, of this volume.

[4] Maspero, *Lettre à M. Gustave d'Eichthal sur les circonstances de l'Histoire d'Égypte*, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1872, pp. 54–55.

merely changing the dates and the cartouches,[1] or when he assumed the prenomen of Usirmârî, and distributed among his male children the names and dignities of the sons of Sesostris. We see, moreover, at his court another high priest of Phtah at Memphis bearing the name of Khâmoîsît, and Maritûmû, another supreme pontiff of Râ in Heliopolis.[2] However, this ambition to resemble his ancestor at once instigated him to noble deeds, and gave him the necessary determination to accomplish them. He began by restoring order in the administration of affairs; "he established truth, crushed error, purified the temple from all crime,"[3] and made his authority felt not only in the length and breadth of the Nile valley, but in what was still left of the Asiatic provinces. The disturbances of the preceding years had weakened the prestige of Amon-Râ, and the king's supremacy would have been seriously endangered, had any one arisen in Syria of sufficient energy to take advantage of the existing state of affairs.



NAKHTÛSIT.

But since the death of Khâtusaru, the power of the Khâti had considerably declined, and they retained their position merely through their former prestige; they were in as much need of peace, or even more so, than the Egyptians, for the same discords which had harassed the reigns of Seti II. and his successors had doubtless brought trouble to their own sovereigns. They had made no serious efforts to extend their dominion over any of those countries which had been the objects of the cupidity of their forefathers, while the peoples of Kharû and Phœnicia, thrown back on their own resources, had not ventured to take up arms against the Pharaoh. The yoke lay lightly upon them, and in no way hampered their internal liberty; they governed as they liked, they exchanged one prince or chief for another, they waged petty wars as of old, without, as a rule, exposing themselves to interference from the Egyptian troops occupying the country, or from the "royal messengers." These vassal provinces

[1] Thus the great decree of Phtah-Totunen, carved by Ramses II. in the year XXXV. on the rocks of Abu Simbel (cf. p. 409 of this volume), was copied by Ramses III. at Medinet-Habu in the year XII. (Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, vol. i. pls. vii.–x.; E. and J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiées en Égypte*, pls. cxxxi.–cxxxviii.; cf. Brugsch, *Gesch. Ægyptens*, pp. 539-540, and Ed. Naville, *Le Décret de Phtah Totunen en faveur de Ramsès II. et de Ramsès III.*, in the *Transactions* of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. vii. pp. 119-138).

[2] Erman, *Die Söhne Ramses III.*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1883, pp. 60, 61, whose conclusions have been accepted by most recent Egyptologists.

[3] Historical stele broken during the Roman period, the fragments of which are now built into the quay at Elephantinê (E. and J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiées en Égypte*, pl. cclviii. ll. 2, 7; cf. J. de Morgan, *De la Frontière de Nubie à Kom-Ombos*, p. 119).

had probably ceased to pay tribute, or had done so irregularly, during the years of anarchy following the death of Siphtah, but they had taken no concerted action, nor attempted any revolt, so that when Ramses III. ascended the throne he was spared the trouble of reconquering them. He had merely to claim allegiance to have it at once rendered him—an allegiance which included the populations in the neighbourhood of Qodshû and on the banks of the Nahr el-Kelb.[1] The empire, which had threatened to fall to pieces amid the civil wars, and which would indeed have succumbed had they continued a few years longer, again revived now that an energetic prince had been found to resume the direction of affairs, and to weld together those elements which had been on the point of disintegration.[2]

One state alone appeared to regret the revival of the Imperial power; this was the kingdom of Libya. It had continued to increase in size since the days of Minephtah, and its population had been swelled by the annexation of several strange tribes inhabiting the vast area of the Sahara. One of these, the Mashauasha, acquired the ascendency among these desert races owing to their numbers and valour, and together with the other tribes—the Sabati, the Kaiakasha, the Shaiû, the Hasa, the Bikana, and the Qahaka[3]—formed a confederacy, which now threatened Egypt on the west. This federation was conducted by Didi, Mashakanû, and Máraiû, all children of that Máraiû who had led the first Libyan invasion, and also by Zamarû and Zaûtmarû, two princes of less important tribes.[4] Their combined forces had attacked Egypt for the second time during the years of anarchy, and had gained possession one after another of all the towns in the west of the Delta, from the neighbourhood of Memphis to the town of Qarbina: the Canopic branch of the Nile now formed the limit of their dominion, and they often crossed it to devastate the central provinces.[5] Nakhtusiti had been unable

[1] To W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 276, is due the merit of having pointed out, in opposition to the general opinion, the fact that Ramses III. had not to reconquer the Asiatic provinces.

[2] The general outline of the reign is furnished in the discourse of Ramses III. himself in the *Great Harris Papyrus*, Birch's edit., pls. 75–79; cf. Eisenlohr, *Der Grosse Papyrus Harris*, pp. 27–38, and particularly Chabas, *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de la XIXe dynastie*, pp. 6–71.

[3] This enumeration is furnished by the summary of the campaigns of Ramses III. in *The Great Harris Papyrus*, Birch's edit., pl. 77, ll. 2, 3; cf. Chabas, *Recherches*, etc., pp. 54–59; and Eisenlohr-Birch, *The Annals of Ramses III.*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. viii. p. 48. The Sabati of this text are probably identical with the people of the Sapudiu or Spudi (Asbytæ), mentioned on one of the pylons of Medinet-Habu.

[4] Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, vol. ii. pl. xlvii. l. 47. The relationship is nowhere stated, but it is thought to be probable from the names of Didi and Máraiû, repeated in both series of inscriptions. [For the first Libyan invasion, see *supra*, pp. 132, 133.—Tr.]

[5] *The Great Harris Papyrus*, pl. 77, ll. 1, 2. The town of Qarbina has been identified with the Canopus of the Greeks, and also with the modern Korbanî, by Brugsch, *Dictionnaire Géogr.*, pp. 834, 856, 1340–1342; and the district of Gautu, which adjoined it, with the territory of the modern town of Edkû (*Dict. Géogr.*, pp. 819–823, 1340–1342). Spiegelberg (*Das Geschäftsjournal eines Ægyptischen Beamten*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiii. p. 160) throws doubt on the identification of Qarbu or

to drive them out, and Ramses had not ventured on the task immediately after his accession. The military institutions of the country had become totally disorganised after the death of Minephtah, and that part of the community responsible for furnishing the army with recruits had been so weakened by the late troubles, that they were in a worse condition than before the first Libyan invasion. The losses they had suffered since Egypt began its foreign conquests had not been repaired by the introduction of fresh elements, and the hope of spoil was now insufficient to induce members of the upper classes to enter the army. There was no difficulty in filling the ranks from the fellahin, but the middle class and the aristocracy, accustomed to ease and wealth, no longer came forward in large numbers, and disdained the military profession. It was the fashion in the schools to contrast the calling of a scribe with that of a foot-soldier or a charioteer, and to make as merry over the discomforts of a military occupation as it had formerly been the fashion to extol its glory and profitableness. These scholastic exercises represented the future officer dragged as a child to the barracks, "the side-lock over his ear.—He is beaten and his sides are covered with scars,—he is beaten and his two eyebrows are marked with wounds,—he is beaten and his head is broken by a badly aimed blow;—he is stretched on the ground" for the slightest fault, "and blows fall on him as on a papyrus,—and he is broken by the stick." His education finished, he is sent away to a distance, to Syria or Ethiopia, and fresh troubles overtake him. "His victuals and his supply of water are about his neck like the burden of an ass,—and his neck and throat suffer like those of an ass,—so that the joints of his spine are broken.—He drinks putrid water, keeping perpetual guard the while." His fatigues soon tell upon his health and vigour: "Should he reach the enemy,—he is like a bird which trembles.—Should he return to Egypt,—he is like a piece of old worm-eaten wood.—He is sick and must lie down, he is carried on an ass,—while thieves steal his linen,—and his slaves escape."[1] The charioteer is not spared either. He, doubtless, has a moment of vain-glory and of flattered vanity when he receives, according to regulations, a new chariot and two horses, with which he drives at a gallop before his parents and his fellow-villagers; but once having joined his regiment, he is perhaps worse off than the foot-soldier. "He is thrown to the ground among thorns:—a scorpion wounds him in the foot, and his heel is pierced by its sting.—When his kit is examined,—

Qarbîna, with Canopus. Revillout (*Quelques Textes traduits à mes cours*, p. xix. note 2) prefers to connect Qarbîna with Hamsîangeli Farm in Lower Egypt.

[1] *Anastasi Papyrus III.*, pl. v. l. 5–pl. vi. l. 2, and *Anastasi Papyrus IV.*, pl. ix. l. 4–pl. x. l. 1; cf. E. de Rougé, *Discours d'ouverture*, pp. 34, 35; Maspero, *Du Genre Épistolaire chez les anciens Égyptiens*, pp. 41, 42; Erman, *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben*, p. 722. For another piece of a similar tendency, cf. Erman, *Hieratische Ostraka*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1880, pp. 96, 97.

his misery is at its height." No sooner has the fact been notified that his arms are in a bad condition, or that some article has disappeared, than "he is stretched on the ground—and overpowered with blows from a stick."[1] This decline of the warlike spirit in all classes of society had entailed serious modifications in the organisation of both army and navy. The native element no longer predominated in most battalions and on the majority of vessels, as it had done under the XVIII[th] dynasty; it still furnished those formidable companies of archers—the terror of both Africans and Asiatics—and also the most important part, if not the whole, of the chariotry, but the main body of the infantry was composed almost exclusively of mercenaries, particularly of the Shardana and the Qahaka. Ramses began his reforms by rebuilding the fleet, which, in a country like Egypt, was always an artificial creation, liable to fall into decay, unless a strong and persistent effort were made to keep it in an efficient condition. Shipbuilding had made considerable progress in the last few centuries, perhaps from the impulse received through Phœnicia, and the vessels turned out of the dockyards were far superior to those constructed under Hâtshopsîtû.[2] The general outlines of the hull remained the same, but the stem and stern were finer, and not so high out of the water; the bow ended, moreover, in a lion's head of metal, which rose above the cut-water. A wooden structure running between the forecastle and quarter-deck protected the rowers during the fight, their heads alone being exposed. The mast had only one curved yard, to which the sail was fastened; this was run up from the deck by halyards when the sailors wanted to make sail, and thus differed from the Egyptian arrangement, where the sail was fastened to a fixed upper yard.[3] At least half of the crews consisted of Libyan prisoners, who were branded with a hot iron like cattle, to prevent desertion;[4] the remaining half was drawn from the Syrian or Asiatic coast, or else were natives of Egypt. In order to bring the army into better condition, Ramses revived the system of classes, which empowered him to compel all Egyptians of unmixed race to take personal service, while he hired mercenaries from Libya, Phœnicia, Asia Minor, and wherever he could get them, and divided them into regular regiments, according to their extraction and the

[1] *Anastasi Papyrus III.*, pl. vi. l. 10; cf. Maspero, *Du Genre Épistolaire chez les anciens Égyptiens de l'époque pharaonique*, pp. 12, 45; and Erman, *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben*, pp. 721, 722.

[2] See the description and representation of the vessels launched by Queen Hâtshopsîtû on the Red Sea, on pp. 197–199.

[3] These facts are deduced from a careful examination of the Egyptian vessels represented at Medinet-Habu (Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. ccxxii.; Rosellini, *Monumenti storici*, pl. cxxxi., and vol. iv. pp. 26, 27; Mariette, *Voyage dans la Haute Égypte*, vol. ii. pl. 55). The picture representing them is reproduced further on, on p. 469.

[4] *The Great Harris Papyrus*, pl. 77, ll. 5, 6; cf. Chabas, *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de la XIX[e] dynastie*, pp. 32, 36; Eisenlohr-Birch, *The Annals of Rameses III.*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. viii. pp. 48, 49; and for the brand of the redhot iron, Brugsch, *Abu*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1876, pp. 35–38.

arms that they bore.[1] In the field, the archers always headed the column, to meet the advance of the foe with their arrows; they were followed by the Egyptian lancers—the Shardana and the Tyrseni with their short spears and heavy bronze swords—while a corps of veterans, armed with heavy maces, brought up the rear.[2] In an engagement, these various troops formed three lines of infantry disposed one behind the other—the light brigade in front to engage the adversary, the swordsmen and lancers who were to come into close quarters with the foe, and the mace-bearers in reserve, ready to advance on any threatened point, or to await the critical moment when their intervention would decide the victory: as in the times of Thûtmosis and Ramses II., the chariotry covered the two wings.

It was well for Ramses that on ascending the throne he had devoted himself to the task of recruiting the Egyptian army, and of personally and carefully superintending the instruction and equipment of his men; for it was thanks to these precautions that, when the confederated Libyans attacked the country about the V[th] year of his reign, he was enabled to repulse them with complete success.[3] "Didi, Mashakanû, Maraîû, together with Zamarû and Zaûtmarû, had strongly urged them to attack Egypt and to carry fire before them from one end of it to the other."[4]—"Their warriors confided to each other in their counsels, and their hearts were full: 'We will be drunk!' and their princes said within their breasts: 'We will fill our hearts with violence!' But their plans were overthrown, thwarted, broken against the heart of the god, and the prayer of their chief, which their lips repeated, was not granted by the god."[5] They met the Egyptians at a place called "Ramsisû-Khasû-Timihû" ("Ramses

[1] The Great Harris Papyrus, pl. 76, ll. 5, 6. Chabas (Recherches pour servir à l'Histoire de la XIXe dynastie, pp. 25–30) thinks that the question here is that of the civil reorganisation of Egypt and institution of castes (cf. WIEDEMANN, Ægyptische Gesch., p. 505); the word Zaüau, which he translates "family" or "caste," signifies "generations," i.e. the "classes" of the population submitted to the military regulations, as stated on p. 212, note 2, of this volume (cf. MASPERO, Rapport sur une Mission en Italie, in the Recueil de Travaux, vol. iv. pp. 130, 131, and Études de Mythologie, etc., vol. i. p. 36, note 2; BRUGSCH, Die Ægyptologie, pp. 235, 236).

[2] This is the order of march represented during the Syrian campaign (CHAMPOLLION, Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie, pls. ccxvii.–ccxxi.; ROSELLINI, Monumenti Storici, pls. cxxvi., cxxix.–cxxx.), as gathered from the arrangement observed in the pictures at Medinet-Habu.

[3] The two Libyan campaigns are confounded in the summary of the Great Harris Papyrus, pl. 76, ll. 11–77, l. 6; cf. EISENLOHR-BIRCH, The Annals of Ramses III., in the Records of the Past, 1st series, vol. viii. pp. 48, 49. Chabas disentangled the events belonging to each in Études sur l'Antiquité historique, 1st edit., pp. 229–231, and Recherches pour servir à l'Histoire de la XIXe dynastie, pp. 32, 36. The texts of Medinet-Habu relating to the campaign of the year V. were published by Burton (Excerpta Hieroglyphica, pls. xliii.–xlv.), by Champollion (Mon. de l'Égypte et de la Nubie, pls. ccv.–ccviii.), by Rosellini (Mon. Storici, pls. cxxx.–cxxxii., cxxxv.–cxxxvii., cxxxix.–cxlii.), and by Dümichen (Historische Inschriften, vol. ii. pl. xlvi. et seq.); they were translated first by Rosellini (Mon. Storici, vol. iv. pp. 82–91) and then by Chabas (Études sur l'Antiquité Historique, 2nd edit., pp. 233–235). Bas-reliefs representing certain episodes are still unpublished; they were brought to light during the excavations made at Medinet-Habu by Mons. Daressy.

[4] DÜMICHEN, Historische Inschriften, vol. ii. pl. xlvi. a, ll. 47, 48.

[5] DÜMICHEN, ibid., vol. ii. pl. xlvi. a, ll. 27, 28.

repulses the Timihû"[1], but their attack was broken by the latter, who were ably led and displayed considerable valour. "They bleated like goats surprised by a bull who stamps its foot, who pushes forward its horn and shakes the mountains, charging whoever seeks to annoy it."[2] They fled afar, howling with fear, and many of them, in endeavouring to escape their pursuers, perished in the canals. "It is, said they, the breaking of our spines which threatens us in the land of Egypt, and its lord destroys our souls for ever and ever. Woe be upon them! for they have seen their dances changed into carnage, Sokhit is behind them, fear weighs upon them. 'We march no longer upon roads where we can walk, but we run across fields, all the fields! And their soldiers did not even need to measure arms with us in the struggle! Pharaoh alone was our destruction, a fire against us every time that he willed it, and no sooner did we approach than the flame curled round us, and no water could quench it on us.'"[3] The victory was a brilliant one; the victors counted 12,535 of the enemy killed,[4] and many more who surrendered at discretion. The latter were formed into a brigade, and were distributed throughout the valley of the Nile in military settlements.[5] They submitted to their fate with that resignation which we know to have been a characteristic of the vanquished at that date. They regarded their defeat as a judgment from God against which there was no appeal; when their fate had been once pronounced, nothing remained to the condemned except to submit to it humbly, and to accommodate themselves to the master to whom they were now bound by a decree from on high. The prisoners of one day became on the next the devoted soldiers of the prince against whom they had formerly fought resolutely, and they were employed against their own tribes, their employers having no fear of their deserting to the other side during the engagement. They were lodged in the barracks at Thebes, or in the provinces under the feudal lords and governors of the Pharaoh, and were encouraged to retain their savage customs and warlike spirit. They intermarried either with the fellahîn or with women of their own tribes, and were reinforced at intervals by fresh prisoners or volunteers. Drafted principally into the Delta and the cities of Middle Egypt, they thus ended by constituting a

[1] Brugsch, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 597. Unpublished bas-reliefs at Medinet-Habu.

[2] Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, vol. ii. pl. xlvi. a, l. 32.

[3] Dümichen, *ibid.*, vol. ii. pl. xlvi. a, ll. 42-45.

[4] The number of the dead is calculated from that of the hands and phalli brought in by the soldiers after the victory, the heaps of which are represented at Medinet-Habu (Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. ccxxiv.; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cxxxv.; cf. the vignette which reproduces this scene on p. 227 of this volume).

[5] *The Great Harris Papyrus*, pl. 77, ll. 3, 6; cf. Chabas, *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte*, pp. 22, 50, and Eisenlohr-Birch, *The Annals of Rameses III.*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. viii. p. 49.

semi-foreign population, destined by nature and training to the calling of arms, and forming a sort of warrior caste, differing widely from the militia of former times, and known for many generations by their national name of Mashaûasha. As early as the XII[th] dynasty, the Pharaohs had, in a similar way, imported the Mazaiû from Nubia and had used them as a military police;[1] Ramses III. now resolved to naturalise the Libyans for much the same purpose. His victory did not bear the immediate fruits that we might have expected from his own account of it; the memory of the exploits of Ramses II. haunted him, and, stimulated by the example of his ancestor at Qodshû,[2] he doubtless desired to have the sole credit of the victory over the Libyans. He certainly did overcome their kings, and arrested their invasion; we may go so far as to allow that he wrested from them the provinces which they had occupied on the left bank of the Canopic branch, from Marea to the Natron Lakes, but he did not conquer them, and their power still remained as formidable as ever. He had gained a respite at the point of the sword, but he had not delivered Egypt from their future attacks.



ONE OF THE LIBYAN CHIEFS VANQUISHED BY RAMSES III.[3]

He might perhaps have been tempted to follow up his success and assume the offensive, had not affairs in Asia at this juncture demanded the whole of his attention. The movement of great masses of European tribes in a southerly and easterly direction was beginning to be felt by the inhabitants of the Balkans, who were forced to set out in a double stream of emigration—one crossing the Bosphorus and the Propontis towards the centre of Asia Minor, while the other made for what was later known as Greece Proper, by way of the passes over Olympus and Pindus. The nations who had hitherto inhabited these regions, now found themselves thrust forward by the pressure of invading hordes, and were constrained to move towards the south and east by every avenue which presented itself. It was probably the irruption of the Phrygians into the high table-land which gave rise to the general exodus of these various

[1] Cf. what is said of the Mazaiû and their functions in the *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 306, note 5.

[2] This pretension is particularly striking on line 44 of the text above quoted (p. 460), where the Libyans exclaim that the Egyptian soldiers "did not even fight against them in the struggle; Pharaoh was their destruction." Cf. pp. 296–298 of the present volume.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pls. cct. 3, cctt. 1, ccxxiii. 2, ccxxiv. 2; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cli., No. 27; and LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 209, 209.

nations[1]—the Pulasati, the Zakkala, the Shagalasha, the Danauna, and the Uashasha—some of whom had already made their way into Syria and taken part in campaigns there, while others had as yet never measured strength with the Egyptians. The main body of these migrating tribes chose the overland route, keeping within easy distance of the coast, from Pamphylia as far as the confines of Naharaim. They were accompanied by their families, who must have been mercilessly jolted in the ox-drawn square waggons with solid wheels



THE WAGGONS OF THE PULASATI AND THEIR CONFEDERATES.[2]

in which they travelled. The body of the vehicle was built either of roughly squared planks, or else of something resembling wicker-work. The round axletree was kept in its place by means of a rude pin, and four oxen were harnessed abreast to the whole structure. The children wore no clothes, and had, for the most part, their hair tied into a tuft on the top of their heads; the women affected a closely fitting cap, and were wrapped in large blue or red garments drawn close to the body.[3] The men's attire varied according to the tribe to which they belonged. The Pulasati undoubtedly held the chief place; they were both soldiers and sailors, and we must recognise in them the foremost of those tribes known to the Greeks of classical times as the Carians, who infested the coasts of Asia Minor as well as those of Greece and the

[1] This idea appears to have been first put forth by Maspero, in the *Revue Critique*, 1877, vol. i. p. 320; W. Max Müller (*Asien und Europa*, p. 359) believes that the invasion was caused by the famine, during which Mînephtah supplied the Khâti with corn (cf. pp. 431, 435 of this volume). The Shagalasha and the Danauna have been already mentioned on p. 360, note 1, and p. 432, note 2, of this volume; I may add, with regard to the latter name, that the texts of Ramses III. sometimes give the simple form Danau (Greene, *Fouilles à Thèbes*, pl. ii. l. 18), in place of the more developed form Danauna.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from Champollion, *Mon. de l'Égypte*, etc., pl. ccxx., and Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cxxviii.

[3] These details are taken from the battle-scenes at Medinet-Habu (Champollion, *Mon. de l'Égypte*, etc., pls. ccxx.–ccxx. *bis*; Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pl. cxxviii.); they were for the first time completely collected and made the subject of study by Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité historique*, 2nd edit., pp. 286, 294–296, and again discussed and fresh comparisons made by W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, etc., pp. 361–367.

Ægean islands.[1] Crete was at this time the seat of a maritime empire, whose chiefs were perpetually cruising the seas and harassing the civilized states of the Eastern Mediterranean. These sea-rovers had grown wealthy through piracy, and contact with the merchants of Syria and Egypt had awakened in them a taste for a certain luxury and refinement, of which we find no traces in the remains of their civilization anterior to this period. Some of the symbols in the inscriptions found on their monuments recall certain of the Egyptian characters, while others present an original aspect and seem to be of Ægean origin. We find in them, arranged in juxtaposition, signs representing flowers, birds, fish, quadrupeds of various kinds, members of the human body, and boats and household implements.[3] From the little which is known of this script we are inclined to derive it from a similar source to that which has furnished those we meet with in several parts of Asia Minor and Northern Syria. It would appear that in ancient times, somewhere in the centre of the Peninsula—but under what influence or during what period we know not—a syllabary was developed, of which varieties were handed on from tribe to tribe, spreading on the one side to the Hittites, Cilicians, and the peoples on the borders of Syria and Egypt, and on the other to the Trojans, to the people of the Cyclades, and into Crete



PULASATI.[2]

[1] The Pulasati have been connected with the Philistines by Champollion, in his *Dictionnaire Hiéroglyphique*, and subsequently by the early English Egyptologists (Osburn, *Egypt, her Testimony to the Truth*, pp. 107, 137, 141; Hincks, *On the Number, Names and Power*, p. 47), who thought they recognised in them the inhabitants of the Shephelah: cf. Bunsen, *Ægyp. Stel.*, vol. ii. pp. 85, 86, and *Hist. d'Égypte*, p. 187; E. de Rougé, *Notice de quelques textes hiéroglyphiques récemment publiés par M. Greene*, p. 15. Chabas was the first to identify them with the Pelasgi (*Études sur l'Antiquité Hist.*, 2nd edit., pp. 284–291; *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte*, pp. 99–101); Unger (*Manetho*, p. 218) and Brugsch (*Gesch. Ægyptens*, p. 592) prefer to attribute to them a Libyan origin, but the latter finally returns to the Pelasgic and Philistine hypothesis (*Troie et l'Égypte*, in Schliemann, *Troja*, pp. 780, 781). They were without doubt the Philistines, but in their migratory state, before they settled on the coast of Palestine (Maspero, in the *Revue Critique*, 1873, vol. ii. pp. 84, 85, and also *Hist. ancienne des peuples de l'Orient*, 1875; cf. Fr. Lenormant, *Les Antiquités de la Troade*, pp. 73, 74; Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, vol. i. pp. 310–321, and *Gesch. des Alten Ægyptens*, p. 310; W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 388, 387–390). For the resemblance of their type to that of certain inhabitants still to be found in the neighbourhood of Gaza, cf. the observations made by Hyacinthe Husson, *La Légende de Samson et les mythes solaires*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 2nd series, vol. xi. pp. 345, 346.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Beato; cf. Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cxli. 7; Mariette, *Voyage de la Haute-Égypte*, vol. ii. pl. 52; Petrie, *Racial Types*, No. 162.

[3] A. J. Evans, who discovered these inscriptions, was the first to study and publish them. I must refer the reader for the whole subject to his book on *Cretan Pictographs and Prephænician Script*, 1895, as well as to the observations of Salomon Reinach, in his *Chronique d'Orient*, particularly to No. xxiv., pp. 61–67, of the separate printed matter, and his *Crète Mycénienne*, in *L'Anthropologie*, Vth year, pp. 407–410.

and Greece.[1] It is easy to distinguish the Pulasati by the felt helmet which they wore fastened under the chin by two straps and surmounted by a crest of feathers. The upper part of their bodies was covered by bands of leather or some thick material, below which hung a simple loin-cloth, while their feet were bare or shod with short sandals. They carried each a round buckler with two handles, and the stout bronze sword common to the northern races, suspended by a cross belt passing over the left shoulder, and were further armed with two daggers and two javelins. They hurled the latter from a short distance while attacking, and then drawing their sword or daggers, fell upon the enemy; we find among them a few chariots of the Hittite type, each manned by a driver and two fighting men.[2] The Tyrseni appear to have been the most numerous after the Pulasati, next to whom came the Zakkala. The latter are thought to have been a branch of the Siculo-Pelasgi whom Greek tradition represents as scattered at this period among the Cyclades and along the coast of the Hellespont;[3] they wore a casque surmounted with plumes like that of the Pulasati. The Tyrseni may be distinguished by their feathered head-dress,[4] but the Shagalasha affected a long ample woollen cap falling on the neck behind, an article of apparel which is still worn by the sailors of the Archipelago; otherwise they were equipped in much the same manner as their allies. The other members of the confederation, the Shardana, the Danauna, and the Uashasha, each furnished an inconsiderable contingent, and, taken all together, formed but a small item of the united force.[5] Their fleet sailed along the coast

[1] Cf. the conclusions which have led Ramsay (*The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. xv.) to place the origin of the so-called Hittite writing in Asia Minor. Here again I am obliged, for lack of room, to refrain from giving all the reasons which induce me to derive the system of Cretan writing from the central regions of Asia Minor.

[2] These details are taken from the bas-reliefs of Medinet-Habu (*Description de l'Égypte*, A., vol. ii. pl. 8, No. 7; CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., pls. ccxx.–ccxx. *bis*, ccxxii., ccxxiii.; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cxxvii.; cf. CHABAS, *Recherches sur l'Antiquité Historique*, 2nd edit., pp. 288, 294–296, and W. MAX MÜLLER, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 361–367).

[3] The Zakkara, or Zakkala, have been identified with the Teucrians by Lauth (*Homer und Ægypten*, p. 81), Chabas (*Recherches sur l'Antiquité Historique*, 2nd edit., pp. 286–288, and *Études pour servir à l'Histoire sous la XIXe Dynastie*, pp. 17–40), and by Fr. Lenormant (*Antiquités de la Troade*, pp. 37–39), with the Zygritæ of Libya by Unger (*Manetho*, p. 218) and by Brugsch (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 592), who subsequently returned to the Teucrian hypothesis (*Troie et l'Égypte*, in SCHLIEMANN, *Troie*, trans. by Egger, pp. 980, 981); W. Max Müller (*Asien und Europa*, pp. 362, 363, and 388) regards them as an Asiatic nation probably of the Lydian family. The identification with the Siculo-Pelasgi of the Ægean Sea was proposed by Maspero (in the *Revue Critique*, 1880, vol. i. p. 110).

[4] Their portraits are partially destroyed in the bas-relief at Medinet-Habu representing their captive chiefs (cf. the group reproduced on p. 471), but W. Max Müller has been able to restore their head-dress with tolerable certainty (*Asien und Europa*, pp. 380, 381).

[5] Chabas persisted in recognising in the Uashasha the Opici, Obsci, or Oscans of Roman history (*Études sur l'Antiquité Historique*, 2nd edit., pp. 292–294, and *Recherches pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Égypte sous la XIXe Dynastie*, pp. 38, 39), while Brugsch believed them to be the Ossetes of the Caucasus (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 592), but afterwards came to see in them a people of Asia Minor related to the Shardana (*Troie et l'Égypte*, in SCHLIEMANN, *Troie*, Egger's translation, p. 984). The form of the word shows that it is of Asiatic origin, Uasasos, Uassos, which refers us to Caria or Lycia (MASPERO, in the *Revue Critique*, 1878, vol. i. p. 320; cf. W. MAX MÜLLER, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 328, 360, 379).

and kept within sight of the force on land. The squadrons depicted on the monuments are without doubt those of the two peoples, the Pulasati and Zakkala. Their ships resembled in many respects those of Egypt, except in the fact that they had no cut-water. The bow and stern rose up straight like the neck of a goose or swan; two structures for fighting purposes were erected above the deck, while a rail running round the sides of the vessel protected the bodies of the rowers. An upper yard curved in shape hung from the single mast, which terminated in a top for the look-out during a battle. The upper yard was not made to lower, and the top-men managed the sail in the same manner as the Egyptian sailors. The resemblance between this fleet and that of Ramses is easily explained.[2] The dwellers on the Ægean, owing to the knowledge they had acquired of the Phœnician galleys, which were accustomed to cruise annually in their waters, became experts in shipbuilding. They copied the lines of the Phœnician craft, imitated the rigging, and learned to manœuvre their vessels so well, both on ordinary occasions and in a battle, that they could now oppose to the skilled eastern navigators ships as well fitted out and commanded by captains as experienced as those of Egypt or Asia.



A SHAGALASHA CHIEF.[1]

There had been a general movement among all these peoples at the very time when Ramses was repelling the attack of the Libyans; "the isles had quivered, and had vomited forth their people at once."[3] They were

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Petrie, *Racial Types*, No. 160; cf. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, pl. cciii., Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cxliii., No. 11; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 209 *b* 3; the type is taken from the series given on p. 471 of the present work. According to Chabas and W. Max Müller (*Asien und Europa*, p. 129), it represents a Shardana.

[2] *Description de l'Égypte, Ant.*, ii. pl. 12; Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, pls. ccxxii. 2, ccxxii.; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cxxxi. Cf. the picture on p. 469 of the present work representing a battle between the Egyptian fleet and the ships of the "People of the Sea."

[3] Greene, *Fouilles à Thèbes*, pl. ii. l. 16. The inscription of Medinet-Habu in which this campaign is mentioned was published by Greene, *Fouilles à Thèbes*, pls. i.–iii.; it was critically examined for the first time by E. de Rougé, *Notice de quelques textes hiéroglyphiques récemment publiés par M. Greene*, pp. 5–11; it was translated by Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité*, 2nd edit., pp. 240–253, and by Brugsch, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 598–600. We find some information about the war in the *Great Harris Papyrus* (ed. Birch, pl. 76, ll. 6–9; cf. Chabas, *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte sous la XIXᵉ dynastie*, pp. 20–50), also in the inscription of Medinet-Habu which describes the campaign of the year V. (Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, vol. ii. pl. xlvi. ll. 51–59; and E. and

subjected to one of those irresistible impulses such as had driven the Shepherds into Egypt; or again, in later times, had carried away the Cimmerians and the Scyths to the pillage of Asia Minor: "no country could hold out against their arms, neither Khâti, nor Qodi, nor Carchemish, nor Arvad, nor Alasia, without being brought to nothing." The ancient kingdoms of Sapalulu and Khâtusaru, already tottering, crumbled to pieces under the shock, and were broken up into their primitive elements. The barbarians, unable to carry the towns by assault, and too impatient to resort to a lengthened siege, spread over the valley of the Orontes, burning and devastating the country everywhere. Having reached the frontiers of the empire, in the country of the Amorites, they came to a halt, and constructing an entrenched camp, installed within it their women and the booty they had acquired.[1] Some of their predatory bands, having ravaged the Bekâa, ended by attacking the subjects of the Pharaoh himself, and their chiefs dreamed of an invasion of Egypt. Ramses, informed of their design by the despatches of his officers and vassals, resolved to prevent its accomplishment. He summoned his troops together, both indigenous and mercenary, in his own person looked after their armament and commissariat, and in the VIIIth year[2] of his reign crossed the frontier near Zalu. He advanced by forced marches to meet the enemy, whom he encountered somewhere in Southern Syria, on the borders of the Shephelah,[3] and after a stubbornly contested campaign obtained the victory. He carried off from the field, in addition to the treasures of the confederate tribes, some of the chariots which had been used for the transport of their families. The survivors made their way hastily to the north-west, in the direction of the sea, in order to receive the support of

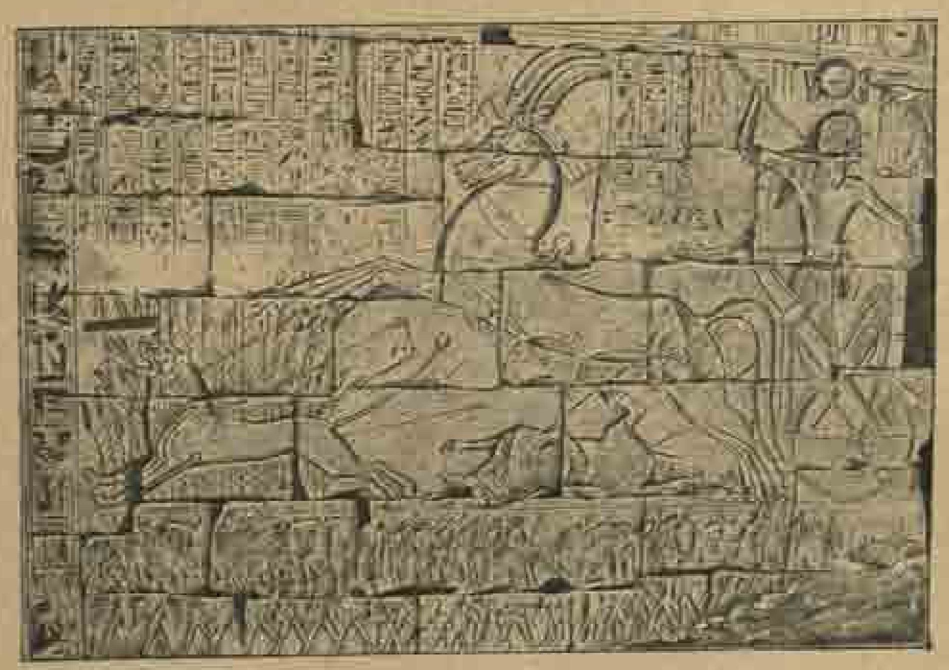
J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, pls. cxlv. l. 51; cxlvi. l. 59; cf. Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité*, 2nd edit., pp. 253–256), and in other shorter texts of the same temple (Dümichen, *Hist. Insc.*, vol. ii. pl. xlvii. *a*; cf. Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité*, 2nd edit., pp. 256, 257). The sequence of facts is illustrated by a series of pictures of which the value was recognised from the first by Champollion, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, 2nd edit., pp. 334–338, and afterwards more fully brought out by Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, vol. iv. pp. 28–30; they were published, in whole or in part, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, *Ant.*, vol. ii. pl. 9, Nos. 1, 10–12, and afterwards by Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., pls. ccxviii.–ccxxiv., by Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pls. cxxv.–cxxxiii., and by Mariette, *Voyage de la Haute-Égypte*, vol. ii. pls. 54, 55.

[1] Greene, *Fouilles à Thèbes*, pl. 2, ll. 16, 17. E. de Rougé (*Notice de quelques textes*, p. 7, et seq.) thought at first that the text treated of a victory of Ramses III. over the Khâti and other Syrian populations; Chabas (*Études sur l'Antiquité*, 2nd edit., pp. 258–268) was the first to point out the true nature of the events related in this inscription.

[2] Champollion read the year IX. (*Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, 2nd edit., p. 329); the text really gives the year VIII. (Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité*, 2nd edit., p. 246).

[3] No site is given for these battles. E. de Rougé placed the theatre of war in Syria (*Notice de quelques textes*, pp. 16, 17), and his opinion was adopted by Brugsch (*Geogr. Inschr.*, vol. ii. p. 80; *Hist. d'Égypte*, 187, 188; *Gesch. Ægyptens*, p. 592). Chabas referred it to the mouth of the Nile near Pelusium (*Études sur l'Antiquité*, 2nd edit., pp. 284–287) and his authority has prevailed up to the present. The remarks of W. Max Müller (*Asien und Europa*, pp. 177, 178) have brought me back to the opinion of the earlier Egyptologists; but I differ from him in looking for the locality further south, and not to the mouth of Nahr el-Kelb as the site of the naval battle. It seems to me that the fact that the Zakkala were princes of Dor, and the Pulasati in the Shephelah, is enough to assign the campaign to the region I have mentioned in the text.

their navy, but the king followed them step by step. It is recorded that he occupied himself with lion-hunting *en route* after the example of the victors of the XVIII[th] dynasty,[1] and that he killed three of these animals in the long grass on one occasion on the banks of some river. He rejoined his ships, probably at Jaffa, and made straight for the enemy. The latter were encamped



THE ARMY OF RAMSES III. ON THE MARCH, AND THE LION-HUNT.[2]

on the level shore, at the head of a bay wide enough to offer to their ships a commodious space for naval evolutions—possibly the mouth of the Belus, in the neighbourhood of Magadîl. The king drove their foot-soldiers into the water at the same moment that his admirals attacked the combined fleet of the Pulasati and Zakkala. Some of the Ægean galleys were capsized and sank when the Egyptian vessels rammed them with their sharp stems, and the crews, in endeavouring to escape to land by swimming, were picked off by the arrows of the archers of the guard who were commanded by Ramses and his sons; they perished in the waves, or only escaped through the compassion of the victors.[3] "I had fortified," said the Pharaoh, "my frontier at Zahi; I had drawn up before these people my generals, my provincial governors, the

[1] *Description de l'Égypte, Ant.*, vol. ii. pl. 9, No. 1; CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, pl. ccxxi.; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cxxix.; MARIETTE, *Voyage de la Haute-Égypte*, vol. ii. pl. 54.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Beato; cf. *Description de l'Égypte, Ant.*, vol. ii. pl. 9, No. 1; CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, etc., pl. ccxxi.; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cxxix.; MARIETTE, *Voyage de la Haute-Égypte*, vol. ii. pl. 54.

[3] Scene from Medinet-Habu, in the *Description de l'Égypte, Ant.*, vol. ii. pl. 12; CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, etc., pl. ccxxii.; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cxxxi.; MARIETTE, *Voyage de la Haute-Égypte*, vol. ii. pl. 55; see the reproduction of it on p. 469 of the present work.

vassal princes, and the best of my soldiers. The mouths of the river seemed to be a mighty rampart of galleys, barques, and vessels of all kinds, equipped from the bow to the stern with valiant armed men. The infantry, the flower of Egypt, were as lions roaring on the mountains; the charioteers, selected from among the most rapid warriors, had for their captains only officers confident in themselves; the horses quivered in all their limbs, and were burning to trample the nations underfoot. As for me, I was like the warlike Montû: I stood up before them and they saw the vigour of my arms. I, King Ramses, I was as a hero who is conscious of his valour, and who stretches his hands over the people in the day of battle. Those who have violated my frontier will never more garner harvests from this earth: the period of their soul has been fixed for ever. My forces were drawn up before them on the 'Very Green,' a devouring flame approached them at the river mouth, annihilation embraced them on every side. Those who were on the strand I laid low on the seashore, slaughtered like victims of the butcher. I made their vessels to capsize, and their riches fell into the sea."[1] Those who had not fallen in the fight were caught, as it were, in the cast of a net. A rapid cruiser of the fleet carried the Egyptian standard along the coast as far as the regions of the Orontes and Sares.[2] The land troops, on the other hand, following on the heels of the defeated enemy, pushed through Cœle-Syria, and in their first burst of zeal succeeded in reaching the plains of the Euphrates. A century had elapsed since a Pharaoh had planted his standard in this region, and the country must have seemed as novel to the soldiers of Ramses III. as to those of his predecessor Thûtmosis. The Khâti were still its masters; and all enfeebled as they were by the ravages of the invading barbarians, were nevertheless not slow in preparing to resist their ancient enemies. The majority of the citadels shut their gates in the face of Ramses, who, wishing to lose no time, did not attempt to besiege them: he treated their territory with the usual severity, devastating their open towns, destroying their harvests, breaking down their fruit trees, and cutting away their forests. He was able, moreover, without arresting his march, to carry by assault several of their fortified towns, Alaza among the number, the destruction of which is represented in the scenes of his victories.[3] The spoils were considerable, and came very opportunely to reward the soldiers or to provide funds for the erection of monuments. The last battalion of troops, however, had hardly recrossed

[1] Greene, *Fouilles à Thèbes*, pl. ii. ll. 19–24; cf. E. de Rougé, *Notice de quelques textes*, pp. 7–9; Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité*, 2nd edit., pp. 248–253; Brugsch, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 598, 599.

[2] Brugsch, *Gesch. Ægyptens*, pp. 602–605, in which the greater part of the identifications, although supported by F. Lenormant (*Les Origines de l'Hist.*, vol. iii. pp. 50, 81, 230–261) cannot be maintained.

[3] Scenes on the north wall of Medinet-Habu; cf. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., vol. i. pp. 368, 370, and pls. ccxxvii., ccxxviii.; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, vol. iv. pp. 58–61.



THE DEFEAT OF THE PEOPLES OF THE SEA AT MAGADIL.

Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Beato.

the isthmus when Lotanû became again its own master, and Egyptian rule was once more limited to its traditional provinces of Kharû and Phœnicia. The King of the Khâti appears among the prisoners whom the Pharaoh is represented as bringing to his father Amon; Carchemish, Tunipa, Khalabu, Katna, Pabukhu, Arvad, Mitanni, Mannus, Asi, and a score of other famous towns of this period appear in the list of the subjugated nations, recalling the triumphs of Thûtmosis III. and Amenôthes II.[1] Ramses did not allow himself to be deceived into thinking that his success was final. He accepted the protestations of obedience which were spontaneously offered him, but he undertook no further expedition of importance either to restrain or to provoke his enemies: the restricted rule which satisfied his exemplar Ramses II. ought, he thought, to be sufficient for his own ambition.

Egypt breathed freely once more on the announcement of the victory; henceforward she was "as a bed without anguish." "Let each woman now go to and fro according to her will," cried the sovereign, in describing the campaign, "her ornaments upon her, and directing her steps to any place she likes!"[2] And in order to provide still further guarantees of public security, he converted his Asiatic captives, as he previously had his African prisoners, into a bulwark against the barbarians, and a safeguard of the frontier. The war must, doubtless, have decimated Southern Syria; and he planted along its coast what remained of the defeated tribes—the Philistines in the Shephelah, and the Zakkala on the borders of the great oak forest stretching from Carmel to Dor.[3] Watch-towers were erected for the supervision of this region, and for rallying-points in case of internal revolts or attacks from without. One of these, the Migdol of Ramses III., was erected, not far from the scene of the decisive battle, on the spot where the spoils had been divided.[4] This living barrier, so to speak, stood between the Nile valley and the dangers which threatened it from Asia, and it was not long before its value was put to the proof. The Libyans, who had been saved from destruction by the diversion created in their

[1] See the lists of the conquered people engraved on the walls of Medinet-Habu, published by Dümichen (*Historische Inschriften*, vol. i. pls. xi.–xvii.; cf. Birch, *The Annals of Rameses III.*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. vi. pp. 17–20, in which the principal list is transcribed and translated as well as the accompanying text). The Prince of the Khâti figures among the princes conducted to the Theban Amon (Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., pl. cciv., and vol. i. p. 720; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cxliii. 7); see the reproduction of his figure on p. 474 of the present work.

[2] E. and J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques copiées en Égypte*, pl. cxlvii. l. 75; Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité*, 2nd edit., p. 255.

[3] It is in this region that we find henceforward the Hebrews in contact with the Philistines (see what has been said on this subject in the last chapter of this work); at the end of the XXIst Egyptian dynasty a scribe makes Dor a town of the Zakkala (Golénischeff, *Extrait d'une lettre*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xv. p. 88; cf. W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 388, 389).

[4] The scribe employs here an unusual spelling, *Magadil-Ramsisu* (Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, pl. ccxxv.; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cxxxiii.). I think that we must see in this spot which adjoined the field of battle the Cæsarea of Roman times, which was at first called Πύργος Στράτωνος, "the tower (La Migdol) of Strato."

favour on the eastern side of the empire, having now recovered their courage, set about collecting their hordes together for a fresh invasion. They returned to the attack in the XI[th] year of Ramses, under the leadership of Kapur, a prince of the Mashauasha.[1] "Their soul had said to them for the second time that they



THE CAPTIVE CHIEFS OF RAMSES III. AT MEDINET-HABU.[2]

would end their lives in the nomes of Egypt, that they would till its valleys and its plains as their own land." The issue did not correspond with their intentions. "Death fell upon them within Egypt, for they had hastened with their feet to the furnace which consumes corruption, under the fire of the valour of the king who rages like Baal from the heights of heaven. All his limbs are invested with victorious strength; with his right hand he lays hold of the multitudes, his left extends to those who are against him, like a cloud

[1] The second campaign against the Libyans is known to us from the inscriptions of the year XI. at Medinet-Habu published by DÜMICHEN, *Historische Inschriften*, vol. i. pls. xiii.–xxvii., and by E. and J. DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, pls. cxxi.–cxxx., translated in part by CHABAS, *Études sur l'Antiquité*, 2nd edit., pp. 237–242. It is to this campaign, probably, that the scenes at Medinet-Habu refer which were published by CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, pls. ccv.–ccviii., and in ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, pls. cxxxvi.–cxxxviii.

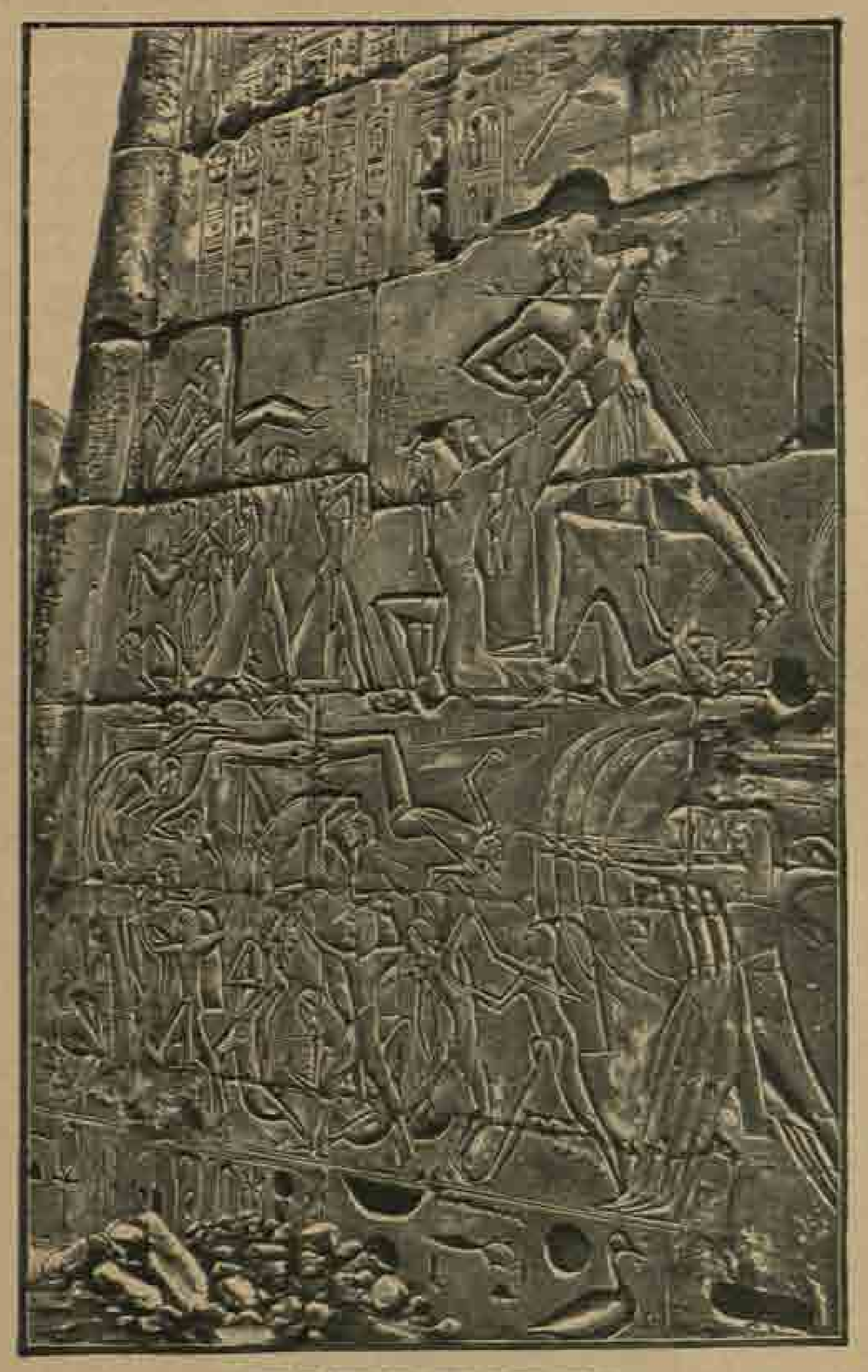
[2] *Drawn* by Boudier, from a photograph by Beato; cf. CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, etc., pl. cciii., and vol. i. pp. 720, 721; ROSELLINI, *Mon. Storici*, pl. cxliii.; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 209 b; MARIETTE, *Voyage de la Haute-Égypte*, vol. ii. pl. 51. The first prisoner on the left is the Prince of the Khâti (cf. the cut on p. 478 of the present work), the second is the Prince of the Amâuru (Amorites), the third the Prince of the Zakkala, the fourth that of the Shardana, the fifth that of the Shakalsha (see the cut on p. 466 of this work), and the sixth that of the Tursha (Tyrseni).

of arrows directed upon them to destroy them, and his sword cuts like that of Montû. Kapur, who had come to demand homage, blind with fear, threw down his arms, and his troops did the same. He sent up to heaven a suppliant cry, and his son [Mashashalu] arrested his foot and his hand; for, behold, there rises beside him the god who knows what he has in his heart: His Majesty falls upon their heads as a mountain of granite and crushes them, the earth drinks up their blood as if it had been water . . .; their army was slaughtered, slaughtered their soldiers," near a fortress situated on the borders of the desert called the "Castle of Usirmari-Miamon." They were seized, "they were stricken, their arms bound, like geese piled up in the bottom of a boat, under the feet of His Majesty."[1] The fugitives were pursued at the sword's point from the *Castle of Usirmari-Miamon* to the *Castle of the Sands*, a distance of over thirty miles.[2] Two thousand and seventy-five Libyans were left upon the ground that day, two thousand and fifty-two perished in other engagements, while two thousand and thirty-two, both male and female, were made prisoners.[3] These were almost irreparable losses for a people of necessarily small numbers, and if we add the number of those who had succumbed in the disaster of six years before, we can readily realise how discouraged the invaders must have been, and how little likely they were to try the fortune of war once more. Their power dwindled and vanished almost as quickly as it had arisen; the provisional cohesion given to their forces by a few ambitious chiefs broke up after their repeated defeats, and the rudiments of an empire which had struck terror into the Pharaohs, resolved itself into its primitive elements, a number of tribes scattered over the desert. They were driven back beyond the Libyan mountains; fortresses guarded the routes they had previously followed, and they were obliged henceforward to renounce any hope of an invasion *en masse*, and to content themselves with a few raiding expeditions into the fertile plain of the Delta, where they had formerly found a transitory halting-place. Counter-raids organised by the local troops or by the mercenaries who garrisoned the principal

[1] Dümichen, *Hist. Insc.*, vol. i. pl. xx. ll. 23–31; E. and J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, pls. cxxiv. l. 27–cxxvi. l. 81; cf. Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité*, 2nd edit., pp. 238, 239. The name of the son of Kapur, Mashashalu, Masayla, which is wanting in this inscription, is supplied from the parallel inscription in Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, vol. ii. pls. xx., xxi., l. 11.

[2] The text from Medinet-Habu published in Brugsch, *Die Ægyptologie*, p. 472. The distance of eight *atúrû* or eight *schœni*, there indicated, is equivalent to some 31 miles according to I. Lévy, *L'Atour et le Schœne*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xv. p. 171. The *Castle of Usirmari-Miamon* was "on the mountain of the horn of the world," which induces me to believe that we must seek its site on the borders of the Libyan desert. The royal title entering into its name being liable to change with every reign, it is possible that we have an earlier reference to this stronghold in a mutilated passage of the Athribis Stele (ll. 8, 9), which relates to the campaigns of Minephtah (Maspero, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire*, etc., in the *Zeitschrift*, 1883, p. 66); it must have commanded one of the most frequented routes leading to the oasis of Amon.

[3] Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, vol. i. pl. xxvii. ll. 8–9; cf. Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité*, 2nd edit., pp. 242, 243.



RAMSES III. BINDS THE CHIEFS OF THE LIBYANS.

From a photograph by Beato.

towns in the neighbourhood of Memphis—Hermopolis and Thinis[1]—inflicted punishment upon them when they became too audacious. Their tribes, henceforward, as far as Egypt was concerned, formed a kind of reserve from which the Pharaoh could raise soldiers every year, and draw sufficient materials to bring his army up to fighting strength when internal revolt or an invasion from without called for military activity.



THE PRINCE OF THE KHÂPI.[2]

The campaign of the XI[th] year brought to an end the great military expeditions of Ramses III. Henceforward he never took the lead in any more serious military enterprise than that of repressing the Bedawin of Sair for acts of brigandage,[3] or the Ethiopians[4] for some similar reason. He confined his attention to the maintenance of commercial and industrial relations with manufacturing countries, and with the markets of Asia and Africa. He strengthened the garrisons of Sinai, and encouraged the working of the ancient mines in that region.[5] He sent a colony of quarrymen and of smelters to the land of Atika, in order to work the veins of silver which were alleged to exist there.[6] He launched a fleet on the Red Sea, and sent it to the countries of fragrant spices.[7] "The captains of the sailors were there, together with the chiefs of the corvée and accountants, to provide provision" for the people

[1] *The Great Harris Papyrus*, ed. Birch, pl. 57, l. 10, pl. 58, l. 6 (cf. Eisenlohr-Birch, *The Annals of Ramses III.*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. viii. pp. 24, 25), speaks of fortifications erected in the towns of Anhûri-Shû, possibly Thinis, and of Thot, possibly Hermopolis, in order to repel the tribes of the Tihonu who were ceaselessly harassing the frontier.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph taken at Medinet-Habu; cf. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, pl. cciii., and vol. i. pp. 720, 721; Rosellini, *Monumenti storici*, pl. cxliii.; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 209 *b*; Mariette, *Voyage de la Haute-Égypte*, vol. ii. pl. 51.

[3] *The Great Harris Papyrus*, ed. Birch, pl. 76, ll. 9, 10; cf. Chabas, *Recherches sur la XIX[e] dynastie*, pp. 50, 51, and Eisenlohr-Birch, *The Annals of Ramses III.*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. viii. p. 46. The Sairu of the Egyptian texts have been identified with the Bedawin of Seir by Brugsch, *Gesch. Ægyptens*, p. 593; cf. W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 135, 136, 240.

[4] For lists of the people of the south see Champollion, *Mon. de l'Égypte*, vol. ii. pp. 10, 11; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 207, vol. i. pp. 725, 726 *d, e*; Dümichen, *Hist. Ins.*, vol. i. pls. xiii., xvi., xvii.

[5] *The Great Harris Papyrus*, ed. Birch, pl. 78, ll. 6-8; cf. Chabas, *Recherches sur la XIX[e] dynastie*, pp. 26-28, and Birch, in the *Survey of the Peninsula of Sinai*, text.

[6] *The Great Harris Papyrus*, ed. Birch, pl. 78, ll. 1-5; cf. Chabas, *Recherches sur la XIX[e] dynastie*, pp. 65-66, and Eisenlohr-Birch, *The Annals of Ramses III.*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. viii. p. 50. This is the Gebel Ataka of our day, as Ebers has pointed out (W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 23). All this district is imperfectly explored, but we know that it contains mines and quarries some of which were worked as late as in the time of the Mamluk Sultans.

[7] *The Great Harris Papyrus*, ed. Birch, pl. 77, l. 7-pl. 78, l. 1; cf. Chabas, *Recherches sur la XIX[e] dynastie*, pp. 59-63, and Eisenlohr-Birch, *The Annals of Ramses III.*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. viii. pp. 48-50.

of the Divine Lands" from the innumerable products of Egypt: and these products were counted by myriads. Sailing through the great sea of Qodi, they arrived at Pûanit without mishap, and there collected cargoes for their galleys and ships, consisting of all the unknown marvels of Tonûtir, as well as considerable quantities of the perfumes of Pûanit, which they stowed on board by tens of thousands without number. The sons of the princes of Tonûtir came themselves into Qimit with their tributes. They reached the region of Coptos safe and sound, and disembarked there in peace with their riches." It was somewhere about Sau and Tuau that the merchants and royal officers landed, following the example of the expeditions of the XII[th] and XVIII[th] dynasties. Here they organised caravans of asses and slaves, which taking the shortest route across the mountain—that of the valley of Rahanû—carried the precious commodities to Coptos, whence they were transferred to boats and distributed along the river. The erection of public buildings, which had been interrupted since the time of Minephtah, began again with renewed activity. The captives in the recent victories furnished the requisite labour, while the mines, the voyages to the Somali coast, and the tributes of vassals provided the necessary money. Syria was not lost sight of in this resumption of peaceful occupations. The overthrow of the Khâti secured Egyptian rule in this region, and promised a long tranquillity within its borders. One temple at least was erected in the country—that at Pa-kanâna—where the princes of Kharû were to assemble to offer worship to the Pharaoh, and to pay each one his quota of the general tribute.[1] The Pulasati were employed to protect the caravan routes, and a vast reservoir was erected near Âina to provide a store of water for the irrigation of the neighbouring country.[2] The Delta absorbed the greater part of the royal subsidies; it had suffered so much from the Libyan incursions, that the majority of the towns within it had fallen into a condition as miserable as that in which they were at the time of the expulsion of the Shepherds. Heliopolis,[3] Bubastis,[4] Thmuis,[5] Amu,[6] and Tanis[7] still preserved some remains of the buildings which

[1] This temple is mentioned in the *Great Harris Papyrus*, ed. Birch, pl. 9, ll. 1-3; cf. Eisenlohr-Birch, *The Annals of Ramses III.*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. vi. pp. 33, 34, and W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 205, 206, who does not see in this a town, but the land of Canaan. I recognise in it the town of Pa-kanâna of Galilee (Chabas, *Voyage d'un Égyptien*, pp. 112, 113).

[2] *The Great Harris Papyrus*, ed. Birch, pl. 77, ll. 6, 7; cf. Eisenlohr-Birch, *The Annals of Ramses III.*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. viii. p. 49. Brugsch would identify the name Âina with the Âan of classic times (*Gesch. Ægyptens*, p. 593, *Dict. Geogr.*, pp. 117-120); Chabas identified it rightly (*Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte*, pp. 56, 57) with the Âinini of the *Anastasi Papyrus*, No. 1, pl. xxvii. l. 4, which is between Mount Casius and Raphia (Chabas, *Voyage d'un Égyptien*, p. 288), on the road leading from Egypt to Syria.

[3] Wiedemann, *Ægypt. Geschichte*, p. 506; Griffith, *Antiquities of Tell el-Yahudiyeh*, pl. xxi. 8.

[4] Naville, *Bubastis*, pl. xxxviii. G, and pp. 45, 46.

[5] Mariette, *Monuments divers*, pl. 47 c), base of a statue from Thmuis.

[6] Petrie, *Tanis II.: Nebesheh*, pp. 11, 20, 41, and pl. x., No. 8.

[7] Petrie, *Tanis II.*, pl. viii., Nos. 142-144, and p. 29.

had already been erected in them by Ramses; he constructed also, at the place at present called Tel el-Yahûdiyeh, a royal palace of limestone, granite, and alabaster, of which the type is unique amongst all the structures hitherto discovered. Its walls and columns were not ornamented with the usual sculptures incised in stone, but the whole of the decorations—scenes as well as inscriptions—consisted of plaques of enamelled terra-cotta set in



THE COLOSSAL OSIRIAN FIGURES IN THE FIRST COURT AT MEDINET-HABU.[1]

cement. The forms of men and animals and the lines of hieroglyphs, standing out in slight relief from a glazed and warm-coloured background, constitute an immense mosaic-work of many hues. The few remains of the work show great purity of design and an extraordinary delicacy of tone. All the knowledge of the Egyptian painters, and all the technical skill of their artificers in ceramic, must have been employed to compose such harmoniously balanced decorations, with their free handling of line and colour, and their thousands of rosettes, squares, stars, and buttons of varicoloured pastes.[2] The difficulties to overcome were so appalling, that when the marvellous work was

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Beato.

[2] This temple has been known since the beginning of the century, and the Louvre is in possession of some fragments from it which came from Salt's collection; it was rediscovered in 1870, and some portions of it were transferred by Mariette to the Boulaq Museum (Brugsch, *Aus dem Morgenlande*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1871, pp. 87, 88; E. Brugsch, *On et Onion*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. viii. pp. 1-9; Maspero, *Guide du Visiteur*, pp. 109, 241). The remainder was destroyed by the fellahîn, at the instigation of the enlightened amateurs of Cairo, and fragments of it have passed into various private collections (Hayter-Lewis, *Tel el-Yahudeh*—"the Mound of the Jew"—in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. vii. pp. 177-192). Naville, *The Mound of the Jew and the City of Onias*, pp. 3-12, was the last to explore it. The decoration has been attributed to Chaldæan influence, but it is a work purely Egyptian, both in style and in technique (Maspero, *Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 237-239).



THE FIRST PYLON OF THE TEMPLE OF MEDINET-HABU, THE FAÇADE LOOKING INTO THE FIRST COURT.
Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Beato.

once accomplished, no subsequent attempt was made to construct a second like it: all the remaining structures of Ramses III., whether at Memphis,[1] in the neighbourhood of Abydos,[2] or at Karnak,[3] were in the conventional style of the Pharaohs. He determined, nevertheless, to give to the exterior of the Memnonium, which he built near Medinet-Habu for the worship of himself, the proportions and appearance of an Asiatic "Migdol," influenced probably by his remembrance of similar structures which he had seen during his Syrian campaign. The chapel itself is of the ordinary type, with its gigantic pylons, its courts surrounded by columns—each supporting a colossal Osirian statue—its hypostyle hall, and its mysterious cells for the deposit of spoils taken from the peoples of the sea and the cities of Asia.[4] His tomb was concealed at a distant spot in the Biban-el-Moluk, and we see depicted on its walls the same scenes that we find in the last resting-place of Seti I. or Ramses II., and in addition to them, in a series of supplementary chambers, the arms of the sovereign, his standards, his treasure, his kitchen, and the preparation of offerings which were to be made to him.[5] His sarcophagus, cut out of an enormous block of granite, was brought for sale to Europe at the beginning of this century, and Cambridge[6] obtained possession of its cover, while the Louvre secured the receptacle itself.[7]

These were years of profound tranquillity. The Pharaoh intended that absolute order should reign throughout his realm, and that justice should be dispensed impartially within it. There were to be no more exactions, no more crying iniquities: whoever was discovered oppressing the people, no matter whether he were court official or feudal lord—was instantly deprived of his functions, and replaced by an administrator of tried integrity.[8] Ramses boasts, moreover, in an idyllic manner, of having planted trees everywhere, and of having built arbours wherein the people might sit in the shade in the open air; while women might go to and fro where they would in security, no one daring to insult them on the way. The Shardanian

[1] Remains of buildings and statues discovered at Memphis, the inscriptions on which were published by Brugsch, *Recueil de Monuments*, vol. i. pl. iv. 2, 4.

[2] Mariette, *Abydos*, vol. i. pp. 4, 5, 19.

[3] For the part taken by Ramses III. in the construction of the buildings at Karnak, see Mariette, *Karnak*, pp. 10, 18, 21, 26, 36, 37; the temple which he built before the pylon of Ramses II. is described in Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., vol. ii. pp. 10-16.

[4] See, for more on this subject, pp. 128, 129 of the present work. A description of the chapel is in Jollois, *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. ii. pp. 38-68; in Champollion, *op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 336-344, 719-724, and *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, 2nd edit., pp. 332-336; in Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.*, vol. iv. p. 8, *et seq.*; in Brugsch, *Reiseberichte aus Ægypt.*, pp. 301-310; and in Dümichen, *Gesch. des Alten Ægypt.*, pp. 110-112.

[5] The tomb of Ramses III. is described in Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., vol. i. pp. 401-424, 744-751; another tomb was commenced for him, but the work was abruptly suspended (Champollion, *op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 441, 442).

[6] Birch, *Remarks on the Cover of the Sarcophagus of Ramses III., in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, 1876.

[7] E. de Rougé, *Notice des principaux monuments*, 1872, pp. 178-186.

[8] *Great Harris Papyrus*, ed. Birch, pl. 59, l. 11, pl. 60, l. 1; this passage had already been noticed by Brugsch, *Die Ægyptologie*, pp. 288-290, who saw in it an allusion to the presence of foreigners. The reference is merely to a royal official, a count (*haîti*), who was oppressing the province of Athribis which had been entrusted to him. He was sternly expelled from his office by the king.

and Libyan mercenaries were restricted to the castles which they garrisoned, and were subjected to such a severe discipline that no one had any cause of complaint against these armed barbarians settled in the heart of Egypt. "I have," continues the king, "lifted up every miserable one out of his misfortune, I have granted life to him, I have saved him from the mighty who were oppressing him, and have secured rest for every one in his own town."[1] The details of the description are exaggerated, but the general import of it is true. Egypt had recovered the peace and prosperity of which it had been deprived for at least half a century, that is, since the death of Minephtah. The king, however, was not in such a happy condition as his people, and court intrigues embittered the later years of his life. One of his sons, whose name is unknown to us, but who is designated in the official records by the nickname of Pentaûirit, formed a conspiracy against him.[2] His mother, Tii, who was a woman of secondary rank, took it into her head to secure the crown for him, to the detriment of the children of Queen Isit. An extensive plot was hatched in which scribes, officers of the guard, priests, and officials in high place, both natives and foreigners, were involved. A resort to the supernatural was at first attempted, and the superintendent of the Herds, a certain Panhûibaînû, who was deeply versed in magic, undertook to cast a spell upon the Pharaoh, if he could only procure certain conjuring books of which he was not possessed. These were found to be in the royal library. He managed to introduce himself under cover of the night into the harem, where he manufactured certain waxen figures, of which some were to excite the hate of his wives against their husband, while others would cause him to waste away and finally perish. A traitor betrayed several of the conspirators, who, being subjected to the torture, informed upon others, and these at length brought the matter home to Pentaûirit and his immediate accomplices. All were brought before a commission of twelve members, summoned expressly to try the case, and the result was the condemnation and execution of six women and some forty men. The extreme penalty of the Egyptian code was reserved for Pentaûirit, and for the most culpable,—"they died of themselves," and the meaning of this phrase is indicated, I believe, by the appearance of one

[1] *The Great Harris Papyrus*, ed. Birch, pl. 78, l. 7, pl. 79, l. 1; cf. Chabas, *Recherches sur la XIXe dynastie*, pp. 66–75.

[2] The documents bearing on this affair are a large papyrus, mutilated at the beginning, now at Turin, and two other fragments, the *Lee Papyrus* and the *Rollin Papyrus*, the latter of which is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The large papyrus was published, translated, and annotated by Devéria, *Le Papyrus Judiciaire de Turin et les Papyrus Lee et Rollin*, 1868, to which we are indebted for the explanation of the affair. The other two fragments, of which the first is given in Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, 2nd series, pls. lxxxvii., lxxxviii., were studied by Chabas, *Le Papyrus Magique Harris*, pp. 169–174, and *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 1st series, pp. 1–9; afterwards by Devéria, *op. cit.*, pp. 125–137. The three documents have been retranslated, since Chabas and Devéria, by Lepage-Renouf, *Abstract of Criminal Proceedings in a Case of Conspiracy*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. viii. pp. 53–65, and into German by Brugsch, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 609–617.

of the mummies disinterred at Deir el-Bahari.[1] The coffin in which it was placed was very plain, painted white and without inscription: the customary removal of entrails had not been effected, but the body was covered with a thick layer of natron, which was applied even to the skin itself and secured by wrappings. It makes one's flesh creep to look at it: the hands and feet are tied by strong bands, and are curled up as if under an intolerable pain; the abdomen is drawn up, the stomach projects like a ball, the chest is contracted, the head is thrown back, the face is contorted in a hideous grimace, the retracted lips expose the teeth, and the mouth is open as if to give utterance to a last despairing cry. The conviction is borne in upon us that the man was invested while still alive with the wrappings of the dead. Is this the mummy of Pentaûirit, or of some other prince as culpable as he was, and condemned to this frightful punishment?[2] In order to prevent the recurrence of such wicked plots, Pharaoh resolved to share his throne with that one of his sons who had most right to it. In the XXXII[nd][3] year of his reign he called together his military and civil chiefs, the generals of the foreign mercenaries, the Shardana, the priests, and the nobles of the court, and presented to them, according to custom, his heir-designate, who was also called Ramses. He placed the double crown upon his brow, and seated him beside himself upon the throne of Horus. This was an occasion for the Pharaoh to bring to remembrance all the great exploits he had performed during his reign—his triumphs over the Libyans and over the peoples of the sea, and the riches he had lavished upon the gods; at the end of the enumeration he exhorted those who were present to observe the same fidelity towards the son which they had observed towards the father, and to serve the new sovereign as valiantly as they had served himself.[5]


THE MUMMY OF RAMSES III.[4]

[1] *Cf.* the translation by Devéria, *Le Papyrus Judiciaire de Turin*, p. 165, and those given by Lepage-Renouf, *Criminal Proceedings in a Case of Conspiracy*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. viii. p. 56, and Erman, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Ægyptischen Gerichtsverfahrens*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1879, p. 77, note 1, p. 78, and *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben*, pp. 207, 208, which agree in making it a case of judicial suicide: there was left to the condemned a choice of his mode of death, in order to avoid the scandal of a public execution. It is also possible to make it a condemnation to death in person, which did not allow of the substitution of a proxy willing, for a payment to his family, to undergo death in place of the condemned; but, unfortunately, no other text is to be found supporting the existence of such a practice in Egypt.

[2] Maspero, *Les Momies Royales*, etc., in *Mém. de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pp. 563–566, and pl. xviii.

[3] The date of the year XXXII. for this event, is furnished by the *Great Harris Papyrus*, ed. Birch, pl. 1, l. 1: it is confirmed by the double date of a papyrus published by Maspero, *Le Papyrus Mallet*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. i. pp. 53, 54.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey; *cf.* Maspero, *Les Momies Royales*, etc., in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pl. xxii.

[5] *The Great Harris Papyrus*, ed. Birch, pl. 75, ll. 1–12; *cf.* Chabas, *Recherches pour servir à*

The joint reign lasted for only four years.[1] Ramses III. was not much over sixty years of age when he died. He was still vigorous and muscular, but he had become stout and heavy. The fatty matter of the body having been dissolved by the natron in the process of embalming, the skin distended during life has gathered up into enormous loose folds, especially about the nape of the neck, under the chin, on the hips, and at the articulations of the limbs. The closely shaven head and cheeks present no trace of hair or beard. The forehead, although neither broad nor high, is better proportioned than that of Ramses II., the supra-orbital ridges are less accentuated than his, the cheek-bones not so prominent, the nose not so arched, and the chin and jaw less massive. The eyes were perhaps larger, but no opinion can be offered on this point, for the eyelids have been cut away, and the cleared-out cavities have been filled with rags. The ears do not stand out so far from the head as those of Ramses II., but they have been pierced for ear-rings. The mouth, large by nature, has been still further widened in the process of embalming, owing to the awkwardness of the operator, who has cut into the cheeks at the side. The thin lips allow the white and regular teeth to be seen; the first molar on the right has been either broken in half, or has worn away more rapidly than the rest.[2] Ramses III. seems, on the whole, to have been a sort of reduced copy, a little more delicate in make, of Ramses II.; his face shows more subtlety of expression and intelligence, though less nobility than that of the latter, while his figure is not so upright, his shoulders not so broad, and his general muscular vigour less. What has been said of his personality may be extended to his reign; it was evidently and designedly an imitation of the reign of Ramses II., but fell short of its model owing to the insufficiency of his resources in men and money. If Ramses III. did not succeed in becoming one of the most powerful of the Theban Pharaohs, it was not for lack of energy or ability; the depressed condition of Egypt at the time limited the success of his endeavours and caused them to fall short of his intentions. The work accomplished by him was not on this account less glorious. At his accession Egypt was in a wretched state, invaded on the west, threatened by a flood of barbarians on the east, without an army or a fleet, and with no resources in the treasury. In fifteen years he had disposed of his inconvenient neighbours, organised an army, constructed a fleet, re-established his authority

Histoire de l'Égypte, pp. 73-75, and Eisenlohr-Birch, *Annals of Rameses III.*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. viii. pp. 51, 52.

[1] This may be inferred from a document edited by Maspero, *Le Papyrus Mallet*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. i. pp. 53, 54; the term of four years is confirmed by the fact that a rough draft of a panegyric on the accession of Ramses IV. bears the date of his IVth year (Maspero, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire*, etc., in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ii. pp. 116, 117).

[2] As to the mummy of Ramses III., see Maspero, *Les Momies royales de Déir el-Baharî*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pp. 563-566.

abroad, and settled the administration at home on so firm a basis, that the country owed the peace which it enjoyed for several centuries to the institutions and prestige which he had given it. His associate in the government, Ramses IV., barely survived him. Then followed a series of *rois fainéants* bearing the name of Ramses, but in an order not yet clearly determined. It is generally assumed that Ramses V., brother of Ramses III., succeeded Ramses IV. by supplanting his nephews—who, however, appear to have soon re-established their claim to the throne, and to have followed each other in rapid succession as Ramses VI., Ramses VII., Ramses VIII., and Marituma.[1] Others endeavour to make out that Ramses V. was the son of Ramses IV., and that the prince called Ramses VI. never succeeded to the throne at all. At any rate, his son, who is styled Ramses VII., but who is asserted by some to have been a son of Ramses III., is considered to have succeeded Ramses V., and to have become the ancestor from whom the later Ramessides traced their descent.[2] The short reigns of these Pharaohs were marked by no events which would cast lustre on their names; one might say that they had nothing else to do than to enjoy peacefully the riches accumulated by their forefather.[3] Ramses IV. was anxious to profit by the commercial relations which had been again established between Egypt and Puanit, and, in order to facilitate the transit between Coptos and Kosseir, founded a station, and a temple dedicated to Isis, in the mountain of Bakhnî; by this route, we learn, more than eight thousand men had passed under the auspices of the high priest of Amon, Nakhtû-ramses.[4] This is the only undertaking of public utility which we can attribute to any of these kings. As we see them in their statues and portraits, they are heavy and squat and without refinement, with protruding eyes, thick lips, flattened and commonplace noses, round and expressionless faces. Their work was confined to the engraving of their cartouches on the blank spaces of the temples at Karnak and Medinet-Habu, and the addition of a few stones to the buildings at Memphis, Abydos, and Heliopolis. Whatever energy and means they

[1] The order of the Ramessides was first made out by Champollion the younger (cf. CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, *L'Égypte Ancienne*, pp. 325, 326) and by Rosellini (*Mon. Storici*, vol. ii. p. 38, and vol. iv. pp. 125, 186). Bunsen (*Ægyptens Stellung*, vol. iii. pp. 119, 120) and Lepsius (*Königsbuch*, pls. xxxviii.–xli.) reckon in it thirteen kings; E. de Rougé puts the number at fifteen or sixteen (*Étude sur une Stèle de la Bibl. Impériale*, pp. 191, 192, 194); Maspero makes the number to be twelve (*Les Momies royales*, etc., in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. p. 662), which was reduced still further by Sethe (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 59–61). Erman thinks that Ramses IX. and Ramses X. were also possibly sons of Ramses III. (*Die Söhne Ramses III.*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1883, pp. 60, 61); he consequently declines to recognise King Marituma as a son of that sovereign, as Brugsch would make out (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 625).

[2] This is the position ably maintained by SETHE, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 59–64. The monuments of these later Ramessides are so rare and so doubtful that I cannot yet see my way to a solution of the questions which they raise.

[3] For the probable duration of their reigns, which coincide with the lives of two high priests of Amon, see MASPERO, *Momies royales*, in the *Mémoires*, etc., vol. i. pp. 663–666.

[4] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.* iii. 219 e; cf. BRUGSCH, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 620–623.

possessed were expended on the construction of their magnificent tombs. These may still be seen in the Biban el-Moluk, and no visitor can refrain from admiring them for their magnitude and decoration. As to funerary chapels, owing to the shortness of the reigns of these kings, there was not time to construct them, and they therefore made up for this want by appropriating the chapel of their father, which was at Medinet-Habu, and it was here consequently that their worship was maintained.[1] The last of the sons of Ramses III. was succeeded by another and equally ephemeral Ramses; after whom came Ramses X. and Ramses XI., who re-established the tradition of more lasting reigns. There was now no need of expeditions against Kharu or Libya, for these enfeebled countries no longer disputed, from the force of custom, the authority of Egypt. From time to time an embassy from these countries would arrive at Thebes, bringing presents, which were pompously recorded as representing so much tribute.[2] If it is true that a people which has no history is happy, then Egypt ought to be reckoned as more fortunate under the feebler descendants of Ramses III. than it had ever been under the most famous Pharaohs.



A RAMSES OF THE XXth DYNASTY.[3]

Thebes continued to be the favourite royal residence. Here in its temple the kings were crowned, and in its palaces they passed the greater part of their lives, and here in its valley of sepulchres they were laid to rest when their reigns and lives were ended. The small city of the beginning of the

[1] Their tombs were described by Champollion; that of Ramses IV. in the *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., vol. i. pp. 470–476, 812–821 (cf. Lefébure, *Les Hypogées de Thèbes*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pts. 2 and 3), that of Ramses V. in Champollion, *Monuments*, etc., vol. ii. pp. 490–638 (cf. Lefébure, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. pt. 2), that of Ramses VI. in Champollion, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 490–688 (cf. Lefébure, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. pt. 1, pls. 43–80), that of Ramses VII. in Champollion, *op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 442–446, 803–806 (cf. Lefébure, pp. 1–8). There is in the Turin Museum a plan on a papyrus which Champollion thought to be that of the tomb of Ramses III. (Champollion-Figeac, *Égypte Ancienne*, p. 348), but which Lepsius rightly referred to that of Ramses IV. (*Grundplan des Grabes Ramses IV.*, in the *Memoirs* of the Academy of Sciences at Berlin, 1867; cf. Chabas, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 3rd series, vol. ii. pp. 175–202).

[2] The mention of a tribute, for instance, in the time of Ramses IV. from the Lotanu (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 223 c, l. 4).

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey; cf. Naville, *Bubastis*, pls. xvi., xxxviii., E. This is the Ramses VI. of the series now generally adopted.

XVIII[th] dynasty had long encroached upon the plain, and was now transformed into an immense town, with magnificent monuments, and a motley population, having absorbed in its extension the villages of Ashirû,[1] and Madit, and even the southern Apit, which we now call Luxor. But their walls could still be seen, rising up in the middle of modern constructions, a memorial of the heroic ages, when the power of the Theban princes was trembling in the balance, and when conflicts with the neighbouring barons or with the legitimate king were on the point of breaking out at every moment.[2] The inhabitants of Apit retained their walls, which coincided almost exactly with the boundary of Nsittaui, the great sanctuary of Amon; Ashirû sheltered behind its ramparts the temple of Mût, while Apit-rîsit clustered around a building consecrated by Amenôthes III. to his divine father, the lord of Thebes. Within the boundary walls of Thebes extended whole suburbs, more or less densely populated and prosperous, through which ran avenues of sphinxes connecting together the three chief boroughs of which the sovereign city was composed.[3] On every side might have been seen the same collections of low grey huts, separated from each other by some muddy pool where the cattle were wont to drink and the women to draw water; long streets lined with high houses, irregularly shaped open spaces, bazaars, gardens, courtyards, and shabby-looking palaces which, while presenting a plain and unadorned exterior, contained within them the refinements of luxury and the comforts of wealth.[4] The population did not exceed a hundred thousand souls,[5] reckoning a large proportion of foreigners attracted hither by commerce or held as slaves. The court of the Pharaoh drew to the city numerous provincials, who, coming thither to seek their fortune, took up their abode there, planting in the capital of Southern Egypt types from the north and the centre of the country, as well as from Nubia and the Oases; such a continuous infusion of foreign material into the ancient

[1] Upon this extension of Thebes, see pp. 303, 306 of the present work. The village of Ashirû was situated to the south of the temple of Karnak, close to the temple of Mût (Champollion, *Monuments*, etc., vol. ii. p. 262; Brugsch, *Dict. géog.*, pp. 71-73). Its ruins, containing the statues of Sekhît collected by Amenôthes III. (see p. 296 of the present work), extend around the remains marked X in Mariette's plan (*Karnak*, pl. B, cf. Révillout, *Données géographiques et topographiques sur Thèbes*, in the *Revue Égyptologique*, vol. i. p. 180).

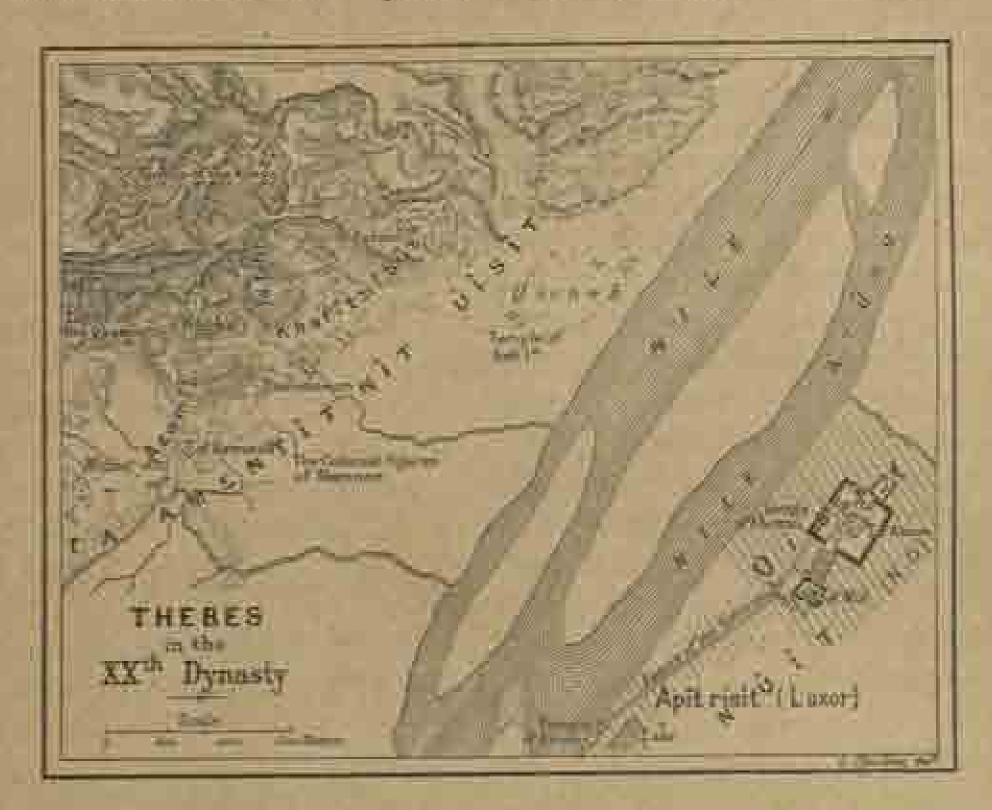
[2] These are the walls which are generally regarded as marking the sacred enclosures of the temples: an examination of the ruins of Thebes shows us that, during the XX[th] and XXI[st] dynasties, brick-built houses lay against these walls both on the inner and outer sides, so that they must have been half hidden by buildings, as are the ancient walls of Paris at the present day.

[3] For the period during which these avenues were constructed, see pp. 308, 309 of the present work.

[4] The only researches, as far as I know, which have been carried out in these ruins are those of Maspero, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 184-190.

[5] Letronne, after having shown that we have no authentic ancient document giving us the population, fixes it at 200,000 souls (*Œuvres choisies*, ed. Fagnan, pt. 1, vol. i. pp. 126-130). My estimate, which is, if anything, exaggerated, is based on the comparison of the area of ancient Thebes and that of such modern towns as Siût, Girgeh, and Qinâ, whose populations are known for the last fifty years from the census.

Theban stock gave rise to families of a highly mixed character, in which all the various races of Egypt were blended in the most capricious fashion. In every twenty officers, and in the same number of ordinary officials, about half would be either Syrians,[1] or recently naturalised Nubians, or the



descendants of both, and among the citizens such names as Pakhari the Syrian, Palamnaui the native of the Lebanon, Pinahsi the negro, Palasini the Alasian, preserved the indications of foreign origin.[2] A similar mixture of races was found in other cities, and Memphis, Bubastis, Tanis, and Siût must have presented as striking an aspect in this respect as Thebes.[3] At Memphis

[1] See p. 438 of the present volume as to Ben-Azana of the town of Zor-Bisana, and p. 460 as to Arisu, the Syrian, who was for a short time King of Egypt.

[2] Among the forty-three individuals compromised in the conspiracy against Ramses III. (see pp. 479, 480 of the present work) whose names have been examined by Devéria (*Le Papyrus Judiciaire de Turin*, etc., pp. 158–162), nine are foreigners, chiefly Semites, and were so recognised by the Egyptians themselves—Allaim (p. 139), Balmahara (p. 141), Garapusa (p. 144), Inini the Libyan (pp. 144, 157, 158), Pairisiauna, possibly the Jerusalemite (pp. 144, 148, 149), Nanaia, possibly the Ninevite (pp. 146, 147), Paluka the Lycian (pp. 152, 153), Qedendena (p. 150), and Uarana or Uaranu (pp. 160, 161). In regard to Kharui, Pakhari, see W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 240; and for Palamnaui, see Wiedemann, *Stela at Freiburg in Baden*, in the *Proceedings Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, 1890–91, vol. xiii. pp. 31, 32; and Lieblein, *Dictionnaire des noms propres*, No. 838, p. 286. As to the part played by foreigners in Egypt and their number, see Brugsch, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 197, et seq., and Erman, *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben*, pp. 156, 157, 683, 684.

[3] An examination of the stelæ of Abydos, published by Mariette in his *Catalogue Général*, shows the extent of foreign influence in this city in the middle of the XVIIIth dynasty.

there were regular colonies of Phœnician, Canaanite, and Amorite merchants sufficiently prosperous to have temples there to their national gods, and influential enough to gain adherents to their religion from the indigenous inhabitants. They worshipped Baal, Aniti, Baal-Zaphuna, and Ashtoreth, side by side with Phtah, Nofirtûmû, and Sokhit,[1] and this condition of things at Memphis was possibly paralleled elsewhere—as at Tanis and Bubastis. This blending of races was probably not so extensive in the country districts, except in places where mercenaries were employed as garrisons; but Sudanese or Hittite slaves, brought back by the soldiers of the ranks, had introduced Ethiopian and Asiatic elements into many a family of the fellahîn.[2] We have only to examine in any of our museums the statues of the Memphite and Theban periods respectively, to see the contrast between the individuals represented in them as far as regards stature and appearance. Some members of the courts of the Ramessides stand out as genuine Semites notwithstanding the disguise of their Egyptian names; and in the times of Kheops and Usirtasen they would have been regarded as barbarians. Many of them exhibit on their faces a blending of the distinctive features of one or other of the predominant Oriental races of the time. Additional evidence of a mixture of races is forthcoming when we examine with an unbiased mind the mummies of the period, and the complexity of the new elements introduced among the people by the political movements of the later centuries is thus strongly confirmed. The new-comers had all been absorbed and assimilated by the country, but the generations which arose from this continual cross-breeding, while representing externally the Egyptians of older epochs, in manners, language, and religion, were at bottom something different, and the difference became the more accentuated as the foreign elements increased. The people were thus gradually divested of the character which had distinguished them before the conquest of Syria; the dispositions and defects imported from without counteracted to such an extent their own native dispositions and defects that all marks of individuality were effaced and nullified. The race tended to become more and more what it long continued to be afterwards,—a lifeless and inert mass, without individual energy—endowed, it is true, with patience, endurance, cheerfulness of temperament, and good nature, but with little power of self-

[1] These gods are mentioned in the preamble of a letter written on the *verso* of the *Sallier Papyrus*, No. iv. pl. i. l. 6; they were first noticed by Goodwin (*Notes*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1873, p. 14). From the mode in which they are introduced we may rightly infer that they had, like the Egyptian gods who are mentioned with them, their chapels at Memphis. As to the other Semitic gods and goddesses worshipped in Egypt, see pp. 154, 158 of the present work. A place in Memphis is called "the district called the district of the Kharû" in an inscription of the IIIrd year of Ai (Daressy, *Notes, etc.*, § xxiii., in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xvi. p. 123), and shows that Hittites were there by the side of Canaanites.

[2] One of the letters in the *Great Bologna Papyrus* treats of a Syrian slave, employed as a cultivator at Hermopolis, who had run away from his master (Chabas, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 2nd series, vol. i. pp. 232, 233).

government, and thus forced to submit to foreign masters who made use of it and oppressed it without pity.

The upper classes had degenerated as much as the masses. The feudal nobles who had expelled the Shepherds, and carried the frontiers of the empire to the banks of the Euphrates, seemed to have expended their energies in the effort, and to have almost ceased to exist. As long as Egypt was restricted to the Nile valley, there was no such disproportion between the power of the Pharaoh and that of his feudatories as to prevent the latter from maintaining their privileges beside, and, when occasion arose, even against the monarch. The conquest of Asia, while it compelled them either to take up arms themselves or to send their troops to a distance, accustomed them and their soldiers to a passive obedience. The maintenance of a strict discipline in the army was the first condition of successful campaigning at great distances from the mother country and in the midst of hostile people, and the unquestioning respect which they had to pay to the orders of their general prepared them for abject submission to the will of their sovereign. To their bravery, moreover, they owed not only money and slaves, but also necklaces and bracelets of honour, and distinctions and offices in the Pharaonic administration. The king, in addition, neglected no opportunity for securing their devotion to himself. He gave to them in marriage his sisters, his daughters, his cousins, and any of the princesses whom he was not compelled by law to make his own wives. He selected from their harems nursing-mothers for his own sons, and this choice established between him and them a foster relationship, which was as binding among the Egyptians and other Oriental peoples as one of blood. It was not even necessary for the establishment of this relation that the foster-mother's connexion with the Pharaoh's son should be durable or even effective: the woman had only to offer her breast to the child for a moment, and this symbol was quite enough to make her his nurse—his true *monâit*. This fictitious fosterage was carried so far, that it was even made use of in the case of youths and persons of mature age. When an Egyptian woman wished to adopt an adult, the law prescribed that she should offer him the breast, and from that moment he became her son. A similar ceremony was prescribed in the case of men who wished to assume the quality of male nurse—*monâi*—or even, indeed, of female nurse—*monâit*—like that of their wives; according to which they were to place, it would seem, the end of one of their fingers in the mouth of the child.[1] Once this affinity was established, the fidelity of these feudal lords was established beyond question; and their official duties to the

[1] These symbolical modes of adoption were first pointed out by MASPERO, *Notes au jour le jour*, § 23, in *Proc. Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, 1891–2, vol. xiv. pp. 308–312; cf. WIEDEMANN, *Die Milchverwandtschaft im alt. Ægypt.*, in *Am Ur-Quell*, 1892, vol. iii. pp. 259–267. Legend has given examples of them; as, for instance, where Isis fosters the child of Malkander, King of Byblos, by inserting the tip of her finger in its mouth.

sovereign were not considered as accomplished when they had fulfilled their military obligations, for they continued to serve him in the palace as they had served him on the field. Wherever the necessities of the government called them—at Memphis, at Ramses, or elsewhere—they assembled around the Pharaoh; like him they had their palaces at Thebes, and when they died they were anxious to be buried there beside him.[1] Many of the old houses had become extinct, while others, owing to marriages, were absorbed into the royal family; the fiefs conceded to the relations or favourites of the Pharaoh continued to exist, indeed, as of old, but the ancient distrustful and turbulent feudality had given place to an aristocracy of courtiers, who lived oftener in attendance on the monarch than on their own estates, and whose authority continued to diminish to the profit of the absolute rule of the king. There would be nothing astonishing in the "count" becoming nothing more than a governor, hereditary or otherwise, in Thebes itself; he could hardly be anything higher in the capital of the empire.[2] But the same restriction of authority was evidenced in all the provinces: the recruiting of soldiers, the receipt of taxes, most of the offices associated with the civil or military administration, became more and more affairs of the State, and passed from the hands of the feudal lord into those of the functionaries of the Crown. The few barons who still lived on their estates, while they were thus dispossessed of the greater part of their prerogatives, obtained some compensation, on the other hand, on the side of religion. From early times they had been by birth the heads of the local cults, and their protocol had contained, together with those titles which justified their possession of the temporalities of the nome, others which attributed to them spiritual supremacy. The sacred character with which they were invested became more and more prominent in proportion as their political influence became curtailed, and we find scions of the old warlike families or representatives of a new lineage at Thinis, at Akhmim,[3] in the nome of Siût,[4]

[1] The tomb of a prince of Tebti, the lesser Aphroditopolis, was discovered at Thebes by Maspero, *Le Tombeau de Montouhikhopshouf*, in the *Mémoires*, etc., vol. v. p. 435, et seq. The rock-cut tombs of two Thinite princes were noted in the same necropolis, and referred to by Champollion, *Monuments*, etc., vol. i. p. 525, No. 34, and one of them was published by Virey, *Le Tombeau de Khem*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission*, vol. v. p. 362, et seq. These two were of the time of Thûtmosis III. I have remarked in tombs not yet made public the mention of princes of El-Kab, who played an important part about the person of the Pharaohs down to the beginning of the XXth dynasty.

[2] Rakhmirî and his son Menkhopirrîsonbu were both "counts" of Thebes under Thûtmosis III. (Virey, *Le Tombeau de Rekhmara*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. v. pp. 1-3, and *Le Tombeau de Rammenkheperseneb*, p. 197, et seq.), and there is nothing to show that there was any other person among them invested with the same functions and belonging to a different family.

[3] See, for example, the tomb of Anhurimosu, high priest of Anhuri-Shu and prince of Thinis, under Minephtah (Mariette-Maspero, *Monuments divers*, pp. 26, 27, and pl. 79), where the sacerdotal character is almost exclusively prominent. The same is the case with the tombs of the princes of Akhmim in the time of Khûniatonû and his successors; the few still existing in 1884-5 have not been published. The stelæ belonging to them are at Paris and Berlin.

[4] Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr-Rifeh*, pls. 18, 19, where, in the tomb of Pahur-Nâhu, the religious features of the inscriptions eclipse the military ones.

at Hieraconpolis,[1] at El-Kab,[2] and in every place where we have information from the monuments as to their position, bestowing more concern upon their sacerdotal than on their other duties. This transfiguration of the functions of the barons, which had been completed under the XIXth and XXth dynasties, corresponded with a more general movement by which the Pharaohs themselves were driven to accentuate their official position as high priests, and to assign to their sons sacerdotal functions in relation to the principal deities. This rekindling of religious fervour would not, doubtless, have restrained military zeal in case of war;[3] but if it did not tend to suppress entirely individual bravery, it discouraged the taste for arms and for the bold adventures which had characterised the old feudality. The duties of sacrificing, of offering prayer, of celebrating the sacred rites according to the prescribed forms, and rendering due homage to the gods in the manner they demanded, were of such an exactingly scrupulous and complex character that the Pharaohs and the lords of earlier times had to assign them to men specially fitted for, and appointed to, the task;[4] now that they had assumed these absorbing functions themselves, they were obliged to delegate to others an increasingly greater proportion of their civil and military duties. Thus, while the king and his great vassals were devoutly occupying themselves in matters of worship and theology, generals by profession were relieving them of the care of commanding their armies; and as these individuals were frequently the chiefs of Ethiopian, Asiatic, and especially of Libyan bands, military authority, and, with it, predominant influence in the State were quickly passing into the hands of the barbarians. A sort of aristocracy of veterans, notably of Shardana or Mashauasha, entirely devoted to arms, grew up and increased gradually side by side with the ancient noble families, now by preference devoted to the priesthood.[5]

The barons, whether of ancient or modern lineage, were possessed of immense wealth, especially those of priestly families. The tribute and spoil of Asia and Africa, when once it had reached Egypt, hardly ever left it:

[1] Horimîsâ, Prince of Hieraconpolis under Thûtmosis III., is, above everything else, a prophet of the local Horus (Bouriant, *Les Tombeaux d'Hiéraconpolis*, in the *Études Archéologiques, etc., dédiées à M. le Dr Leemans*, pp. 37, 40).

[2] The princes of El-Kab during the XIXth and XXth dynasties were, before everything, priests of Nekhabît, as appears from an examination of their tombs, which, lying in a side valley, far away from the tomb of Pihiri, are rarely visited.

[3] The sons of Ramses II., Khâmoîsît and Maritûmû, were brave warriors in spite of their being high priests of Phtah at Memphis, and of Râ at Heliopolis. With respect to Khâmoîsît, see pp. 424, 425 of the present work; and in regard to Maritûmû, see Erman, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss der Ægyptischen Alterthümer*, 1894, p. 22, No. 7347. We shall see later on how the high priests of Amon, Hrihor, Piankhi, Pinotmu, took the title of commander-in-chief.

[4] For further information upon these "men of the roll," see *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 124-127.

[5] This military aristocracy was fully developed in the XXIst and XXIInd dynasties, but it began to take shape after Ramses III. had planted the Shardana and Qahaka in certain towns as garrisons; see on this subject, pp. 473-474, 479 of the present work.

they were distributed among the population in proportion to the position occupied by the recipients in the social scale. The commanders of the troops, the attendants on the king, the administrators of the palace and temples, absorbed the greater part, but the distribution was carried down to the private soldier and his relations in town or country, who received some of the crumbs.[1] When we remember for a moment the four centuries and more during which Egypt had been reaping the fruits of her foreign conquest, we cannot think without amazement of the quantities of gold and other precious metals which must have been brought in divers forms into the valley of the Nile.[2] Every fresh expedition made additions to these riches, and one is at a loss to know whence in the intervals between two defeats the conquered could procure so much wealth, and why the sources were never exhausted nor became impoverished. This flow of metals had an influence upon commercial transactions, for although trade was still mainly carried on by barter, the mode of operation was becoming changed appreciably. In exchanging commodities, frequent use was now made of rings and ingots of a certain prescribed weight in *tabonû*; and it became more and more the custom to pay for goods by a certain number of *tabonû* of gold, silver, or copper, rather than by other commodities: it was the practice even to note down in invoices or in the official receipts, alongside the products or manufactured articles with which payments were made, the value of the same in weighed metal.[3] This custom, although not yet widely extended, placed at the disposal of trade enormous masses of metal, which were preserved in the form of ingots or bricks, except the portion which went to the manufacture of rings, jewellery, or valuable vessels.[4] The general prosperity

[1] See, on pp. 86, 87, 88 of this work, the notices of the quantity of spoils received by the two officers of subordinate rank, both called Ahmosis of El-Kab. On one occasion there is (pp. 90, 91) the distribution of booty to the whole crew of a ship who had distinguished themselves brilliantly.

[2] The quantity of gold in ingots or rings, mentioned in the *Annals of Thûtmosis III.*, represents altogether a weight of nearly a ton and a quarter, or in value some £140,000 of our money. And this is far from being the whole of the metal obtained from the enemy, for a large portion of the inscription has disappeared, and the unrecorded amount might be taken, without much risk of error, at as much as that of which we have evidence—say, some two and a half tons, which Thûtmosis had received or brought back between the years XXIII. and XLII. of his reign—an estimation rather under than over the reality. These figures, moreover, take no account of the vessels and statues, or of the furniture and arms plated with gold. Silver was not received in such large quantities, but it was of great value, and the like may be said of copper and lead.

[3] The facts justifying this position were observed and put together for the first time by CHABAS, *Recherches sur les poids, etc., des Anciens Égyptiens*, pp. 15–46: a translation is given in this memoir of a register of the XX[th] or XXI[st] dynasty (MARIETTE, *Les Papyrus Égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq*, vol. ii. pls. iii., iv.), which gives the price of butcher's meat, both in gold and silver, at this date. Fresh examples have been since collected by Spiegelberg, who has succeeded in drawing up a kind of tariff for the period between the XVIII[th] and XX[th] dynasties (*Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setî's I.*, Text, pp. 87–93).

[4] There are depicted on the monuments bags or heaps of gold dust, ingots in the shape of bricks, rings, and vases, arranged alongside each other: to cite only one example, see the Treasure scenes at Medinet-Habu (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, vol. i. pp. 365, 367; DÜMICHEN, *Historische Inschriften*, vol. i. pls. xxx.–xxxiv., and *Resultate*, vol. i. pls. xxviii., xxix., and pp. 22, 23), which reminded many Egyptologists of the legend of Rhampsinitos.

encouraged a passion for goldsmiths' work, and the use of bracelets, necklaces, and chains became common among classes of the people who were not previously accustomed to wear them.[1] There was henceforward no scribe or merchant, however poor he might be, who had not his seal made of gold or silver, or at any rate of copper gilt. The stone was sometimes fixed, but frequently arranged so as to turn round on a pivot; while among people of superior rank it had some emblem or device upon it, such as a scorpion, a sparrow-hawk, a lion, or a cynocephalous monkey. Chains occupied the same position among the ornaments of Egyptian women as rings among men; they were indispensable decorations. Examples of silver chains are known of some five feet in length, while others do not exceed two to three inches. There are specimens in gold of all sizes, single, double, and triple, with large or small links, some thick and heavy, while others are as slight and flexible as the finest Venetian lace. The poorest peasant woman, alike with the lady of the court, could boast of the possession of a chain, and she must have been in dire poverty who had not some other ornament in her jewel-case. The jewellery of Queen Âhhotpû shows to what degree of excellence the work of the Egyptian goldsmiths had attained at the time of the expulsion of the Hyksôs: they had not only preserved the good traditions of the best workmen of the XIIth dynasty, but they had perfected the technical details, and had learned to combine form and colour with a greater skill.[2] The pectorals of Prince Khâmoîsit and the Lord Psaru, now in the Louvre, but which were originally placed in the tomb of the Apis in the time of Ramses II.,[3] are splendid examples. The most common form of these represents in miniature the front of a temple with a moulded or flat border, surmounted by a curved cornice. In one of them, which was doubtless a present from the king himself, the cartouche, containing the first name of the Pharaoh-Usirmarî, appears just below the frieze, and serves as a centre for the design within the frame. The wings of the ram-headed sparrow-hawk, the emblem of Amonrâ, are so displayed as to support it, while a large uræus and a vulture beneath embracing both the sparrow-hawk and the cartouche with outspread wings give the idea of divine protection. Two *didû*, each of them filling one of the lower corners, symbolise duration. The framework of the design is made up of divisions

[1] See, for the Egyptian goldsmiths' work of this period, PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. i. pp. 821–829, and MASPERO, *Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 304–315.

[2] Some of the jewels of Queen Âhhotpû I. are represented on pp. 2, 3, 97, 108 of the present work; for the jewellery of the XIIth dynasty, see *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 518.

[3] These jewels, which were discovered by Mariette in his excavations in the Serapeum, are represented in *Le Sérapeum de Memphis*, 1863, pls. 9, 12, 20; cf. PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Histoire de l'Art Égyptien*, vol. ii., and *Text*, pp. 440, 441; PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. i. pp. 821–822, and MASPERO, *Les Bijoux égyptiens du Louvre*, in *La Nature*, vol. xiv. pp. 228–234.

marked out in gold, and filled either with coloured enamels or pieces of polished stone. The general effect is one of elegance, refinement, and harmony, the three principal elements of the design becoming enlarged from the top downwards in a deftly adjusted gradation. The dead gold of the cartouche in the upper centre is set off below by the brightly variegated and slightly undulating band of colours of the sparrow-hawk, while the uræus and vulture, associated together with one pair of wings, envelope the upper portions in a half-circle of enamels, of which the shades pass from red through green to a dull blue, with a freedom of handling and a skill in the manipulation of colour which do honour to the artist. It was not his fault if there is still an element of stiffness in the appearance of the pectoral as a whole, for the form which religious tradition had imposed upon the jewel was so rigid that no artifice could completely get over this defect. It is a type which arose out of the same mental concepts as had given birth to Egyptian architecture and sculpture—monumental in character, and appearing often as if designed for colossal rather than ordinary beings. The dimensions, too overpowering for the decoration of normal men or women, would find an appropriate place only on the breasts of gigantic statues; the enormous size of the stone figures to which alone they are adapted would relieve them, and show them in their proper proportions. The artists of the second Theban empire tried all they could, however, to get rid of the square framework in which the sacred bird is enclosed, and we find examples among the pectorals in the Louvre of the sparrow-hawk only with curved wings,[2] or of the ram-headed hawk with the wings extended; but in both of them there is displayed the same brilliancy, the same purity of line, as in the square-shaped jewels, while the design, freed from the trammels of the hampering enamelled frame, takes on a more graceful form, and becomes more suitable for personal decoration. The ram's head in the second case excels in the beauty of its workmanship anything to be found elsewhere in



PECTORAL OF RAMSES II.[1]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the jewel in the Louvre; cf. Pierret, *Catalogue de la Salle Historique de la Galerie Égyptienne*, p. 128, No. 521, and Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, 1882, pl. 9.

[2] This pectoral is reproduced as a tail-piece to the table of contents of the present chapter, p. 426; cf. Pierret, *Catalogue de la Salle Historique de la Galerie Égyptienne*, p. 127, No. 531, and Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, 1882, pl. 36.



THE RAM-HEADED SPARROW-HAWK IN THE LOUVRE.[1]

the museums of Europe or Egypt. It is of the finest gold, but its value does not depend upon the precious material: the ancient engraver knew how to model it with a bold and free hand, and he has managed to invest it with as much dignity as if he had been carving his subject in heroic size out of a block of granite or limestone. It is not an example of pure industrial art, but of an art for which a designation is lacking. Other examples, although more carefully executed and of more costly materials, do not approach it in value: such, for instance, are the ear-rings of Ramses XII. at Gizeh, which are made up of an ostentatious combination of disks, filigree-work, chains, beads, and hanging figures of the uræus.[2]

DECORATED ARMCHAIR.[4]

To get an idea of the character of the plate on the royal sideboards, we must have recourse to the sculptures in the temples, or to the paintings on the tombs: the engraved gold or silver centrepieces, dishes, bowls, cups, and amphoræ, if valued by weight only, were too precious to escape the avarice of the impoverished generations which followed the era of Theban prosperity.[3] In the fabrication of these we can trace foreign influences, but not to the extent of a predominance over native art: even if the subject to be dealt with by the artist happened to be a Phœnician god or an Asiatic prisoner, he was not content with slavishly copying his model; he translated it and interpreted it, so as to give it an Egyptian character.

The household furniture was in keeping with these precious objects. Beds and armchairs in valuable woods, inlaid with ivory, carved, gilt, painted in subdued and bright colours, upholstered with mattresses and cushions of many-hued Asiatic stuffs, or of home-made materials, fashioned after Chaldæan patterns,[5] were in use among the well-to-do, while people of moderate means

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a jewel in the Louvre; cf. Pierret, *Catalogue de la Salle Historique de la Galerie Égyptienne*, p. 127, No. 635, and Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, pl. 12.

[2] Mariette, *Abydos*, vol. ii. pl. 40 *a*, *b*, and *Catalogue Général*, pp. 527–529, No. 1370.

[3] See pp. 235, 263 of the present work for specimens of table-services, especially of those in the precious metals; the finest examples have been described by Prisse d'Avennes, *Hist. de l'Art Égyptien*, vol. ii., and Text, pp. 430–433, 435–438.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from one of those objects in the tomb of Ramses III.; cf. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., pl. cclviii.; Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. xci.

[5] For Egyptian furniture in the XIXth and XXth dynasties, see Prisse d'Avennes, *Hist. de l'Art Égyptien*, vol. ii., and Text, pp. 138, 139; Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiq.*, vol. i. pp. 841–845; Erman, *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben*, pp. 259–263; Maspero, *Arch. Égyptienne*, pp. 261–270; and particularly Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. i. pp. 408–421, vol. ii. pp. 193–201.

had to be content with old-fashioned furniture of the ancient régime. The Theban dwelling-house was indeed more sumptuously furnished than the earliest Memphite, but we find the same general arrangements in both, which provided, in addition to quarters for the masters, a similar number of rooms intended for the slaves, for granaries, storehouses, and stables.[1] While the outward decoration of life was subject to change, the inward element remained unaltered. Costume was a more complex matter than in former times: the dresses and lower garments were more gauffered, had more embroidery and stripes; the wigs were larger and longer, and rose up in capricious arrangements of curls and plaits.[2] The use of the chariot had now become a matter of daily custom, and the number of domestics, already formidable, was increased by fresh additions in the shape of coachmen, grooms, and *saïses*, who ran before their master to clear a way for the horses through the crowded streets of the city.[3] As material existence became more complex, intellectual life partook of the same movement, and, without deviating much from the lines prescribed for it by the learned and the scribes of the Memphite age, literature had become in the mean time larger, more complicated, more exacting, and more difficult to grapple with and to master. It had its classical authors, whose writings were committed to memory and taught in the schools. These were truly masterpieces, for if some felt that they understood and enjoyed them, others found them almost beyond their comprehension, and complained bitterly of their obscurity.[5] The later writers followed them pretty closely, in taking pains, on the one hand, to express fresh ideas in the forms consecrated by approved and ancient usage, or when they failed to find adequate vehicles to convey new thoughts,



EGYPTIAN WIG.[4]

[1] It is easy to convince oneself of this, by comparing a town of the XIIth dynasty, given on p. 315, *Dawn of Civilization*, after Petrie's drawings, with the plans of houses of the XVIIIth, for which also I am indebted to PETRIE, *Tell el-Amarna*, pls. xxxviii.–xlii.

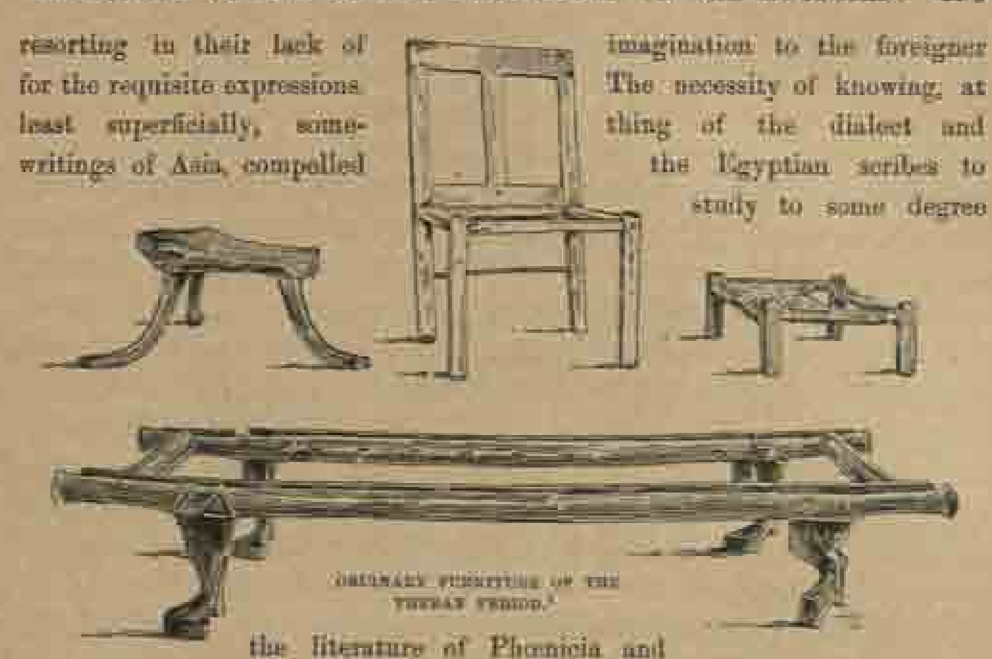
[2] For the costume of this period, see WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. ii. pp. 322–339, and especially ERMAN, *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben*, pp. 287–316. Examples are given in the *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 180, 183, 188, 189, 194, and in the present work, pp. 96, 227, 229, 272, 301, 316–317, 319, 320, 322, 331–333.

[3] The pictures at Tel el-Amarna exhibit the king, queen, and princesses driving in their chariots with escorts of soldiers and runners (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 92, 93). We often find in the tomb-paintings the chariot and coachman of some dignitary, waiting while their master inspects a field or a workshop, or while he is making a visit to the palace for some reward (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., pl. cxliv., No. 1, and vol. i. p. 262; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. cxxi., No. 3, and p. 238, et seq.; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 104, 105, 108).

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by M. de Mertens; cf. ERMAN, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss der Ægyptischen Alterthümer*, No. 6911, p. 89.

[5] See in the *Anastasi Papyrus*, No. 1, pl. x. l. 9, pl. xi. l. 8, the passage in which the scribe of the time of Ramses II. states that few could understand the ancient writings attributed to the Prince Dadfhorû, son of Mykerinos, and one of which at least, chap. lxiv. of the *Book of the Dead*, has come down to us (CHABAS, *Voyage d'un Égyptien*, pp. 45–50).

resorting in their lack of imagination to the foreigner for the requisite expressions. The necessity of knowing, at least superficially, something of the dialect and writings of Asia, compelled the Egyptian scribes to study to some degree



ORDINARY FURNITURE OF THE THEBAN PERIOD.[1]

the literature of Phœnicia and of Chaldæa.[2] From these sources they had borrowed certain formulæ of incantation,[3] medical recipes,[4] and devout legends, in which the deities of Assyria and especially Astartê played the chief part.[5] They appropriated in this manner a certain number of words and phrases with which they were accustomed to interlard their discourses and writings. They thought it polite to call a door no longer by the word *ro*, but by the term *tirâ*, and to accompany themselves no longer with the harp *bonît*, but with the same instrument under its new name *kinnôr*, and to make the *zaldîa* in saluting the sovereign in place of crying before him, *aaa*. They were thorough-going Semiticisers; but one is less offended by their affectation when one considers that the number of captives in the country, and the intermarriages with Canaanite women, had familiarised a portion of the community from childhood with the sounds and ideas of the languages from which the scribes were accustomed to borrow unblushingly.[6] This artifice, if it served to infuse an

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from photographs of the objects in the Museums of Berlin and Gizeh.

[2] See what has been said on this subject on p. 167 of the present work. Several of the literary or religious pieces found at Tel el-Amarna seem to help in their studies Egyptian scribes who were qualifying for the office of dragoman. See pp. 275, 276 of the present work.

[3] See the *Harris Magic Papyrus*, ed. Chabas, pl. c. ll. 4-5; the formula there given seems a transcription in hieroglyphics of an incantation in cuneiform characters.

[4] *Ebers Papyrus*, pl. lxiii. l. 8, *et seq.*, where the Egyptian compiler has inserted, among other formulæ, a special *recipe* furnished him by an "Asiatic of Byblos."

[5] Birch, *Varia*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1871, pp. 119, 120, according to fragments then in the Tyssen Amherst collection.

[6] The Semiticising mania of the Theban scribes was pointed out by Maspero, *Du Genre Épistolaire*, pp. 8-10, and afterwards by Erman, *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben*, pp. 682-684. Some of the words thus introduced have been put together and commented on by Lauth, *Semitische Lehnwörter im Ægyptischen*, in the *Zeitschrift der D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, vol. xxv. pp. 618-644, and by Bondi, *Dem Hebräisch-phönizischen Sprachzweige angehörige Lehnwörter in Hieroglyphischen und Hieratischen*

appearance of originality into their writings, had no influence upon their method of composition. Their poetical ideal remained what it had been in the time of their ancestors, but seeing that we are now unable to determine the characteristic cadence of sentences or the mental attitude which marked each generation of literary men, it is often difficult for us to find out the qualities in their writings which gave them popularity. A complete library of one of the learned in the Ramesside period must have contained a strange mixture of works, embracing, in addition to books of devotion, which were indispensable to those who were solicitous about their souls,[1] collections of hymns; romances, war and love songs, moral and philosophical treatises, letters, and legal documents. It would have been similar in character to the literary possessions of an Egyptian of the Memphite period,[2] but the language in which it was written would not have been so stiff and dry, but would have flowed more easily, and been more sustained and better balanced. The great odes to the deities which we find in the Theban *papyri* are better fitted, perhaps, than the profane compositions of the period, to give us an idea of the advance which Egyptian genius had made in the width and richness of its modes of expression, while still maintaining almost the same dead-level of ideas which had characterised it from the outset. Among these, one dedicated to Harmakhis, the sovereign sun, is no longer restricted to a bare enumeration of the acts and virtues of the "Disk," but ventures to treat of his daily course and his final triumphs in terms which might have been used in describing the victorious campaigns or the apotheosis of a Pharaoh.[3] It begins with his awakening, at the moment when he has torn himself away from the embraces of night. Standing upright in the cabin of the divine bark, "the fair boat of millions of years," with the coils of the serpent Mihni around him, he glides in silence on the eternal current of the celestial waters, guided and protected by those battalions of secondary deities with whose

Texten, 1886. It appears not to have been noticed that several of these words betray an Aramaean origin from the XVIIIth dynasty onwards.

[1] There are found in the rubrics of many religious books, for example that dealing with the nether world (Maspero, *Études de Mythologie*, etc., vol. ii. pp. 24–27), promises of health and prosperity to the soul which, "while still on earth," had read and learned them. A similar formula appears at the end of several important chapters of the *Book of the Dead* (Guieysse, *Rit. Funér. Égyptien*, ch. 64, pp. 58, 59).

[2] See *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 398–401. The composition of these libraries may be gathered from the collections of papyri which have turned up from time to time, and have been sold by the Arabs to European buyers; *e.g.* the Sallier Collection, the Anastasi Collections, and that of Harris. They have found their way eventually into the British Museum or the Museum at Leyden, and have been published in the *Select Papyri* of the former, or in the *Monuments Égyptiens* of the latter.

[3] The hymn to Harmakhis is in the Berlin Museum, and was published by Lepsius, *Denkm.*, vi. 115, 117 a; it was translated by Maspero, *Études de Mythologie*, vol. ii. pp. 454–457, and *Hist. Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient*, 4th edit., pp. 286–291. A hymn to Phtah in the same style, now also at Berlin (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, vi. 118–121), has been translated by Pierret, *Études Égyptologiques*, pp. 1–19. Finally, the great hymn to Amon in the Bulaq Papyrus (Mariette, *Les Papyrus Égyptiens*, etc., vol. ii. pls. 11–13) has been translated into French by Grébaut, *Hymne à Ammon-Râ des Pap. Égypt. du Musée de Boulaq*, 1876, vol. i., into German by Stern, *Ein Hymnus auf Amon-Ra*, in *Zeitschrift*, 1873, pp. 74–81, 125–127, and into English by Goodwin, *Translation of an Egyptian Hymn to Amen*, in *Trans. Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. ii. pp. 250–263, and *Hymn to Amen-Ra*, in *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. ii. pp. 127–136.

odd forms the monuments have made us familiar. "Heaven is in delight, the earth is in joy, gods and men are making festival, to render glory to Phrâ-Harmakhis, when they see him arise in his bark, having overturned his enemies in his own time!" They accompany him from hour to hour, they fight the good fight with him against Apopi, they shout aloud as he inflicts each fresh wound upon the monster; they do not even abandon him when the west has swallowed him up in its darkness.[1] Some parts of the hymn remind us, in the definiteness of the imagery and in the abundance of detail, of a portion of the poem of Pentaûirît, or one of those inscriptions of Ramses III. wherein he celebrates the defeat of hordes of Asiatics or Libyans.

The Egyptians took a delight in listening to stories. They preferred tales which dealt with the marvellous and excited their imagination, introducing speaking animals, gods in disguise, ghosts and magic.[1] One of them tells of a king who was distressed because he had no heir, and had no sooner obtained the favour he desired from the gods, than the Seven Hathors, the mistresses of Fate, destroyed his happiness by predicting that the child would meet with his death by a serpent, a dog, or a crocodile.[2] Efforts were made to provide against such a fatality by shutting him up in a tower; but no sooner had he grown to man's estate, than he procured himself a dog, went off to wander through the world, and married the daughter of the Prince of Naharaim. His fate meets him first under the form of a serpent, which is killed by his wife; he is next assailed by a crocodile, and the dog kills the crocodile, but as the oracles must be fulfilled, the brute turns and despatches his master without further consideration.[3] Another story describes two brothers, Anûpû and Bitiû, who live happily together on their farm till the wife of the elder falls in love with the younger, and on his repulsing her advances, she accuses him to her husband of having offered her violence. The virtue of the younger brother would not have availed him much, had not his animals warned him of danger, and had not Phrâ-Harmakhis surrounded him at the critical moment with a stream teeming with crocodiles. He mutilates himself to prove his innocence, and announces that henceforth he will lead a mysterious existence far from mankind; he will retire to the Valley

[1] The remains of Egyptian romantic literature have been collected and translated into French by Maspero, *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 2nd edit., 1889, and subsequently into English by Flinders Petrie, *Egyptian Tales*, i., ii., 1895.

[2] For the part of fairy godmothers played in Egypt by the Seven Hathors, cf. Maspero, *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 2nd edit., pp. lxv.–lxviii.; for the methods of evading, or at least of delaying, the execution of decrees of fate, cf. *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 212–215.

[3] This *Story of the Doomed Prince* was discovered in the *Harris Papyrus*, No. 500, in the British Museum, and published by Goodwin, *Translation of a Fragment of an Egyptian Fabulous Tale, the Doomed Prince*, in the *Transactions of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch.*, vol. iii. pp. 349–356 (cf. the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. ii. pp. 153–160), translated and commented on by Maspero, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 1–47, and completed by Ebers, *Das alte Ægyptische Märchen vom verwunschenen Prinzen, nacherzählt und zu Ende geführt*, in *Westermann's Monatshefte*, Oct., 1881, pp. 96–103; cf. Maspero, *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 2nd edit., pp. 225–241, and Petrie, *Egyptian Tales*, 2nd series, pp. 13–35.

of the Acacia, place his heart on the topmost flower of the tree, and no one will be able with impunity to steal it from him. The gods, however, who frequent this earth take pity on his loneliness, and create for him a wife of such beauty that the Nile falls in love with her, and steals a lock of her hair, which is carried by its waters down into Egypt. Pharaoh finds the lock, and, intoxicated by its scent, commands his people to go in quest of the owner. Having discovered the lady, Pharaoh marries her, and ascertaining from her who she is, he sends men to cut down the Acacia, but no sooner has the flower touched the earth, than Bitiû droops and dies. The elder brother is made immediately acquainted with the fact by means of various prodigies. The wine poured out to him becomes troubled, his beer leaves a deposit. He seizes his shoes and staff and sets out to find the heart. After a search of seven years he discovers it, and reviving it in a vase of water, he puts it into the mouth of the corpse, which at once returns to life. Bitiû, from this moment, seeks only to be revenged. He changes himself into the bull Apis, and, on being led to court, he reproaches the queen with the crime she has committed against him. The queen causes his throat to be cut; two drops of his blood fall in front of the gate of the palace, and produce in the night two splendid "Persea" trees, which renew the accusation in a loud voice. The queen has them cut down, but a chip from one of them flies into her mouth, and ere long she gives birth to a child who is none other than a re-incarnation of Bitiû. When the child succeeds to the Pharaoh, he assembles his council, reveals himself to them, and punishes with death her who was first his wife and subsequently his mother.[1] The hero moves throughout the tale without exhibiting any surprise at the strange incidents in which he takes part, and, as a matter of fact, they did not seriously outrage the probabilities of contemporary life. In every town sorcerers could be found who knew how to transform themselves into animals or raise the dead to life:[2] we have seen how the accomplices of Pentaûirit had recourse to spells in order to gain admission to the royal palace when they desired to rid themselves of Ramses III.[3] The most extravagant romances differed from real life merely in collecting within a dozen pages more miracles than were customarily supposed to take place in the same number of years; it was merely the multiplicity of events, and not the events themselves, that gave to the narrative its romantic and improbable character.[4] The rank of the heroes alone

[1] The *Orbiney Papyrus*, which contains the *Tale of the Two Brothers* (*Select Papyri*, vol. ii. pls. ix.–xix.), was discovered and interpreted by E. de Rougé, *Notice sur un manuscrit égyptien en écriture hiératique*, in the *Athenæum Français*, 1852, and in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1st series, vol. viii. p. 30, *et seq.* It has since then been translated or commented upon by some dozen Egyptologists, and the translation, with a bibliography, will be found in Maspero, *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 2nd edit., pp. 1–32, and also in Petrie, *Egyptian Tales*, 2nd series, pp. 36–88.

[2] Cf. *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 209, 279, 282, for the resurrections effected by the magician Didi.

[3] Cf. p. 479 of the present volume.

[4] For this manner of accounting for the marvellous in Egyptian tales, cf. Maspero, *Les Contes populaires*, etc., 2nd edit., p. lxii., *et seq.*; Petrie, *Egyptian Tales*, 2nd series, pp. v., vi.

raised the tale out of the region of ordinary life; they are always the sons of kings, Syrian princes, or Pharaohs: sometimes we come across a vague and undefined Pharaoh, who figures under the title of Pirûâûi or Prûti,[1] but more often it is a well-known and illustrious Pharaoh who is mentioned by name.[2] It is related how, one day, Kheops, suffering from *ennui* within his palace, assembled his sons in the hope of learning from them something which he did not already know. They described to him one after another the prodigies performed by celebrated magicians under Kanibri and Snofrûi; and at length Mykerinos assured him that there was a certain Didi, living then not far from Meîdum, who was capable of repeating all the marvels done by former wizards.[3] Most of the Egyptian sovereigns were, in the same way, subjects of more or less wonderful legends—Sesostris, Amenôthes III., Thûtmosis III., Amenemhâît I., Khîti, Sahûri, Usirkaf, and Kakiû.[4] These stories were put into literary shape by the learned, recited by public story-tellers, and received by the people as authentic history; they finally filtered into the writings of the chroniclers, who, in introducing them into the annals, filled up with their extraordinary details the *lacunæ* of authentic tradition.[5] Sometimes the narrative assumed a briefer form, and became an apologue. In one of them the members of the body were supposed to have combined against the head, and disputed its supremacy before a jury; the parties all pleaded their cause in turn, and judgment was given in due form.[6] Animals also had their place in this universal comedy. The passions or the weaknesses of humanity were attributed to them, and the narrator makes the lion, rat, or jackal to utter sentiments from which he draws some short practical moral. La Fontaine had predecessors on the banks of the Nile of whose existence he little dreamed.[7]

[1] For the meaning of these titles, cf. *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 263, 264.

[2] Maspero, *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 2nd edit., p. xxxiv., et seq.

[3] This is the *Tale of King Khûfûi and the Magicians*, discovered and published by Erman, *Ein neuer Papyrus des Berliner Museums*, in the *National Zeitung* of Berlin (No. for the 14th May, 1886), and subsequently in *Ægypten und Ægyp. Leben*, etc., pp. 498–502, and again in *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, I., II., 1890; cf. Maspero, *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 2nd edit., pp. 31–80, and F. Petrie, *Egyptian Tales*, 1st series, pp. 9–40.

[4] Sesostris-Ramses II. appears in the *Tale of Satni-Khâmoîs* (Maspero, *Les Contes populaires*, 2nd edit., p. 193, et seq.), Amenôthes III. in the *Tale of the Lepers* (cf. on this subject pp. 448, 449 of this volume), Thûtmosis III. in the *Tale of Thûti* (cf. p. 277 of this volume), Amenemhâît I., with his son Usirtasen I., in the *Memoirs of Sinûhît* (cf. *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 471–473), Khîti in the *St. Petersburg Papyrus*, No. 1, at present unedited (cf. *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 448), and finally Sahûri, Usirkaf, and Kakiû, in the *Tale of King Khûfûi and the Magicians* (cf. *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 387–389).

[5] Maspero, *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 2nd edit., pp. xxxv.–xli., and *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xvii. pp. 56–64, 121–138. I shall have occasion to recur to this subject again later on.

[6] This version of the *Fable of the Members and the Stomach* was discovered upon a schoolboy's tablet at Turin, and published by Maspero, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 260–264.

[7] The first Egyptologist to claim an Egyptian origin for many of our fables was Zündel, *Esope était-il Juif ou Égyptien?* in the *Revue Archéologique*, 2nd series, vol. iii. pp. 354–369; cf. Lauth, *Über die ägyptische Schrift der Alten Ægypter*, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Academy of Sciences at

As La Fontaine found an illustrator in Granville, so, too, in Egypt the draughtsman brought his reed to the aid of the fabulist, and by his cleverly executed sketches gave greater point to the sarcasm of story than mere words could have conveyed.[1] Where the author had briefly mentioned that the jackal and the cat had cunningly forced their services on the animals whom they wished to devour at their leisure, the artist would depict the jackal and the cat equipped as peasants, with wallets on their backs, and sticks over



THE CAT AND THE JACKAL GO OFF TO THE FIELDS WITH THEIR FLOCKS.[2]

their shoulders, marching behind a troop of gazelles or a flock of fat geese: it was easy to foretell the fate of their unfortunate charges. Elsewhere it is an ox who brings up before his master a cat who has cheated him, and his proverbial stupidity would incline us to think that he will end by being punished himself for the misdeeds of which he had accused the other. Puss's sly and artful expression, the ass-headed and important-looking judge, with the wand and costume of a high and mighty dignitary, give pungency to the story, and

Munich, 1868, vol. i. pp. 357, 358. The *Fable of the Lion and the Rat* was discovered in a demotic papyrus at Leyden (I. 384, p. xviii. ll. 11-34; cf. Leemans, *Monuments Égyptiens*, vol. i. pl. ccxxiii.) by Lauth, *Über die Thierfabel in Ægypten*, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Academy of Sciences at Munich, 1868, vol. ii. pp. 50, 51, and retranslated into French and German by Brugsch, *La Fable du Lion et de la Souris d'après un manuscrit démotique*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 2nd series, 1878, and *Æsopische Fabeln in einem Ægyptischen Papyrus*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1878, pp. 47-50 (cf. Brugsch, *Erklärung*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1878, p. 87, and Lauth, *Zu die Reduktion*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1879, pp. 92, 95). The same papyrus contains other fables, introduced into a dialogue in which the jackal and the cat sustain the conversation; its general contents were pointed out by Lauth, *Über die Thierfabel in Ægypten*, pp. 49-51, and the translation of a considerable part of it was given by Revillout, *Entretiens philosophiques d'une chatte éthiopienne et d'un petit chacal Koufi*, in the *Revue Égyptologique*, vol. i. pp. 153-159, vol. iv. pp. 82-88.

[1] The first to study Egyptian caricatures and fables was Lauth, *Die Thierfabel in Ægypten*, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Academy of Sciences at Munich, 1868, vol. ii. pp. 42-49; his views have not received the attention they deserve. The caricatures are preserved in two papyri, one in the British Museum, the other at Turin, which were published by Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, pl. xxiii.; and on ostraca, of which one only, that in the former Abbott collection, and now at New York, was published by Prisse d'Avennes, *Notice sur le Musée du Caire* (Extrait de la *Revue Archéol.*, 1840), p. 17, and by Maspero, *L'Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 164, 165. They have been studied by Dévéria in Champfleury, *Hist. de la Caricature Antique*, 2nd edit., pp. 25-28, and by Ollivier-Beauregard, *La Caricature Égyptienne historique, politique et morale*, 1894, in which the interpretation is more ingenious than true to the meaning of the documents.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, pl. xxiii.

recall the daily scenes at the judgment-seat of the lord of Thebes. In another place we see a donkey, a lion, a crocodile, and a monkey giving an instrumental and vocal concert. A lion and a gazelle play a game of chess. A cat of fashion, with a flower in her hair, has a disagreement with a goose:



THE CAT BEFORE ITS JUDGE.[1]

they have come to blows, and the excitable puss, who fears she will come off worst in the struggle, falls backwards in a fright. The draughtsmen having once found vent for their satire, stopped at nothing, and even royalty itself did not escape their attacks. While the writers of the day made fun of the military calling, both in prose and verse,[2] the caricaturists parodied the combats and triumphal scenes of the Ramses or Thûtmosis of the day depicted on the walls of the pylons. The Pharaoh of all the rats, perched upon a chariot drawn by dogs, bravely charges an



A CONCERT OF ANIMALS DEVOTED TO MUSIC.[3]

army of cats; standing in the heroic attitude of a conqueror, he pierces them with his darts, while his horses tread the fallen underfoot; his legions meanwhile in advance of him attack a fort defended by tomcats, with the same ardour that the Egyptian battalions would display in assaulting a Syrian stronghold.[4] This treatment of ethics did not prevent the Egyptian writers from giving way to their natural inclinations, and composing large volumes on this

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from LEPSIUS, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, pl. xxiii.
[2] Cf. the fragments which I have cited in this connexion on pp. 457, 458 of this volume.
[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from LEPSIUS, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, pl. xxiii.
[4] This is the scene which serves as the head-piece to the present chapter: see p. 153.

subject after the manner of Kaqimni or Phtahhotpû.[1] One of their books, in which the aged Ani inscribes his Instructions to his son, Khonshotpû, is compiled in the form of a dialogue, and contains the usual commonplaces upon virtue, temperance, piety, the respect due to parents from children, or to the great ones of this world from their inferiors.[2] The language in which it is written is ingenious, picturesque, and at times eloquent; the work explains much that is obscure in Egyptian life, and upon which the monuments have thrown no light. "Beware of the woman who goes out surreptitiously in her town, do not follow her or any like her, do not expose thyself to the experience of what it costs a man to face an Ocean of which the bounds are unknown.[3] The wife whose husband is far from home sends thee letters, and invites thee to come to her daily when she has no witnesses; if she succeeds in entangling thee in her net, it is a crime which is punishable by death as soon as it is known, even if no wicked act has taken place, for men will commit every sort of crime when under this temptation alone."[4] "Be not quarrelsome in breweries, for fear that thou mayest be denounced forthwith for words which have proceeded from thy mouth, and of having spoken that of which thou art no longer conscious. Thou fallest, thy members helpless, and no one holds out a hand to thee, but thy boon-companions around thee say: 'Away with the drunkard!' Thou art wanted for some business, and thou art found rolling on the ground like an infant."[5] In speaking of what a man owes to his mother, Ani waxes eloquent: "When she bore thee as all have to bear, she had in thee a heavy burden without being able to call on thee to share it. When thou wert born, after thy months were fulfilled, she placed herself under a yoke in earnest, her breast was in thy mouth for three years; in spite of the increasing dirtiness of thy habits, her heart felt no disgust, and she never said: 'What is that I do here?' When thou didst go to school to be instructed in

[1] See *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 399-401.

[2] This papyrus, now in the Gizeh Museum, was discovered and published by MARIETTE, *Les Papyrus Égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq*, vol. i. pls. 15-28. It was translated *in extenso* by E. de Rougé, *Étude sur le papyrus du Musée de Boulaq*, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1872, vol. vii. pp. 340-351, and by CHABAS, *L'Égyptologie*, vols. i., ii.; in part by BRUGSCH, *Altägyptische Lebensregeln in einem hieratischen Papyrus des Vice-Königlichen Museums in Bulaq*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1872, pp. 49-58; and finally, without any new material, lengthily paraphrased by AMÉLINEAU, *La Morale Égyptienne, Quinze Siècles avant notre ère*, etc.; the fragments which I have quoted have been translated in the *Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq*, pp. 192-194.

[3] I have been obliged to paraphrase the sentence considerably to render it intelligible to the modern reader. The Egyptian text says briefly: "Do not know the man who braves the water of the Ocean whose bounds are unknown." *To know the man* means here *know the state of the man* who does an action.

[4] *The Moral Papyrus of Bulaq*, p. ii. ll. 13-17; cf. MARIETTE, *Les Papyrus Égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq*, vol. i. pl. 16; CHABAS, *L'Égyptologie*, vol. i. pp. 35-37.

[5] *The Moral Papyrus of Bulaq*, p. iii. ll. 6-11; cf. MARIETTE, *Les Papyrus Égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq*, vol. i. pl. 17; CHABAS, *L'Égyptologie*, vol. i. pp. 101-109.

writing, she followed thee every day with bread and beer from thy house. Now thou art a full-grown man, thou hast taken a wife, thou hast provided thyself with a house; bear always in mind the pains of thy birth and the care for thy education that thy mother lavished on thee, that her anger may not rise up against thee, and that she lift not her hands to God, for he will hear her complaint!"[1] The whole of the book does not rise to this level, but we find in it several maxims which appear to be popular proverbs, as for instance: "He who hates idleness will come without being called;" "A good walker comes to his journey's end without needing to hasten;"[2] or, "The ox which goes at the head of the flock and leads the others to pasture is but an animal like his fellows."[3] Towards the end, the son Khonshotpû, weary of such a lengthy exhortation to wisdom, interrupts his father roughly: "Do not everlastingly speak of thy merits, I have heard enough of thy deeds;"[4] whereupon Ani resignedly restrains himself from farther speech, and a final parable gives us the motive of his resignation: "This is the likeness of the man who knows the strength of his arm. The nursling who is in the arms of his mother cares only for being suckled; but no sooner has he found his mouth than he cries: 'Give me bread!'"[5]

It is, perhaps, difficult for us to imagine an Egyptian in love repeating madrigals to his mistress;[6] for we cannot easily realise that the hard and blackened bodies we see in our museums have once been men and women loving and beloved in their own day. The feeling which they entertained one for another had none of the reticence or delicacy of our love; they went straight to the point, and the language in which they expressed themselves

[1] *The Moral Papyrus of Boulaq*, p. vi. l. 17, p. vii. l. 3; cf. Mariette, *Les Papyrus Égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq*, vol. i. pl. 20; E. de Rougé, *Étude sur le Papyrus du Musée de Boulaq*, p. 8; Chabas, *L'Égyptologie*, vol. ii. pp. 42–54.

[2] *The Moral Papyrus*, etc., p. vii. l. 14; cf. Mariette, *Les Papyrus Égyptiens*, etc., vol. i. pl. 21; E. de Rougé, *Étude*, etc., p. 9; Chabas, *L'Égyptologie*, vol. ii. pp. 80, 81.

[3] *The Moral Papyrus*, etc., p. viii. l. 5; cf. Mariette, *Les Papyrus Égyptiens*, etc., vol. i. pl. 22; Chabas, *L'Égyptologie*, pp. 99–101.

[4] *The Moral Papyrus*, etc., p. ix. ll. 7–12; cf. Mariette, *Les Papyrus Égyptiens*, etc., vol. i. pl. 23; Chabas, *L'Égyptologie*, vol. ii. pp. 196–202.

[5] *The Moral Papyrus*, etc., pl. ix. ll. 12–17; cf. Mariette, *Les Papyrus Égyptiens*, etc., vol. i. pl. 23; E. de Rougé, *Étude*, etc., pp. 11, 12; Chabas, *L'Égyptologie*, vol. ii. pp. 202–211.

[6] The remains of Egyptian amatory literature have been collected, translated, and commentated on by Maspero, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 217–259. They have been preserved in two papyri, one of which is at Turin (Pleyte-Rossi, *Les Papyrus hiératiques de Turin*, pls. lxxix.–lxxxii.; cf. Chabas, *L'Épisode du Jardin des Fleurs*, in the *Comptes rendus* of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1874, pp. 117–124, and *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. vi. p. 153, et seq.; Maspero, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 217–230), the other in the British Museum (Goodwin, *On Four Songs contained in an Egyptian Papyrus in the British Museum*, in the *Transactions* of the Society of Biblical Archæology, vol. iii. pp. 380–388; Maspero, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 230–259; Erman, *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben*, pp. 518–521). The first of these appears to be a sort of dialogue in which the trees of a garden boast one after another of the beauty of a woman, and discourse of the love-scenes which took place under their shadow.

is sometimes too coarse for our taste.[1] The manners and customs of daily life among the Egyptians tended to blunt in them the feelings of modesty and refinement to which our civilization has accustomed us. Their children went about without clothes, or, at any rate, wore none until the age of puberty. Owing to the climate, both men and women left the upper part of the body more or less uncovered, or wore fabrics of a transparent nature. In the towns, the servants who moved about their masters or his guests had merely a narrow loin-cloth tied round their hips; while in the country, the peasants dispensed with even this covering, and the women tucked up their garments when at work so as to move more freely. The religious teaching and the ceremonies connected with their worship drew the attention of the faithful to the unveiled human form of their gods, and the hieroglyphs themselves contained pictures which shock our sense of propriety. Hence it came about that the young girl who was demanded in marriage had no idea, like the maiden of to-day, of the vague delights of an ideal union. The physical side was impressed upon her mind, and she was well aware of the full meaning of her consent. Her lover, separated from her by her disapproving parents, thus expresses the grief which overwhelms him: "I desire to lie down in my chamber,—for I am sick on thy account,—and the neighbours come to visit me.—Ah! if my sister but came with them,—she would show the physicians what ailed me,—for she knows my sickness!"[2] Even while he thus complains, he sees her in his imagination, and his spirit visits the places she frequents: "The villa of my sister,—(a pool is before the house),—the door opens suddenly,—and my sister passes out in wrath.—Ah! why am I not the porter,—that she might give me her orders!—I should at least hear her voice, even were she angry,—and I, like a little boy, full of fear before her!"[3] Meantime the young girl sighs in vain for "her brother, the beloved of her heart," and all that charmed her before has now ceased to please her. "I went to prepare my snare, my cage and the covert for my trap—for all the birds of Puânît alight upon Egypt, redolent with perfume;—he who flies foremost of the flock is attracted by my worm, bringing odours from Puânît,—its claws full of incense.—But my heart is with thee, and desires that we should trap them together,—I with thee, alone, and that thou shouldest be able to hear the sad cry of my perfumed bird,—there near to me, close to me, I will make ready my trap,—O my beautiful friend,

[1] Cf. on this subject, MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 2nd edit., pp. liv., lx.

[2] *Harris Papyrus*, No. 500, pl. x. ll. 9, 10; cf. MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 228, 229; ERMAN, *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben im Alterthum*, p. 520. For the meaning of the words "brother" and "sister" in such cases, see *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 50, 51.

[3] *Harris Papyrus*, No. 500, pl. x. ll. 10-12; cf. MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. p. 229; ERMAN, *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben im Alterthum*, p. 520.

thou who goest to the field of the well-beloved!"[1] The latter, however, is slow to appear, the day passes away, the evening comes on: "The cry of the goose resounds—which is caught by the worm-bait,—but thy love removes me far from the bird, and I am unable to deliver myself from it;—I will carry off my net, and what shall I say to my mother,—when I shall have returned to her?—Every day I come back laden with spoil,—but to-day I have not been able to set my trap,—for thy love makes me its prisoner!" "The goose flies away, alights,—it has greeted the barns with its cry;—the flock of birds increases on the river, but I leave them alone and think only of thy love;—for my heart is bound to thy heart—and I cannot tear myself away from thy beauty."[2] Her mother probably gave her a scolding, but she hardly minds it, and in the retirement of her chamber never wearies of thinking of her brother, and of passionately crying for him: "O my beautiful friend! I yearn to be with thee as thy wife—and that thou shouldest go whither thou wishest with thine arm upon my arm,—for then I will repeat to my heart, which is in thy breast, my supplications.—If my great brother does not come to-night,—I am as those who lie in the tomb—for thou, art thou not health and life,—he who transfers the joys of thy health to my heart which seeks thee?"[3] The hours pass away and he does not come, and already "the voice of the turtle-dove speaks,—it says: 'Behold, the dawn is here, alas! what is to become of me?'[4] Thou, thou art the bird, thou callest me,—and I find my brother in his chamber,—and my heart is rejoiced to see him!—I will never go away again, my hand will remain in thy hand,—and when I wander forth, I will go with thee into the most beautiful places,—happy in that he makes me the foremost of women—and that he does not break my heart."[5] We should like to quote the whole of it, but the text is mutilated, and we are unable to fill in the blanks. It is, nevertheless, one of those products of the Egyptian mind which it would have been easy for us to appreciate from beginning to end, without effort and almost without explanation. The passion in it finds expression in such sincere and simple language as to render rhetorical ornament needless, and one can trace in it, therefore, nothing of the artificial colouring

[1] *Harris Papyrus*, No. 500, pl. xii. ll. 2-7; cf. Maspero, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 243, 244; Erman, *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben*, pp. 518, 519.

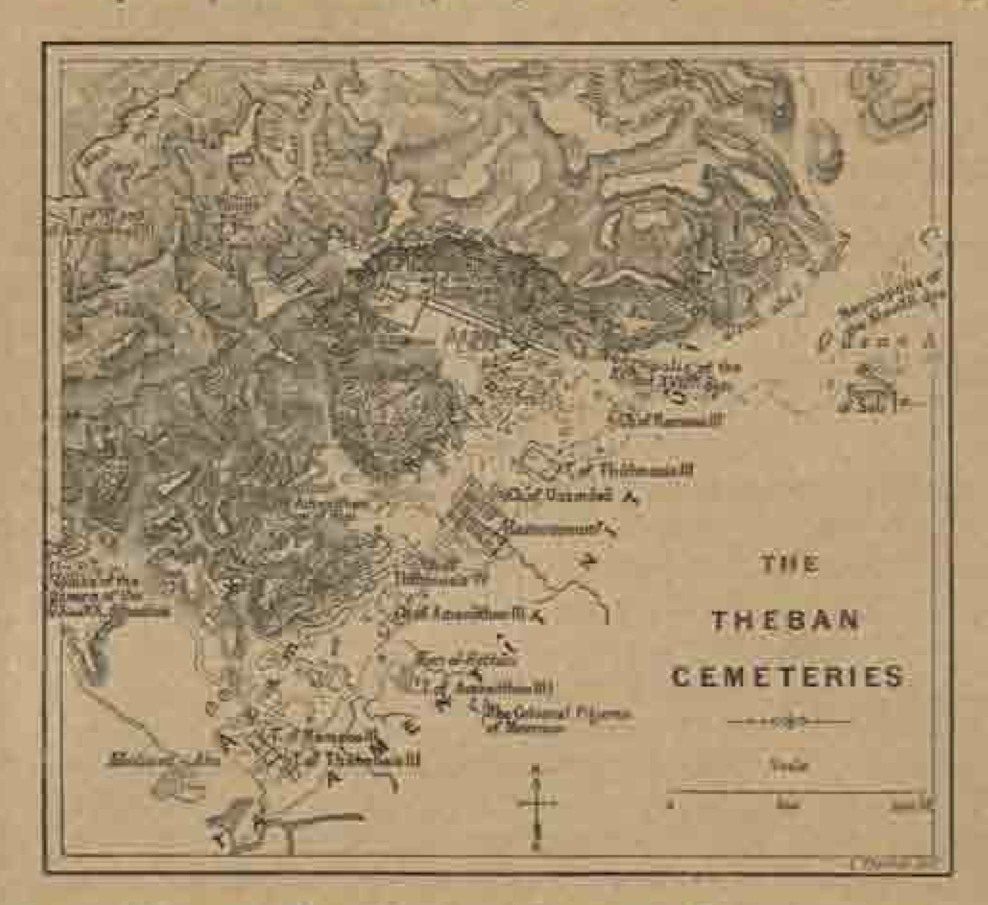
[2] *Harris Papyrus*, No. 500, pl. xii. ll. 7-11; cf. Maspero, *op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 244-246; Erman, *op. cit.*, p. 518.

[3] *Harris Papyrus*, No. 500, pl. xiii. ll. 3-6; cf. Maspero, *op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 247, 248; Erman, *op. cit.*, p. 519. The expression in the first verse—*nibit pirû*—"mistress of the house," which I translate "my wife," is explained in the *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 51, note 3.

[4] Literally, "Where is my road?"

[5] *Harris Papyrus*, No. 500, pl. xiii. ll. 6-8; cf. Maspero, *op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 248, 249, and Erman, *op. cit.*, p. 519. For the relation of this love-song to the Canticle of Solomon, see Maspero, *op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 258, 259.

which would limit it to a particular place or time. It translates a universal sentiment into the common language of humanity, and the hieroglyphic groups need only to be put into the corresponding words of any modern tongue to bring



home to the reader their full force and intensity. We might compare it with those popular songs which are now being collected in our provinces before the peasantry have forgotten them altogether: the artlessness of some of the expressions, the boldness of the imagery, the awkwardness and somewhat abrupt character of some of the passages, communicate to both that wild charm which we miss in the most perfect specimens of our modern love-poets.

Opposite the Thebes of the living, Khafitnibûs, the Thebes of the dead, had gone on increasing in a remarkably rapid manner.[1] It continued to extend in

[1] See pp. 309-312 of the present work for what is there said of the cemeteries of Thebes during the XVIIIth dynasty. The literal meaning of Khafitnibûs, "Opposite to its master"—the master being here Amon of Karnak—was discovered by Brugsch, *Ueber den Stadtnamen Khefti-her-neb-s*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1863, pp. 38-40. It was properly applied to the original part of the necropolis, Qurneh, the Assassif and Drah abu'l-Neggah, but it was also extended so as to include the entire region of tombs.

the south-western direction from the heroic period of the XVIII[th] dynasty onwards, and all the eminences and valleys were gradually appropriated one after the other for burying-places. At the time of which I am speaking, this region formed an actual town, or rather a chain of villages, each of which was grouped round some building constructed by one or other of the Pharaohs as



THE NECROPOLIS OF SHEIKH ABD EL-QURNEH.[1]

a funerary chapel. Towards the north, opposite Karnak, they clustered at Drah-abu'l-Neggah around pyramids of the first Theban monarchs, at Qurneh around the mausolea of Ramses I. and Seti I., and at Sheikh Abd el-Qurneh they lay near the Amenophoeum and the Pamonkaniqimit, or Ramesseum built by Ramses II.[2] Towards the south they diminished in number, tombs and monuments becoming fewer and appearing at wider intervals; the Migdol of Ramses III. formed an isolated suburb, that of Azamit, at Medinet-Habu;[3] the chapel of Isis, constructed by Amenôthes, son of Hapû, formed a rallying-point for the huts of the hamlet of Karka;[4] and in the far distance, in a wild gorge at the extreme limit of human habitations, the queens of the Ramesside line slept their last sleep. Each of these

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Beato.

[2] For information on the royal temples, see pp. 382, 383, 419 of the present work for Qurneh, pp. 310–312 for the Amenophoeum, and pp. 419–421 for the Ramesseum. The name of the Ramesseum was found in the ostraca by WIEDEMANN, *Ein Fund Thebanischer Ostraka*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1883, p. 34.

[3] The name was transcribed in Greek with the masculine article *Pa*, Passmis; in Coptic, Stimn, Sime (BRUGSCH, *Geogr. Ins.*, vol. i. pp. 185, 186, and *Dict. Géog.*, pp. 988–991; cf. GOODWIN, *Topographical Notes from Coptic Papyri*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1868, p. 73, where the identification of the Coptic with the hieroglyphic name was made for the first time, as far as I am aware).

[4] The village of Karka or Kaka was identified by Brugsch with the hamlet of Deir el-Medineh (*Der Tempel von Dêr el-Medineh*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1876, p. 127); the founder of the temple was none other than Amenôthes, who was minister under Amenôthes III.: see pp. 290, 381, 448, 449 of the present work.

temples had around it its enclosing wall of dried brick,[1] and the collection of buildings within this boundary formed the Khirû, or retreat of some one of the Theban Pharaohs, which, in the official language of the time, was designated the "august Khirû of millions of years."[2] A sort of fortified structure, which was built into one of the corners, served as a place of deposit for the treasure and archives, and could be used as a prison if occasion required.[3] The remaining buildings consisted of storehouses, stables, and houses for the priests and other officials. In some cases the storehouses were constructed on a regular plan which the architect had fitted in with that of the temple. Their ruins at the back and sides of the Ramesseum form a double row of vaults, extending from the foot of the hills to the border of the cultivated lands. Stone recesses on the roof furnished shelter for the watchmen.[4] The outermost of the village huts stood among the nearest tombs. The population which had been gathered together there was of a peculiar character, and we can gather but a feeble idea of its nature from the surroundings of the cemeteries in our own great cities. Death required, in fact, far more attendants among the ancient Egyptians than with us. The first service was that of mummification, which necessitated numbers of workers for its accomplishment. Some of the workshops of the embalmers have been discovered from time to time at Sheikh Abd el-Qurneh and Deir el-Bahari, but we are still in ignorance as to their arrangements, and as to the exact nature of the materials which they employed.[5] A considerable superficial space was required, for the manipulations of the embalmers occupied usually from sixty to eighty days, and if we suppose that the average deaths at Thebes amounted to fifteen or twenty in the twenty-four hours, they would have to provide at the same time for the various degrees of saturation of some twelve to fifteen hundred bodies at the least.[6] Each of the corpses, moreover, necessitated the employment of at least half a dozen workmen to wash

[1] For a boundary wall at Qurneh, and another at Medinet-Habu, see Jollois-Devilliers, *Description des Ruines de Qournah*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. ii. pp. 349, 350, and Idem, *Description des édifices, etc., de Médinet-Abu*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. iii. pp. 42, &c.

[2] Birch, *Le Papyrus Abbott*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1859, vol. xvi. pp. 263, 264; Chabas-Lieblein, *Deux Papyrus hiératiques du Musée de Turin*, p. 12, et seq.; and *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 3rd series, vol. i. p. 53, note 3, and Maspero, *Une Enquête judiciaire à Thèbes*, p. 59, et seq.

[3] This was the *khatmû*, the dungeon, frequently mentioned in the documents bearing upon the necropolis (Pleyte-Rossi, *Les Papyrus hiératiques de Turin*, pls. xlii. l. 7, xlviii. l. 23, etc.).

[4] Jollois-Devilliers, *Description du tombeau d'Osymandyas*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. ii. pp. 268-270, and *Ant.*, vol. ii. pl. 24, co-ordinate Z. The discovery of quantities of straw in the ruins of these chambers shows that they served partly for stables (Wiedemann, *Ein Fund Thebanischer Ostraca*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1883, pp. 33-35; cf. pp. 419-421 of the present work).

[5] The methods of embalming among the Egyptians have been studied during the present century by Rouyer, *Notice sur les embaumements*, etc., in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. vi. pp. 461-487, and especially by Pettigrew, *History of Egyptian Mummies*, &c., 1834, where there is a *résumé* of previous treatises. For Theban burials, see Budge, *The Mummy, Chapters on Egyptian Funereal Archæology*, 1893.

[6] I have formed my estimate of fifteen to twenty deaths per day from the mortality of Cairo during the French occupation. This is given by R. Desgenettes, *Tables nécrologiques du Kaire pendant les années VII., VIII., et IX. (1798, 1799, 1800, 1801)*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xvi. pp. 229-266, but only approximately, as many deaths, especially of females, must have been concealed from the authorities; I have, however, made an average from the totals, and applied the rate of mortality

it, cut it open, soak it, dry it, and apply the usual bandages before placing the amulets upon the canonically prescribed places, and using the conventional prayers. There was fastened to the breast, immediately below the neck, a stone or green porcelain scarab, containing an inscription which was to be efficacious in preventing the heart, "his heart which came to him from his mother, his heart from the time he was upon the earth," from rising up and witnessing against the dead man before the tribunal of Osiris.[1] There were placed on his fingers gold or enamelled rings, as talismans to secure for him the true voice.[2] The body becomes at last little more than a skeleton, with a covering of yellow



HEAD OF A THEBAN MUMMY.[3]

skin which accentuates the anatomical details, but the head, on the other hand, still preserves, where the operations have been properly conducted, its natural form. The cheeks have fallen in slightly, the lips and the fleshy parts of the nose have become thinner and more drawn than during life, but the general expression of the face remains unaltered.[4] A mask of pitch was placed over the visage to preserve it, above which was adjusted first a piece of linen and then a series of bands impregnated with resin, which increased the size of the head to twofold its ordinary bulk.[5] The trunk and limbs were

thus obtained in ancient Thebes. The same result follows from calculations based on more recent figures, obtained before the great hygienic changes introduced into Cairo by Ismail Pasha, *i.e.* from August 1, 1858, to July 31, 1859 (Schnepp, *Considérations sur le mouvement de la population en Égypte*, in the *Mémoires de l'Institut Égyptien*, vol. i. p. 544), and from May 24, 1865, to May 16, 1866 (Ch. Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'Exposition Universelle de* 1867, 8vo, Paris, 1867), and for the two years from April 2, 1869, to March 21, 1870, and from April 2, 1870, to March 21, 1871 (*Statistique de l'Égypte*, vol. ii. p. 94, vol. iii. p. 116).

[1] The manipulations and prayers were prescribed in the "Book of Embalming," see Maspero, *Mémoire sur quelques Papyrus du Louvre*, pp. 14–104. For the scarabs, see Birch, *On Formulas relating to the Heart*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1866, pp. 30–32, and 1867, pp. 16, 17, 54–56; cf. Maspero, *Guide du Visiteur*, pp. 228–230, and Budge, *The Mummy*, etc., pp. 231–310.

[2] The ceremonies and formulas connected with this ring, "the ring of the true voice," are given in Maspero, *Mémoire sur quelques Papyrus du Louvre*, pp. 23–25. The prescribed gold ring was often replaced by one of blue or green enamel.

[3] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch Bey; cf. Maspero, *Les Momies royales*, etc., in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pl. xxiii. B. It is the head of the scribe Nibsoni.

[4] See the heads of the following: Seti I. (p. 7 of the present work), Ramses II. (p. 429 of the present work), those of the three Thûtmoses (*Ibid.*, pp. 212, 213, 290). These, it is true, were royal mummies, but the mummies of ordinary citizens were no less carefully treated, and Jomard has already pointed out the contrast between the appearance of the head and that of the body (*Description des Hypogées de la ville de Thèbes*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. iii. pp. 77–84).

[5] This was the case in regard to the mummies of Ahmosis, Thûtmosis III., Ramses III., and Seti I. (Maspero, *Les Momies royales de Deir el-Baharî*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pp. 533, 553, 563). Those of Ramses II. and of Thûtmosis I. and II. had no masks.



THE MANUFACTURE AND PAINTING OF THE CARTONNAGE.[1]

bound round with a first covering of some pliable soft stuff, warm to the touch. Coarsely powdered natron was scattered here and there over the body as an additional preservative. Packets placed between the legs, the arms and the hips, and in the eviscerated abdomen, contained the heart, spleen, the dried brain, the hair, and the cuttings of the beard and nails. In those days the hair had a special magical virtue; by burning it while uttering certain incantations, one might acquire an almost limitless power over the person to whom it had belonged. The embalmers, therefore, took care to place with the mummy such portions of the hair as they had been obliged to cut off, so as to remove them out of the way of the perverse ingenuity of the sorcerers.[2] Over the first covering of the mummy already alluded to, there was sometimes placed a strip of papyrus or a long piece of linen, upon which the scribe had transcribed selections—both text and pictures—from "The Book of the going forth by Day;" in such cases the roll containing the whole work was placed between the legs.[3] The body was further wrapped in several bandages, then in a second piece of stuff, then in more bands, the whole being finally covered with a shroud of coarse canvas and a red linen winding-sheet, sewn together at the back, and kept in place by transverse bands disposed at intervals from head to foot. The son of the deceased and a "man of the roll" were present at this lugubrious toilet, and recited at the application of each piece a prayer, in which its object was defined and its duration secured.[4] Every Egyptian was supposed to be acquainted with the formulæ, from having learned

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, after Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. cxxvi. 1, 3.

[2] Maspero, *Études de Mythologie, etc.*, vol. i. p. 274; this whole description is based on the royal mummies of Deir el-Bahari, and some score of other Theban mummies of the XX[th] or XXI[st] dynasty discovered from 1881 to 1886.

[3] At Deir el-Bahari a strip of papyrus was found on the mummies of Pinozmu and Zodphtahaufônkhu respectively (Maspero, *Les Momies royales*, etc., in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pp. 572, 576, 574), and inscribed pieces of linen on those of Thûtmosis III. and the Princess Maritamun (*ibid.*, pp. 550, 548).

[4] This is to be seen from the numerous rubrics inserted in the *Book of the Dead* (Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, i. ll. 22–23, xv. ll. 47–49, xviii. ll. 39, 40, lix. l. 2, lxxii. ll. 9–11, cxxxv. l. 4, cxxxvi. ll. 14–15, cxlv. ll. 31–35, cxli. ll. 4–7, cxlii. ll. 12, 13).



WRAPPING OF THE MUMMY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE "MAN OF THE ROLL."[1]

them during his lifetime, by which he was to have restored to him the use of his limbs, and be protected from the dangers of the world beyond. These were repeated to the dead person, however, for greater security, during the process of embalming, and the son of the deceased, or the master of the ceremonies, took care to whisper to the mummy the most mysterious parts, which no living ear might hear with impunity.[2] The wrappings having been completed, the deceased person became aware of his equipment, and enjoyed all the privileges of the "instructed and fortified Manes." He felt himself, both mummy and double, now ready for the tomb.

Egyptian funerals were not like those to which we are accustomed—mute ceremonies, in which sorrow is barely expressed by a furtive tear: noise, sobbings, and wild gestures were their necessary concomitants.[3] Not only was it customary to hire weeping women, who tore their hair, filled the air with their lamentations, and simulated by skilful actions the depths of despair, but the relatives and friends themselves did not shrink from making an outward show of their grief, nor from disturbing the equanimity of the passers-by by the immoderate expressions of their sorrow. One after another they raised their voices, and uttered some expression appropriate to the occasion: "To the West, the dwelling of Osiris, to the West, thou who wast the best of men, and who always hated guile."[4] And the hired weepers answered in chorus: "O chief,[5] as thou goest to the West, the gods themselves lament."[6] The funeral *cortège* started in the morning from the house of mourning, and proceeded at a slow

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. cxxxi. 2, 3.

[2] See as to the "equipped Manes" and the "instructed Manes," *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 183.

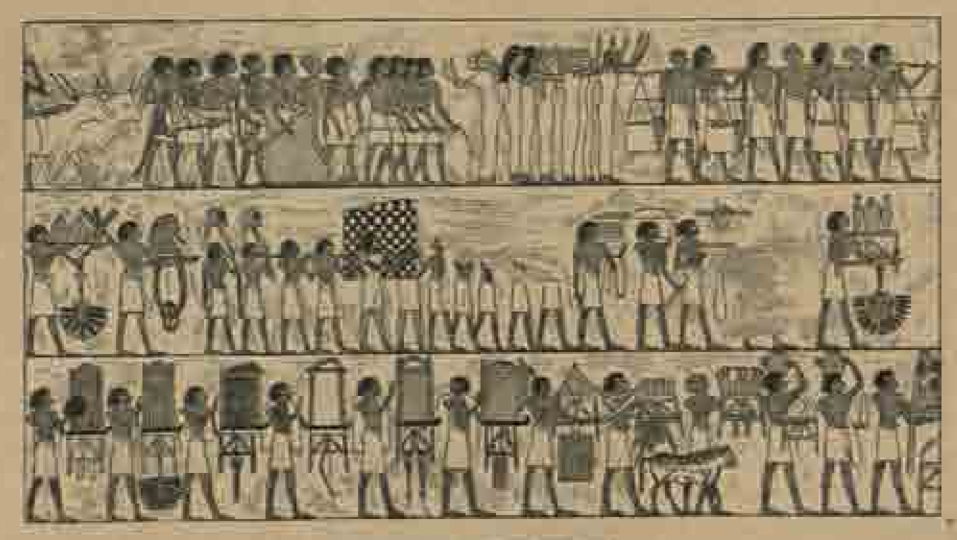
[3] The arrangements in regard to burials were studied for the first time after Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. iii. pp. 427–492, by Maspero, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 81–194, and *Lectures Historiques*, pp. 140–181; afterwards by Budge, *The Mummy, Chapters on Egyptian Funereal Archæology*, pp. 153–173.

[4] Formula taken from the scene of a burial in the tomb of Rai (Champollion, *Monuments*, etc., pls. clxxvii., clxxviii., and vol. i. pp. 548, 549; Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pls. cxxviii., cxxix.).

[5] The "chief" is one of the names of Osiris (Maspero, *Mémoire sur quelques papyrus du Louvre*, pp. 11, 12, and *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 172, n. 2, 179, n. 1), and is applied naturally to the dead person, who has become an Osiris by virtue of the embalming; cf. *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 178, et seq.

[6] From an inscription on the tomb of Hachhamiti at Memphis (Mariette, *Mon. divers*, pl. 60).

pace to the Nile, amid the clamours of the mourners. The route was cleared by a number of slaves and retainers. First came those who carried cakes and flowers in their hands, followed by others bearing jars full of water, bottles of liqueurs, and phials of perfumes; then came those who carried painted boxes intended for the provisions of the dead man, and for containing the Ushabtiu, or "Respondents." The succeeding group bore the usual furniture required by the deceased to set up house again, coffers for linen, folding and arm chairs,



THE FUNERAL OF HAREMHABI.[1]

state-beds, and sometimes even a caparisoned chariot with its quivers. Then came a groom conducting two of his late master's favourite horses, who, having accompanied the funeral to the tomb, were brought back to their stable. Another detachment, more numerous than the others combined, now filed past, bearing the effects of the mummy; first the vessels for the libations, then the cases for the Canopic jars, then the Canopic jars themselves, the mask of the deceased, coloured half in gold and half in blue, arms, sceptres, military batons, necklaces, scarabs, vultures with encircling wings worn on the breast at festival-times, chains, "Respondents," and the human-headed sparrow-hawk, the emblem of the soul. Many of these objects were of wood plated with gold, others of the same material simply gilt, and others of solid gold, and thus calculated to excite the cupidity of the crowd. Offerings came next, then a noisy company of female weepers; then a slave, who sprinkled at every instant some milk upon the ground as if to lay the dust; then a master of the ceremonies, who, the panther skin upon his shoulder, asperged the crowd with perfumed water; and behind

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the coloured print in WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. iii. pl. lxvi.; cf. BOURIANT, *Le Tombeau d'Harmhabi*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. v. pl. v. The left side of this design fits on to the right of the following cut.

him comes the hearse. The latter, according to custom, was made in the form of a boat—representing the bark of Osiris, with his ark, and two guardians, Isis and Nephthys—and was placed upon a sledge, which was drawn by a team of oxen and a relay of fellahîn. The sides of the ark were, as a rule, formed



THE FUNERAL OF HARMHABI.[1]

of movable wooden panels, decorated with pictures and inscriptions; sometimes, however, but more rarely, the panels were replaced by a covering of embroidered stuff or of soft leather. In the latter case the decoration was singularly rich, the figures and hieroglyphs being cut out with a knife, and the spaces thus left filled in with pieces of coloured leather, which gave the whole an appearance of brilliant mosaic-work.[2] In place of a boat, a shrine of painted wood, also mounted upon a sledge, was frequently used. When the ceremony was over, this was left, together with the coffin, in the tomb.[3] The wife and children walked as close to the bier as possible, and were followed by the friends of the deceased, dressed in long linen garments,[4] each of them bearing a wand. The ox-driver, while goading his

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, after a coloured print in Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. iii. pl. lxvi.; cf. Bouriant, *Tombeau d'Harmhabi*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. v. pl. v. This cut joins on to the left of that on the preceding page.

[2] One of these coverings was found in the hiding-place at Deir el-Bahari; it had belonged to the Princess Isimkheb, whose mummy is now at Gizeh (Maspero, *Guide du Visiteur*, pp. 327, 328, No. 5221). It was reproduced, uncoloured, by Maspero, *Les Momies royales*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pp. 584–593, and *Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 283–284; in colours by Villiers Stuart, *The Funeral Tent of an Egyptian Queen*, 1882, and *Egypt after the War*, pl. i. 1 a 2, and in E. Brugsch, *La Tente Funéraire de la Princesse Isimkheb*, pls. iii.–vii.

[3] I found in the tomb of Sennozem (Maspero, *Études de Mythologie*, etc., vol. i. pp. 227–230) two of these sledges with the superstructure in the form of a temple. They are now in the Gizeh Museum (Toda, *Son-Notem en Tebas, Inventario y Textos de un Sepulcro Egipcio de la XX^e Dinastia*, pp. 22, 23, 24; Virey, *Notice des principaux monuments exposés au Musée de Gizeh*, Nos. 1254, 1256, pp. 330, 331).

[4] The whole of this description is taken from the pictures representing the interment of a certain Harmhabi, who died at Thebes in the time of Thûtmosis IV. Wilkinson reproduced the whole of

beasts, cried out to them: "To the West, ye oxen who draw the hearse, to the West! Your master comes behind you!" "To the West," the friends repeated; "the excellent man lives no longer who loved truth so dearly and hated lying!"[1] This lamentation is neither remarkable for its originality nor for its depth of feeling. Sorrow was expressed on such occasions in prescribed formulæ of always the same import, custom soon enabling each individual to compose for himself a repertory of monotonous exclamations of condolence, of which the prayer, "To the West!" formed the basis, relieved at intervals by some fresh epithet. The nearest relatives of the deceased, however, would find some more sincere expressions of grief, and some more touching appeals with which to break in upon the commonplaces of the conventional theme. They blended with their inarticulate cries, and the usual protestations and formulæ, an eulogy upon the deceased and his virtues, allusions to his disposition and deeds, mention of the offices and honours he had obtained, and reflections on the uncertainty of human life—the whole forming the melancholy dirge which each generation intoned over its predecessor, while waiting itself for the same office to be said over it in its turn.[3]



THE BOAT CARRYING THE MUMMY.[2]

On reaching the bank of the Nile the funeral *cortège* proceeded to embark.[4] The bearers of offerings, friends, and slaves passed over on hired barges, whose cabins, covered externally with embroidered stuffs of several colours, or with

them to illustrate his chapter on Egyptian funerals (*Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. iii. pl. lxvi., and pp. 444–446), and also Bouriant (*Tombeau de Harmhabi*, pl. v., in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. v. p. 431).

[1] These expressions are taken from the inscriptions on the tomb of Rai (Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., pls. clxxxii., clxxxiii., and vol. i. pp. 544, 545; Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pls. cxxxviii., cxxix.).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from pictures in the tomb of Nofirhotpû at Thebes; cf. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. iii. pl. lxvii.; Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, pl. clxxiii. 2; Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. cxxxi. 2; Dümichen, *Die Flotte einer Ægyptischen Königin*, pl. xxx.

[3] Maspero, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 81, 82, 117, 118.

[4] The description of this second part of the funeral arrangements is taken from the tomb of Harmhabi (Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. iii. pl. lxvi., and Bouriant, *Tombeau de Harmhabi*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. v. pl. v.), and especially from that of Nofirhotpû (Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, 2nd edit., vol. iii. pl. lxvii.; Champollion, *op. cit.*, pls. clxxii., clxxiii., clxxxii., and vol. i. pp. 547, 548; Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pls. cxxx., cxxxi.; Dümichen, *Die Flotte einer Ægyptischen Königin*, pl. xxx.).

appliqué leather, looked like the pedestals of a monument: crammed together on the boats, they stood upright with their faces turned towards the funeral bark.



THE BOATS CONTAINING THE FEMALE WEEPERS AND THE CHIEFS OF THE HOUSEHOLD.[1]

The latter was supposed to represent the Noshemit, the mysterious skiff of Abydos, which had been used in the obsequies of Osiris of yore. It was elegant,



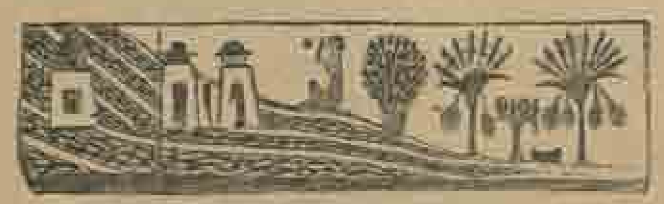
THE BOATS CONTAINING THE FRIENDS AND THE FUNERARY FURNITURE.[2]

light, and slender in shape, and ornamented at bow and stern with a lotus-flower of metal, which bent back its head gracefully, as if bowed down by its own weight. A temple-shaped shrine stood in the middle of the boat, adorned with

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from paintings on the tomb of Nofirhotpu at Thebes (cf. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. iii. pl. lxvii.; Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, pl. clxxiii. 3; Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. cxxx. 1, 2; Dümichen, *Die Flotte*, etc., pl. xxx.).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from paintings on the tomb of Nofirhotpu at Thebes: cf. Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. pl. lxvii.; Champollion, *op. cit.*, pl. clxxiii. 2; Rosellini, *op. cit.*, pl. cxxx. 1; Dümichen, *op. cit.*, pl. xxx.

bouquets of flowers and with green palm-branches. The female members of the family of the deceased, crouched beside the shrine, poured forth lamentations, while two priestesses, representing respectively Isis and Nephthys, took up positions behind to protect the body. The boat containing the female mourners having taken the funeral barge in tow, the entire flotilla pushed out into the stream. This was the solemn moment of the ceremony—the moment in which the deceased, torn away from his earthly city, was about to set out upon that voyage from which there is no return. The crowds assembled on the banks of the river hailed the dead with their parting prayers: "Mayest thou reach in peace the West from Thebes! In peace, in peace towards Abydos, mayst thou descend in peace towards Abydos, towards the sea of the West!"[1]



A CORNER OF THE THEBAN NECROPOLIS.[2]

This crossing of the Nile was of special significance in regard to the future of the soul of the deceased: it represented his pilgrimage towards Abydos, to the "Mouth of the Cleft" which gave him access to the other world, and it was for this reason that the name of Abydos is associated with that of Thebes in the exclamations of the crowd.[3] The voices of the friends replied frequently and mournfully: "To the West, to the West, the land of the justified! The place which thou lovedst weeps and is desolate!" Then the female mourners took up the refrain, saying: "In peace, in peace, to the West! O honourable one, go in peace! If it please God, when the day of Eternity shall shine, we shall see thee, for behold thou goest to the land which mingles all men together!" The widow then adds her note to the concert of lamentations: "O my brother, O my husband, O my beloved, rest, remain in thy place, do not depart from the terrestrial spot where thou art! Alas, thou goest away to the ferry-boat in order to cross the stream! O sailors, do not hurry, leave him; you, you will return to your homes, but he, he is going away to the land of Eternity! O Osirian bark, why hast thou come to take away from me him who has left me?"[4] The sailors were, of course, deaf to her appeals, and the

[1] WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. iii. pl. lvi., and CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, vol. i. p. 826.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a stele in the Gizeh Museum; cf. MARIETTE, *Notice des principaux Monuments*, 1864, p. 157, and *Album photographique du Musée de Boulaq*, pl. 44; MASPERO, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire*, etc., in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ii. pls. 106, 107; PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. i. p. 307. Another representation of a similar character is in the Turin Museum; MASPERO, *op. cit.*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ii. plates on pp. 106, 107.

[3] The significance of the crossing of the Nile, and the mystic meaning of the voyage towards Abydos, were pointed out by MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. p. 118, *et seq.*

[4] WILKINSON, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. pl. lxvii.; cf. MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 134–136.

mummy pursued its undisturbed course towards the last stage of its mysterious voyage.

The majority of the tombs—those which were distributed over the plain or on the nearest spurs of the hill—were constructed on the lines of those brick-built pyramids erected on mastabas which were very common during the early Theban dynasties.[1] The relative proportions of the parts alone were modified; the mastaba, which had gradually been reduced to an insignificant base, had now recovered its original height, while the pyramid had correspondingly decreased, and was much reduced in size. The chapel was



THE FAREWELL TO THE MUMMY, AND THE DOUBLE RECEIVED BY THE GODDESS.[2]

constructed within the building, and the mummy-pit was sunk to a varying depth below. The tombs ranged along the mountain-side were, on the other hand, rock-cut, and similar to those at el-Bersheh and Beni-Hasan.[3] The heads of wealthy families or the nobility naturally did not leave to the last moment the construction of a sepulchre worthy of their rank and fortune. They prided themselves on having "finished their house which is in the funeral valley when the morning for the hiding away of their body should come."[4] Access to these tombs was by too steep and difficult a path to allow of oxen being employed for the transport of the mummy: the friends or slaves of the deceased were, therefore, obliged to raise the sarcophagus on their shoulders and bear it as best they could to the door of the tomb. The mummy was then placed in an upright position on a heap of sand, with its back to the wall and facing the assistants, like the master of some new villa who, having been accompanied by his friends to see him take possession, turns for a moment on

[1] Cf. what is said of these brick pyramids in the *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 460, 461.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the paintings in the Theban tombs; cf. Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. cxxxii.

[3] Cf., for these Theban tombs, Mariette, *Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 141, 142. The chapel of the Apis of Amenôthes III., represented on p. 425 of the present work, is a good example of this kind of tomb—half mastaba, half pyramid.

[4] Mariette, *Les Papyrus Égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq*, vol. i. pl. xvii. ll. 13, 14.

the threshold to take leave of them before entering. A sacrifice, an offering, a prayer, and a fresh outburst of grief ensued; the mourners redoubled their cries and threw themselves upon the ground, the relatives decked the mummy with flowers and pressed it to their bared bosoms, kissing it upon the breast and knees. "I am thy sister, O great one! forsake me not! Is it indeed thy will that I should leave thee? If I go away, thou shalt be here alone, and is there any one who will be with thee to follow thee? O thou who lovedst to jest with me, thou art now silent, thou speakest not!" Whereupon the mourners again broke out in chorus: "Lamentation, lamentation! Make, make, make, make lamentation without ceasing as loud as can be made. O good traveller, who takest thy way towards the land of Eternity, thou hast been torn from us! O thou who hadst so many around thee, thou art now in the land which bringest isolation! Thou who lovedst to stretch thy limbs in walking, art now fettered, bound, swathed! Thou who hadst fine stuffs in abundance, art laid in the linen of yesterday!"[1] Calm in the midst of the tumult, the priest stood and offered the incense and libation with the accustomed words: "To thy double, Osiris Nofirhotpû, whose voice before the great god is true!" This was the signal of departure, and the mummy, carried by two men, disappeared within the tomb; the darkness of the other world had laid hold of it, never to let it go again.

The chapel was usually divided into two chambers; one, which was of greater width than length, ran parallel to the façade; the other, which was longer than it was wide, stood at right angles with the former, exactly opposite to the entrance.[2] The decoration of these chambers took its inspiration from the scheme which prevailed in the time of the Memphite dynasties, but besides the usual scenes of agricultural labour, hunting, and sacrifice, there were introduced episodes from the public life of the deceased, and particularly the minute portrayal of the ceremonies connected with his burial. These pictorial biographies are always accompanied by detailed explanatory inscriptions; every individual endeavoured thus to show to the Osirian judges the rank he had enjoyed here upon earth, and to obtain in the fields of Ialû the place which he claimed to be his due. The stele was to be found at the far end of the second chamber; it was often let in to a niche in the form of a round-headed doorway, or else it was replaced by a group of statues, either detached

[1] The lamentations for [illegible], in the tomb of Nofirhotpû, in WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. iii. pl. lxvii.; cf. MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 139–143, where the Egyptian text has been restored as far as possible from the material at our disposal.

[2] Cf. the varieties of this T or cross-shaped plan in CHAMPOLLION, *Mon. de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. i. pp. 487, 494, 496, 499, 503, 510, 526, 527, 529, 532, 535, 537, 538, 540, 558, 559. Two excellent articles on the arrangement and state of these tombs have been published by JOMARD, *Description des hypogées de la ville de Thèbes*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. iii. p. 24, et seq., and by A. RHIND, *Thebes, its Tombs and their Tenants*, pp. 38–41, 77–123.

or sculptured in the rock itself, representing the occupant, his wives and children, who took the place of the supporters of the double, formerly always hidden within the serdab. The ceremony of the "Opening of the Mouth" took place in front of the niche on the day of burial, at the moment when the deceased, having completed his terrestrial course, entered his new home and took possession of it for all eternity.[1] The object of this ceremony was, as we know, to counteract the effects of the embalming, and to restore activity to the organs of the body whose functions had been suspended by death.[2] The "man of the roll" and his assistants, aided by the priests, who represented the "children of Horus," once more raised the mummy into an upright position upon a heap of sand in the middle of the chapel,



NICHE IN THE TOMB OF MENNA.[3]

and celebrated in his behalf the divine mystery instituted by Horus for Osiris. They purified it both by ordinary and by red water, by the incense of the south and by the alum of the north, in the same manner as that in which the statues of the gods were purified at the beginning of the temple sacrifices; they then set to work to awake the deceased from his sleep: they loosened his shroud and called back the double who had escaped from the body at the moment of the death-agony,[4] and restored to him the use of his arms and legs. As soon as the

[1] Cf., for the idea involved in this ceremony, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 179, 180. The texts and pictures relating to the "Opening of the Mouth" have been published by SCHIAPARELLI, *Il Libro dei Funerali dei Antichi Egiziani*, by whom they have been annotated at length; cf. MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 283–324. The short description I have given in the text follows exactly the order observed in the tomb of Seti I. (E. LEFÉBURE, *Les Hypogées royaux de Thèbes: I. Le tombeau de Seti Ier*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. ii., pt. 3, pls. i.–xiii.)

[2] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 292–316.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Insinger, taken at Thebes in 1881.

[4] MASPERO, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 300.

sacrificial slaughterers had despatched the bull of the south, and cut it in pieces, the priest seized the bleeding haunch, and raised it to the lips of the mask as if to invite it to eat; but the lips still remained closed, and refused to perform their office. The priest then touched them with several iron instruments hafted on wooden handles, which were supposed to possess the power of unsealing them. The "opening" once effected, the double became free, and the tomb-paintings from thenceforward ceasing to depict the mummy, represented the double only. They portrayed it "under the form which he had on this earth," wearing the civil garb, and fulfilling his ordinary functions.[1] The corpse was regarded as merely the larva, to be maintained in its integrity in order to ensure survival; but it could be relegated without fear to the depths of the bare and naked tomb, there to remain until the end of time, if it pleased the gods to preserve it from robbers or archæologists. At the period of the first Theban empire the coffins were rectangular wooden chests, made on the models of the limestone and granite sarcophagi, and covered with prayers taken from the various sacred writings, especially from the "Book of the Dead";[4] during the second Theban empire, they were modified into an actual sheath for the body, following more or less the contour of the human figure. This external model of the deceased covered his remains, and his figure in relief served



COFFIN-LID.[2]



COFFIN-LID.[3]

[1] See the cut on p. 517, where on the left side, in front of the tomb, the deceased is represented as a mummy; while on the right, through the tomb doorway, he is represented as the "double," alive and with his usual dress and appearance.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by M. de Mertens; it is the coffin of Tamakit, from the tomb of Sennotmu, discovered at Thebes in 1886, and sold to the Berlin Museum (Erman, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss*, p. 134, n. 10859).

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by M. de Mertens; this coffin was discovered in 1886 at Mellah, near Gebelein (Erman, *op. cit.*, p. 142, n. 8210).

[4] A description of the coffins of this type, both Theban and Memphite, of the XII[th] dynasty, is given in Lepsius, *Älteste Texte des Todtenbuchs*, pp. 21-23, pls. 1-43, and in Maspero, *Trois Années de fouilles*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pp. 210-237.

as a lid to the coffin. The head was covered with the full-dress wig, a tippet of white cambric half veiled the bosom, the petticoat fell in folds about the limbs, the feet were shod with sandals, the arms were outstretched or were folded over the breast, and the hands clasped various objects—either the *crux ansata*, the buckle of the belt, the *tat*, or a garland of flowers. Some-



THE PARAPHERNALIA OF A MUMMY OF THE XX^TH TO THE XXII^ND DYNASTIES.[1]

times, on the contrary, the coffin was merely a conventional reproduction of the human form. The two feet and legs were joined together, and the modelling of the knee, calf, thigh, and stomach was only slightly indicated in the wood. Towards the close of the XVIII^th dynasty it was the fashion for wealthy persons to have two coffins, one fitting inside the other, painted black or white. From the XX^th dynasty onwards they were coated with a yellowish varnish, and so covered with inscriptions and mystic signs that each coffin was a tomb in miniature, and could well have done duty as such, and thus meet all

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from Mariette, *Album photographique du Musée de Boulaq*, pl. 15.

the needs of the soul.[1] Later still, during the XXI^st and XXII^nd dynasties, these two, or even three coffins, were enclosed in a rectangular sarcophagus of thick wood, which, surmounted by a semicircular lid, was decorated with pictures and hallowed by prayers: four sparrow-hawks, perched on the uprights at the



THE FUNERAL REPAST—MUSIC AND DANCING.[2]

corners, watched at the four cardinal points, and protected the body, enabling the soul at the same time to move freely within the four houses of which the world was composed. The workmen, after having deposited the mummy in its resting-place, piled upon the floor of the tomb the canopic jars, the caskets, the provisions, the furniture, the bed, and the stools and chairs; the Ushabtiu occupied compartments in their allotted boxes, and sometimes there would be laid beside them the mummy of a favourite animal—a monkey, a dog of some rare breed, or a pet gazelle, whose coffins were shaped to their respective outlines,

[1] The first to summarise the characteristics of the coffins and sarcophagi of the second Theban period was MARIETTE, *Notice des principaux Monuments*, 1864, pp. 37–40, but he places the use of the yellow-varnished coffins too late, viz. during the XXII^nd dynasty. Examples of them have since been found which incontestably belong to the XX^th. Cf. the results of later researches in MASPERO, *Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 275–279.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a fragment in the British Museum (cf. CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. cccxxxvii. *bis*; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Civili*, xcii. 1). The scene representing the funeral repast and its accompanying dances occurs frequently in the Theban tombs: cf. CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. clxxxvii.; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Civili*, pls. lxxviii., lxxix., xcvi., xcviii., xcix.; VIREY, *Le Tombeau de Rekhmarâ*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. v. pls. xli.–xliii.; BOURIANT, *Tombeau de Harmhabi*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission*, pl. ii.; SCHEIL, *Tombeau de Rat'serkasenb*, in the *Mémoires*, vol. v. pls. ii., ii *bis*, iii.



THE COFFIN OF THE FAVOURITE GAZELLE OF ISIMKHOBIU.[1]

the better to place before the deceased the presentment of the living animal. A few of the principal objects were broken or damaged, in the belief that, by thus destroying them, their doubles would go forth and accompany the human double, and render him their accustomed services during the whole of his posthumous existence; a charm pronounced over them bound them indissolubly to his person, and constrained them to obey his will. This done, the priest muttered a final prayer, and the masons walled up the doorway. The funeral feast now took place with its customary songs and dances. The *almehs* addressed the guests and exhorted them to make good use of the passing hour: "Be happy for one day! for when you enter your tombs you will rest there eternally throughout the length of every day!"[2]

Immediately after the repast the friends departed from the tomb, and the last link which connected the dead with our world was then broken. The sacred harper was called upon to raise the farewell hymn:[3] "O instructed mummies,[4] ennead of the gods of the coffin, who listen to the praises of this dead man, and who daily extol the virtues of this instructed mummy, who is living eternally like a god, ruling in Amentit, ye also who shall live in the memory of posterity, all ye who shall come and read these hymns inscribed, according to the rites, within the tombs, repeat: 'The greatness of the underworld, what is it? The annihilation of the tomb, why is it?' It is to conform to the image of the land of Eternity, the true country where there is no strife

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey, taken in 1881; cf. Maspero, *Les Momies royales de Déir el-Baharí*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, pl. xxi. B.

[2] Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. xcvi. 4. The original, reproduced by Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. i. pl. xii., is in the Louvre.

[3] The harper is often represented performing this last office, and, without mentioning Bruce's harper, reproduced on p. 520 of this volume, we find the scene in Rosellini, *Mon. Civili*, xcv., Nos. 3, 4, xcvi., No. 1; in Dümichen, *Hist. Inschriften*, vol. ii. pls. xl., xl. *a*; in Benedite, *Tombeau de Neferhotpou*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. v. pl. ii., and pp. 504-510, 529-531. In the tomb of Nofirhotpû, and in many others, the daughters or the relatives of the deceased accompany or even replace the harper; in this case they belonged to a priestly family, and fulfilled the duties of the "Female Singers" of Amon or some other god.

[4] "Instructed mummies" is an analogous expression to that of "instructed shades," which I have already explained in *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 183, and on pp. 510, 511 of the present work.

and where violence is held in abhorrence, where none attacks his neighbour, and where none among our generations who rest within it is rebellious, from the time when your race first existed, to the moment when it shall become a multitude of multitudes, all going the same way; for instead of remaining in this land of Egypt, there is not one but shall leave it, and there is said to all who are here below, from the moment of their waking to life: 'Go, prosper safe and sound, to reach the tomb at length, a chief among the blessed, and ever mindful in thy heart of the day when thou must lie down on the funeral bed!'"[1] The ancient song of Antûf, modified in the course of centuries, was still that which expressed most forcibly the melancholy thought paramount in the minds of the friends assembled to perform the last rites. "The impassibility of the chief[2] is, in truth, the best of fates! Since the times of the god bodies are created merely to pass away, and young generations take their place: Râ rises in the morning, Tûmû lies down to rest in the land of the evening, all males generate, the females conceive, every nose inhales the air from the morning of their birth to the day when they go to their place! Be happy then for one day, O man!—May there ever be perfumes and scents for thy nostrils, garlands and lotus-flowers for thy shoulders and for the neck of thy beloved sister[3] who sits beside thee! Let there be singing and music before thee, and, forgetting all thy sorrows, think only of pleasure until the day when thou must enter the country of Maritsakro, the silent goddess, though all the same the heart of the son who loves thee will not cease to beat! Be happy for one day, O man!—I have heard related what befell our ancestors; their walls are destroyed, their place is no more, they are as those who have ceased to live from the time of the god! The walls of thy tomb are strong, thou hast planted trees at the edge of thy pond, thy soul reposes beneath them and drinks the water; follow that which seemeth good to thee as long as thou art on earth, and give bread to him who is without land, that thou mayest be well spoken of for evermore. Think upon the gods who have lived long ago: their meat offerings fall in pieces as if they had been torn by a panther, their loaves are defiled with dust, their statues no longer stand upright within the temple of Râ, their followers beg for alms! Be happy for one day!" Those gone before thee "have had their hour of joy," and they

[1] DÜMICHEN, *Historische Inschriften*, vol. ii. pl. xl. a, ll. 9-15, the text of which has been revised and corrected by BÉNÉDITE, *Le Tombeau de Neferhotpou*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. v. pl. iii. ll. 9-15, and pp. 505-517; cf., for the translation, MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 165-167.

[2] Osiris is here designated by the word "chief," as I have already pointed out on p. 511, note 3.

[3] For the meaning of this word "sister," cf. its use in the love-songs of the *Harris Papyrus*, No. 500, vol. ii. pp. 504, 505 of the present work. Marriages between brothers and sisters in Egypt (see *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 50, 51) rendered it the most natural appellation.

have put off sadness "which shortens the moments until the day when hearts are destroyed!—Be mindful, therefore, of the day when thou shalt be taken to the country where all men are mingled: none has ever taken thither his



ONE OF THE HARPERS OF THE TOMB OF RAMSES III.[1]

goods with him, and no one can ever return from it!"[2] The grave did not, however, mingle all men as impartially as the poet would have us believe. The poor and insignificant had merely a place in the common pit, which was situated in the centre of the Assassif,[3] one of the richest funerary quarters of Thebes. Yawning trenches stood ever open there, ready to receive their prey; the rites were hurriedly performed, and the grave-diggers covered the mummies of the day's burial with a little sand, out of which we receive them intact,

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph taken by Insinger in 1881; cf., among other works in which this picture is given, *La Description de l'Égypte*, *Ant.*, vol. ii. pl. 91; Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. cclxi., and Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. xcvii.

[2] Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, vol. ii. pl. xl.; Stern, *Das Lied des Harfners*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1873, pp. 58-63, 72, 73, and the *Song of the Harper*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. vi. pp. 127-130; Maspero, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 172-177; Bénédite, *Tombeau de Neferhotpou*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. v. pl. iv. pp. 529-531.

[3] There is really only one complete description of a cemetery of the poor, namely, that given by A. Rhind, *Thebes, its Tombs and their Tenants*, pp. 124-129. Mariette caused extensive excavations to be made by Gabet and Vassalli, 1859-1863, in the Assassif, near the spot worked by Rhind, and the objects found are now in the Gizeh Museum, but the accounts of the work are among his unpublished papers. Vassalli assures me that he sometimes found the mummies piled one on another to the depth of sixty bodies, and even then he did not reach the lowest of the pile. The hurried excavations which I made in 1882 and 1884, appeared to confirm these statements of Rhind and Vassalli.

sometimes isolated, sometimes in groups of twos or threes, showing that they had not even been placed in regular layers.[1] Some are wrapped only in bandages of coarse linen, and have been consigned without further covering to the soil, while others have been bound round with palm-leaves laid side by side, so as to form a sort of primitive basket.[2] The class above the poorest people were buried in rough-hewn wooden boxes, smaller at the feet than towards the head, and devoid of any inscription or painting.[3] Many have been placed in any coffin that came to hand, with a total indifference as to suitability of size; others lie in a badly made bier, made up of the fragments of one or more older biers. None of them possessed any funerary furniture, except the tools of his trade, a thin pair of leather shoes, sandals of cardboard or plaited reeds, rings of terra-cotta or bronze, bracelets or necklets of a single row of blue beads, statuettes of divinities, mystic eyes, scarabs, and, above all, cords tied round the neck, arms, limbs, or waist, to keep off, by their mystic knots, all malign influences.[4]

The whole population of the necropolis made their living out of the dead. This was true of all ranks of society, headed by the sacerdotal colleges of the royal chapels,[5] and followed by the priestly bodies, to whom was entrusted the care of the tombs in the various sections, but the most influential of whom confined their attentions to the old burying-ground, "Isit-mâit," the True Place.[6] It was their duty to keep up the monuments of the kings, and also of private individuals, to clean the tombs, to visit the funerary chambers, to note the condition of their occupants, and, if necessary, repair the damage done by time, and to provide on certain days the offerings prescribed by custom, or by clauses in the contract drawn up between the family of the deceased and the religious authorities. The titles of these officials indicated how humble was their position in relation to the deified ancestors in whose service they were employed; they called themselves the "Servants of the True Place," and their chiefs the "Superiors of the Servants," but all the while they were people of considerable importance, being rich, well educated, and respected in their own quarter of the town. They professed to have a

[1] Rhind, *Thebes, its Tombs and their Tenants*, pp. 123, 126.

[2] Passalacqua, *Catalogue raisonné et historique des Antiquités découvertes en Égypte*, p. 204.

[3] Rhind, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

[4] Rhind, *op. cit.*, pp. 128–131.

[5] We find on several monuments the names of persons belonging to these sacerdotal bodies, priests of Amenôthes I. (Maspero, *Rapport sur une Mission en Italie*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. iii. p. 100), priests of Thûtmosis I., of Thûtmosis II., of Amenôthes II., and of Seti I. (Id., *ibid.*, pp. 112–114).

[6] The persons connected with the "True Place" were for a long time considered as magistrates, and the "True Place" as a tribunal; their actual office was discovered independently by Brugsch (*Dictionnaire géographique*, pp. 1276–1278) and by Maspero (*Rapport sur une Mission en Italie*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ii. pp. 159–160). The list of those among them who were known up to 1882 will be found in the *Rapport sur une Mission en Italie* (*Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ii. pp. 166–169, and vol. iii. pp. 103, 104), together with remarks on their costume (*Ibid.*, vol. iii. pp. 111, 112).

special devotion for Amenôthes I. and his mother, Nofritari, who, after five or six centuries of continuous homage, had come to be considered as the patrons of Khafitnibûs,[1] but this devotion was not to the depreciation of other sovereigns. It is true that the officials were not always clear as to the identity of the royal remains of which they had the care, and they were known to have changed one of their queens or princesses into a king or some royal prince.[2] They were surrounded by a whole host of lesser functionaries — bricklayers, masons, labourers, exorcists, scribes (who wrote out pious formulæ for poor people, or copied the "Books of the going forth by day" for the mummies), weavers, cabinet-makers, and goldsmiths. The sculptors and the painters were grouped into guilds;[3] many of them spent their days in the tombs they were decorating, while others had their workshops above-ground, probably very like those of our modern monumental masons. They kept at the disposal of their needy customers an assortment of ready-made statues and stelæ, votive tablets to Osiris, Anubis, and other Theban gods and goddesses, singly or combined. The name of the deceased and the enumeration of the members of his family were left blank, and were inserted after purchase in the spaces reserved for the purpose.[5] These artisans made the greater part of their livelihood by means of these epitaphs, and the majority thought only of selling as many of them as they could; some few, however,



AMENÔTHES III. AT LUXOR.[4]

[1] Maspero, *Rapport sur une Mission en Italie*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ii. pp. 165, 166; cf. pp. 98–100 of the present work for the worship of these two sovereigns.

[2] Thus Queen Âhhotpû I., whom the "servant" Anhurkhâû knew to be a woman (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 2 *d*), is transformed into a King Âhhotpû in the tomb of Khâbokhnît (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 2 *a*); cf. Maspero, *Les Momies royales de Déir el-Baharî*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pp. 616–630.

[3] We gather this from the inscriptions which give us the various titles of the sculptors, draughtsmen, or workmen, but I have been unable to make out the respective positions held by these different persons (*Rapport sur une Mission en Italie*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. iii. pp. 107, 108).

[4] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Gayet, taken in 1892.

[5] I succeeded in collecting at the Boulak Museum a considerable number of these unfinished statues and stelæ, coming from the workshops of the necropolis (Maspero, *Guide du Visiteur*, pp. 208–210).

devoted themselves to work of a higher kind. Sculpture had reached a high degree of development under the Thûtmoses and the Ramses, and the art of depicting scenes in bas-relief had been brought to a perfection hitherto unknown. This will be easily seen by comparing the pictures in the old mastabas, such as those of Ti or Phtahhotpû, with the finest parts of the temples of Qurneh, Abydos, Karnak, Deir el-Bahari, or with the scenes in the tombs of Seti I. and Ramses II., or those of private individuals such as Hûi. The modelling is firm and refined, showing a skill in the use of the chisel and an elegance of outline which have never been surpassed: the Amenôthes III. of Luxor and the Khâmhâît of Sheikh Abd el-Qurneh might serve for models in our own schools of the highest types which Egyptian art could produce at its best in this particular branch. The drawing is freer than in earlier examples, the action is more natural, the composition more studied, and the perspective less wild. We feel that the artist handled his subject *con amore*. He spared no trouble in sketching out his designs and in making studies from nature, and, as papyrus was expensive, he drew rough drafts, or made notes of his impressions on the flat chips of limestone with which the workshops were strewn. Nothing at that date could rival these sketches for boldness of conception and freedom in execution, whether it were in the portrayal of the majestic gait of a king or the agility of an acrobat. Of the latter we have an example in the Turin Museum. The girl is nude, with the exception of a tightly fitting belt about her hips, and she is throwing herself backwards with so natural a motion, that we are almost tempted to expect her to turn a somersault and fall once more into position with her heels together. The unfinished figures on the



SAÏMAÏRU.[1]

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by M. de Mertens, taken from a bas-relief brought to Berlin by Lepsius; cf. ERMAN, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss*, p. 135, note 2093.

tomb of Seti I. show with what a steady hand the clever draughtsman could sketch out his subjects. The head from the nape of the neck round to the throat is described by a single line, and the contour of the shoulders is marked by another. The form of the body is traced by two undulating lines, while the arms and legs are respectively outlined by two others.[1] The articles of apparel and ornaments, sketched rapidly at first, had to be gone over again by the sculptor, who worked out the smallest details. One might almost count the tresses of the hair, while the folds of the dress and the enamels of the girdle and bracelets are minutely chiselled. When the draughtsman had finished his picture from the sketch which he had made, or when he had enlarged it from a smaller drawing, the master of the studio would go over it again, marking here and there in red the defective points, to which the sculptor gave his attention when working the subject out on the wall. If he happened to make a mistake in executing it, he corrected it as well as he was able by filling up with stucco or hard cement the portions to be remodelled, and by starting to work again upon the fresh surface. This cement has fallen out in some cases, and reveals to our eyes to-day the marks of the underlying chiselling. There are, for example, two profiles of Seti I. on one of the bas-reliefs of the hypostyle hall at Karnak, one faintly outlined, and the other standing fully out from the surface of the stone. The sense of the picturesque was making itself felt, and artists were no longer to be excused for neglecting architectural details, the configuration of the country, the drawing of rare plants, and, in fact, all those accessories which had been previously omitted altogether or merely indicated. The necessity of covering such vast surfaces as the pylons offered had accustomed them to arrange the various scenes of one and the same action in a more natural and intimate connexion than their predecessors could possibly have done. In these scenes the Pharaoh naturally played the chief part, but in place of choosing for treatment merely one or other important action of the monarch calculated



SKETCH OF A FEMALE TUMBLER.[2]

[1] One of these is reproduced on p. 285 of the present work.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph taken by Petrie from an ostracon in the Turin Museum.

to exhibit his courage, the artist endeavoured to portray all the successive incidents in his campaigns, in the same manner as the early Italian painters were accustomed to depict, one after the other, and on the same canvas, all the events of the same legend. The details of these gigantic compositions may sometimes appear childish to us, and we may frequently be at a loss in determining the relations of the parts, yet the whole is full of movement, and, although mutilated, gives us even yet the impression which would have been made upon us by the turmoil of a battle in those distant days.[1]



BAS-RELIEF OF SETI I., SHOWING CORRECTIONS MADE BY THE SCULPTOR.[2]

The sculptor of statues for a long time past was not a whit less skilful than the artist who executed bas-reliefs. The sculptor was doubtless often obliged to give enormous proportions to the figure of the king, to prevent his being overshadowed by the mass of buildings among which the statue was to appear; but this necessity of exaggerating the human form did not destroy in the artist that sense of proportion and that skilful handling of the chisel which are so strikingly displayed in the sitting scribe or in the princess at Meîdûm; it merely trained him to mark out deftly the principal lines, and to calculate the volume and dimensions of these gigantic granite figures of some fifty to sixty-five feet high,[3] with as great confidence and skill as he would have employed upon any statue of ordinary dimensions which

[1] Maspero, *L'Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 175–181; cf., for example, the scenes taken from the representation of the battle of Qodshû on pp. 392–395 of the present work.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from photographs taken in 1881 by Insinger and Daniel Héron. The original bas-relief is on the west wall of the great hypostyle hall at Karnak; cf. Mariette, *Voyage dans la Haute-Égypte*, vol. ii. pl. 43.

[3] See pp. 311–313 of the present work for the colossal figures of Amenôthes III. in the Theban plain before the Amenôtheum, and *ibid.*, pp. 420, 411, 412, and 424 for the statues of Ramses II. at the Ramesseum, Abu-Simbel, and Tanis respectively.

might be entrusted to him. The colossal statues at Abu-Simbel and Thebes still witness to the incomparable skill of the Theban sculptors in the difficult art of imagining and executing superhuman types. The decadence of Egyptian art did not begin until the time of Ramses III.,[1] but its downward progress was rapid, and the statues of the Ramesside period are of little or no artistic value. The form of these figures is poor, the technique crude, and the expression of the faces mean and commonplace. They betray the hand of a mechanical workman who, while still in the possession of the instruments of his trade, can infuse no new life into the traditions of the schools, nor break away from them altogether. We must look, not to the royal studios, but to the workshops connected with the necropolis, if we want to find statues of half life-size displaying intelligent workmanship, all of which we might be tempted to refer to the XVIII[th] dynasty if the inscriptions upon them did not fix their date some two or three centuries later. An example of them may be seen at Turin in the kneeling scribe embracing a ram-headed altar: the face is youthful, and has an expression at once so gentle and intelligent that we are constrained to overlook the imperfections in the bust and legs of the figure. Specimens of this kind are not numerous, and their rarity is easily accounted for. The multitude of priests, soldiers, workmen, and small middle-class people who made up the bulk of the Theban population had aspirations for a luxury little commensurate with their means, and the tombs of such people are, therefore, full of objects which simulate a character they do not possess, and are deceptive to the eye: such were the statuettes made of wood, substituted

THE KNEELING SCRIBE AT TURIN.[2]



THE LADY TUI.[3]

[1] See p. 418 of the present work for my opinion on the ordinary theory, which makes the decadence of Egyptian sculpture begin in the time of Ramses II.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Petrie; the scribe bears upon his right shoulder, perhaps tattooed, the human image of the god Amon-Ra, whose animal emblem he embraces.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph taken in the Louvre; cf. Bénédite, *La Statuette de la dame Toui*, in the *Monuments et Mémoires*, vol. ii. pls. ii.–iv.

from economical motives instead of the limestone or sandstone statues usually provided as supporters for the "double." The funerary sculptors had acquired a perfect mastery of the kind of art needed for people of small means, and we find among the medley of commonplace objects which encumber the tombs they decorated, examples of artistic works of undoubted excellence, such as the ladies Nai and Tüi now in the Louvre, the lady Nehai now at Berlin, and the naked child at Turin.[1] The lady Tüi in her lifetime had been one of the singing-women of Amon. She is clad in a tight-fitting robe, which accentuates the contour of the breasts and hips without coarseness; her right arm falls gracefully alongside her body, while her left, bent across her chest, thrusts into her bosom a kind of magic whip, which was the sign of her profession. The artist was not able to avoid a certain heaviness in the treatment of her hair, and the careful execution of the whole work was not without a degree of harshness, but by dint of scraping and polishing the wood he succeeded in softening the outline, and removing from the figure every sharp point. The lady Nehai is smarter and more graceful, in her close-fitting garment and her mantle thrown over the left elbow; and the artist has given her a more alert pose and resolute air than we find in the stiff carriage of her contemporary Tüi. The little girl in the Turin Museum is a looser work, but where could one find a better example of the lithe delicacy of the young Egyptian maiden of eight or ten years old? We may see her counterpart to-day among the young Nubian girls of the cataract, before they are obliged to wear clothes; there is the same thin chest, the same undeveloped hips, the same meagre thighs, and the same demeanour, at once innocent and audacious. Other statuettes represent matrons, some in tight garments, and with their hair closely confined,



YOUNG GIRL IN THE TURIN MUSEUM.[2]



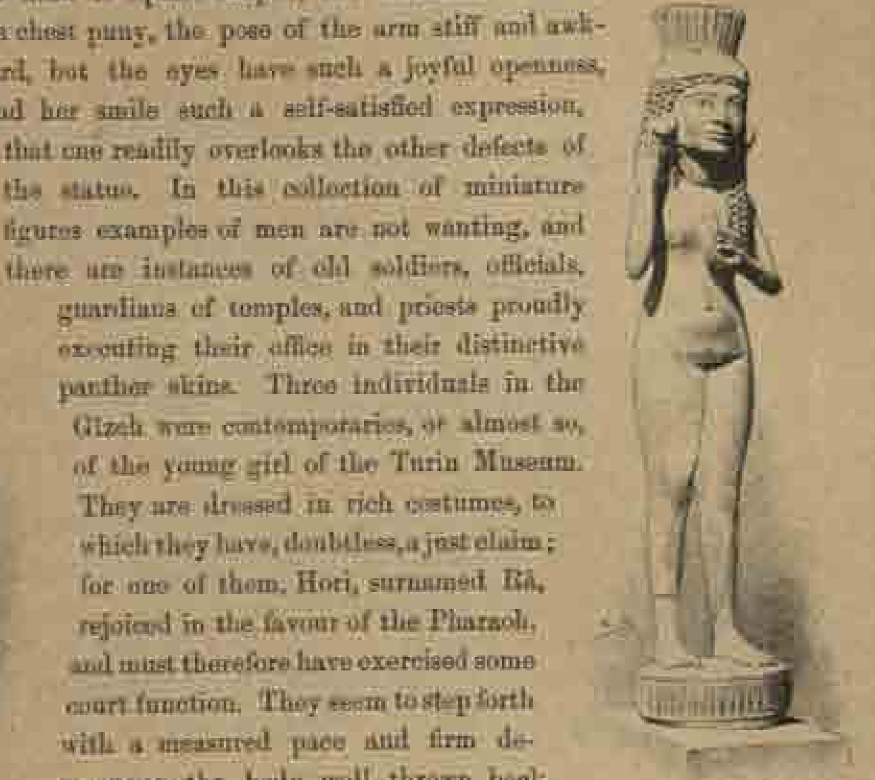
THE LADY NEHAI.[3]

[1] The lady Nai was reproduced by Maspero, in O. Rayet, *Les Monuments de l'Art antique*, vol. i., and in *L'Archéologie Égyptienne*, p. 262.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Petrie; cf. Maspero, *La Dame Touï*, in *La Nature*, 23rd year, vol. ii. p. 213, fig. 2.

[3] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by M. de Mertens; cf. Erman, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss*, p. 129, No. 8041. Enamelled eyes, according to a common custom, were inserted in the sockets, but have disappeared.

others without any garment whatever. The Turin example is that of a lady who seems proud of her large ear-rings, and brings one of them into prominence, either to show it off or to satisfy herself that the jewel becomes her: her head is square-shaped, the shoulders narrow, the chest puny, the pose of the arm stiff and awkward, but the eyes have such a joyful openness, and her smile such a self-satisfied expression, that one readily overlooks the other defects of the statue. In this collection of miniature figures examples of men are not wanting, and there are instances of old soldiers, officials, guardians of temples, and priests proudly executing their office in their distinctive panther skins. Three individuals in the Gizeh were contemporaries, or almost so, of the young girl of the Turin Museum. They are dressed in rich costumes, to which they have, doubtless, a just claim; for one of them, Hori, surnamed Râ, rejoiced in the favour of the Pharaoh, and must therefore have exercised some court function. They seem to step forth with a measured pace and firm demeanour, the body well thrown back and the head erect, their faces displaying something of cruelty and cunning.[1]



A SOLDIER.[2]

STATUE IN THE TURIN MUSEUM.[3]

An officer, whose retirement from service is now spent in the Louvre, is dressed in a semi-civil costume, with a light wig, a closely fitting smock-frock with shirt-sleeves, and a loin-cloth tied tightly round the hips and descending half-way down the thigh, to which is applied a piece of stuff kilted lengthwise, projecting in front.[4] A colleague of his, now in the Berlin Museum, still maintains possession of his official baton, and is arrayed in his striped petticoat, his bracelets and gorget of gold. A priest in the Louvre holds before him, grasped by both hands, the insignia of Amon-Râ—a ram's head, surmounted

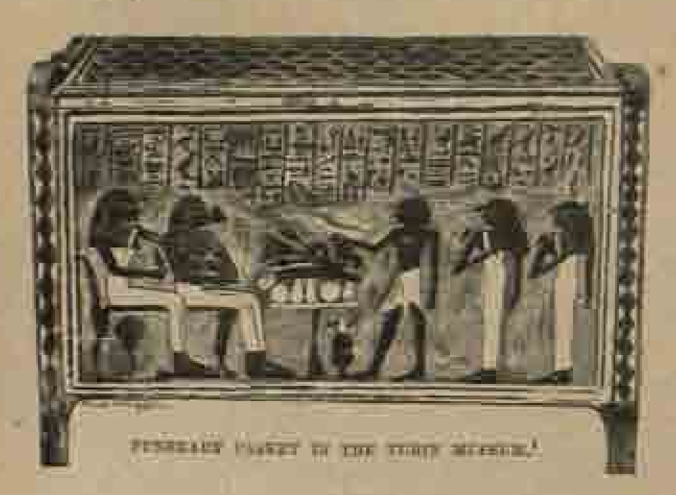
[1] Maspero, *Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq*, Nos. 3274-3276, pp. 106, 107, and *Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 261, 262; Philippe Virey, *Notice des principaux monuments exposés au Musée de Gizeh*, Nos. 874-881, pp. 195, 196.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by M. de Mertens; cf. Erman, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss*, p. 120, No. 4087. Other statuettes of the same kind in the museums of the Louvre have been reproduced by Maspero, in O. Rayet, *Les Monuments de l'Art antique*, and in *Arch. Égyptienne*, pp. 261-262.

[3] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Petrie; cf. Maspero, *La Dame Toui*, in *La Nature*, 23rd year, vol. ii. p. 213, fig. 2.

[4] This is reproduced by heliogravure in O. Rayet, *Les Monuments de l'Art antique*, vol. i.

by the solar disk, and inserted on the top of a thick handle; another, who has been relegated to Turin, appears to be placed between two long staves, each surmounted by an idol, and, to judge from his attitude, seems to have no small idea of his own beauty and importance. The Egyptians were an observant people and inclined to satire, and I have a shrewd suspicion that the sculptors, in giving to such statuettes this character of childlike vanity, yielded to the temptation to be merry at the expense of their model.



FUNERARY CASKET IN THE TURIN MUSEUM.[1]

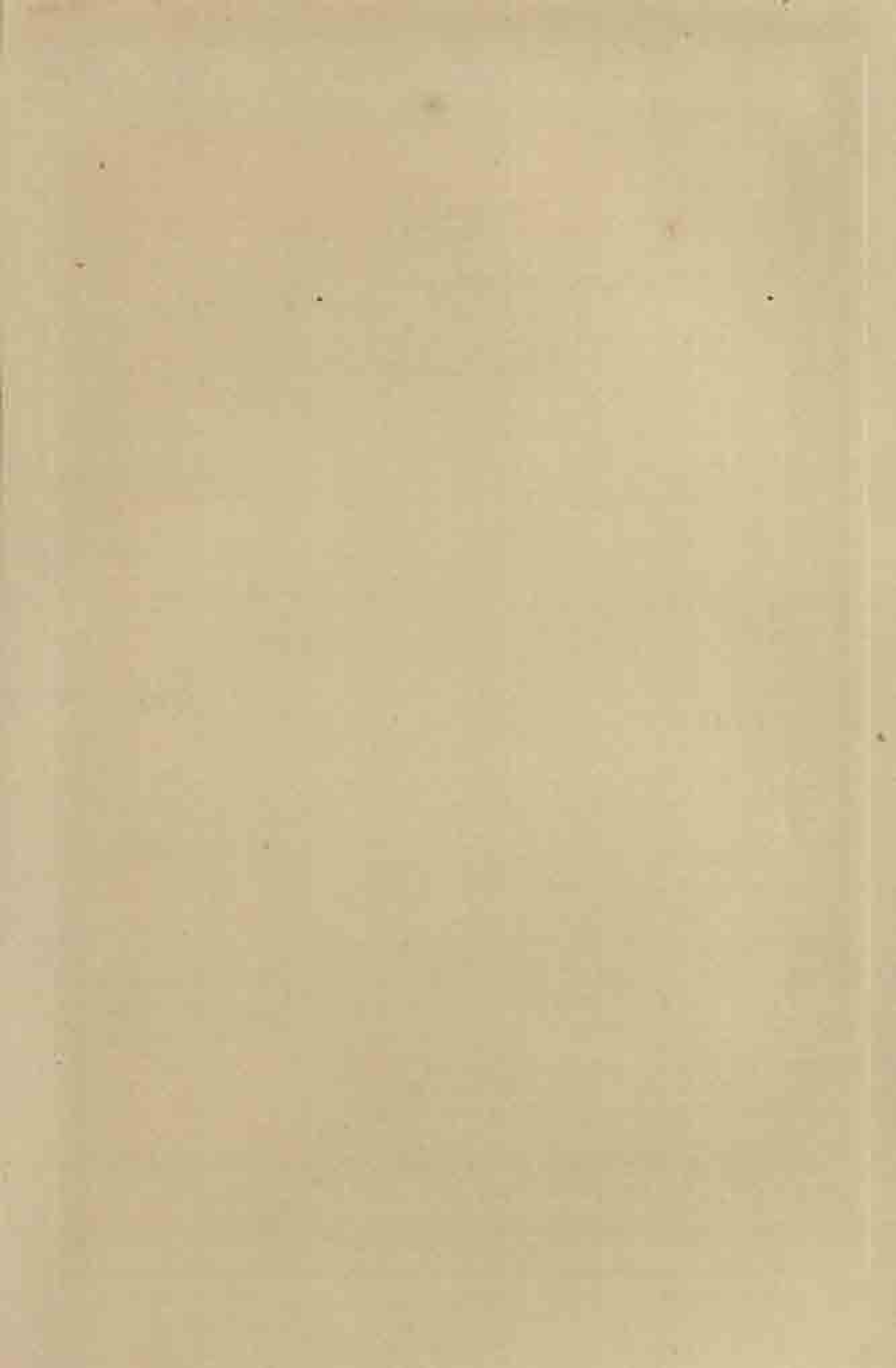
The smelters and engravers in metal occupied in relation to the sculptors a somewhat exalted position. Bronze had for a long time been employed in funerary furniture, and *ushabtiu* (respondents),[2] amulets, and images of the gods, as well as of mortals, were cast in this metal. Many of these tiny figures form charming examples of enamel-work, and are distinguished not only by the gracefulness of the modelling, but also by the brilliance of the superimposed glaze; but the majority of them were purely commercial articles, manufactured by the hundred from the same models, and possibly cast, for centuries, from the same moulds for the edification of the devout and of pilgrims. We ought not, therefore, to be surprised if they are lacking in originality; they are no more to be distinguished from each other than the hundreds of coloured statuettes which one may find on the stalls of modern dealers in religious statuary.[3] Here and there among the multitude we may light upon examples showing a marked individuality: the statuette of the lady Takushit, which now forms one of the ornaments of the museum at Athens,[4] is an instance. She stands erect, one foot in advance, her right arm hanging at her side, her left pressed against her bosom; she is arrayed in a short dress embroidered over with religious scenes, and wears upon her ankles and wrists rings of value. A wig

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph.

[2] Bronze *respondents* are somewhat rare, and most of those which are to be found among the dealers are counterfeit. The Gizeh Museum possesses two examples at least of indisputable authenticity (MASPERO, *Guide du Visiteur*, Nos. 1294 and 1295, pp. 123, 124); both of them belong to the XX[th] dynasty.

[3] MASPERO, *Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 234, 235.

[4] MASPERO, *Statuette Égyptienne de bronze damasquinée d'argent de la collection de Demetrio*, in the *Gazette Archéologique*, 1883, pp. 185–189, and pls. 33, 34; cf. *Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 238, 239.





The Lady Takushit

From a bronze in the Museum at Athens.

Printed in Paris.

with stiff-looking locks, regularly arranged in rows, covers her head. The details of the drapery and the ornaments are incised on the surface of the bronze, and heightened with a thread of silver. The face is evidently a portrait, and is that apparently of a woman of mature age, but the body, according to the tradition of the Egyptian schools of art, is that of a young girl, lithe, firm, and elastic. The alloy contains gold, and the warm and softened lights reflected from it blend most happily and harmoniously with the white lines of the designs. The joiners occupied, after the workers in bronze, an important position in relation to the necropolis, and the greater part of the furniture which they executed for the mummies of persons of high rank was remarkable for its painting and carpentry-work. Some articles of their manufacture were intended for religious use—such as those shrines, mounted upon sledges, on which the image of the god was placed, to whom prayers were made for the deceased; others served for the household needs of the mummy, and, to distinguish these, there are to be seen upon their sides religious and funereal pictures, offerings to the two deceased parents, sacrifices to a god or goddess, and incidents in the Osirian life. The funerary beds consisted, like those intended for the living, of a rectangular framework, placed upon four feet of equal height, although there are rare examples in which the supports are so arranged as to give a gentle slope to the structure. The fancy which actuated the joiner in making such beds supposed that two benevolent lions had, of their own free will, stretched out their bodies to form the two sides of the couch, the muzzles constituting the pillow, while the tails were curled up under the feet of the sleeper.[2] Many of the heads given to the lions are so noble and expressive, that they will well bear comparison with the granite statues of these animals which Amenôthes III. dedicated in his temple at Soleb.[3] The



SHRINE IN THE TURIN MUSEUM.[1]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Lanzone; cf. Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. i. p. 380.

[2] Upon these funerary couches, see Maspero, *Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 277-280.

[3] Cf. the two lion's heads in the Hoffmann sale, *Antiquités Égyptiennes*, p. 80, Nos. 280, 281, and pls. xxix., xxx.; they belonged to a funeral couch, and not to a throne, as the compiler of the *Catalogue* maintains.

other trades depended upon the proportion of their members to the rest of the community for the estimation in which they were held. The masons, stone-cutters, and common labourers[1] furnished the most important contingent; among these ought also to be reckoned the royal servants—of whose functions we should have been at a loss to guess the importance, if contemporary documents had not made it clear—fishermen, hunters, laundresses, wood-cutters, gardeners, and water-carriers.[2] Without reckoning the constant libations needed for the gods and the deceased, the workshops required a large quantity of drinking water for the men engaged in them. In every gang of workmen, even in the present day, two or three men are set apart to provide drinking-water for the rest; in some arid places, indeed, at a distance from the river, such as the Valley of the Kings, as many water-carriers are required as there are workmen. To the trades just mentioned must be added the low-caste crowd depending on the burials of the rich, the acrobats, female mourners, dancers and musicians. The majority of the female corporations were distinguished by the infamous character of their manners, and prostitution among them had come to be associated with the service of the god.[4]



THE SWALLOW-GODDESS FROM THE THEBAN NECROPOLIS.[3]

There was no education for all this mass of people, and their religion was of a meagre character. They worshipped the official deities, Amon, Mût, Isis, and Hâthor, and such deceased Pharaohs as Amenôthes I. and Nofritari, but

[1] Chabas-Lieblein, *Deux Papyrus Hiératiques du Musée de Turin*, pp. 12–14, and Maspero, *Une Enquête judiciaire à Thèbes au temps de la XXe dynastie*, p. 68, et seq.

[2] With regard to the fishermen of the necropolis, see Pleyte-Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, pl. xxxvii. ll. 19–22; the Cailliaud ostracon, which contains a receipt given to some fishermen, was found near Shaikh Abd el-Qurneh, and consequently belonged to the fishermen of the necropolis (Devéria, *Œuvres*, vol. i. pp. 132–142). There is a question as to the water-carriers of the Khiru in the hieratic registers of Turin (Pleyte-Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, pls. xxxv. l. 2, xxxvi. l. 11, xxxvii. ll. 5, 12; Chabas, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 3rd series, vol. ii. p. 16), also as to the washers of clothes (Id., *ibid.*, pls. xxxv. l. 16, xxxvi. ll. 12, 17), wood-cutters (Id., *ibid.*, pl. xxxvi. l. 13), gardeners and workers in the vineyard (Id., *ibid.*, pls. xxxvi. l. 14, xxxvii. ll. 15–17, xxxviii. l. 13).

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Lanzone; cf. Lanzone, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, pl. cxvii.

[4] The heroine of the erotic papyrus of Turin bears the title of "Singing-woman of Amon" (Pleyte-Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, p. 203, et seq.), and the illustrations indicate her profession so clearly and so expressively, that no details of her sayings and doings are wanting: upon the double character of the singing-women in general, see Maspero, *La Dame Touï*, in *La Nature*, 22nd year, vol. ii. p. 211.

they had also their own Pantheon, in which animals predominated—such as the goose of Amon, and his ram Pa-rahaninofir, the good player on the horn, the hippopotamus, the cat, the chicken, the swallow, and especially reptiles.[1] Death was personified by a great viper, the queen of the West, known by the name Maritsakro, the friend of silence. Three heads, or the single head of a woman, attached to the one body, were assigned to it.[2] It was supposed to dwell in the mountain opposite Karnak, which fact gave to it, as well as to the necropolis itself, the two epithets of Khafîtnibûs and Ta-tahnit, that is, The Summit.[3] Its chapel was situated at the foot of the hill of Sheikh Abd el-Qurnah, but its sacred serpents crawled and wriggled through the necropolis, working miracles and effecting the cure of the most dangerous maladies. The faithful were accustomed to dedicate to them, in payment of their vows, stelæ, or slabs of roughly hewn stone, with inscriptions which witnessed to a deep gratitude. "Hearken! I, from the time of my appearance on earth, I was a 'Servant of the True Place,' Nofirâbû, a stupid ignorant person, who knew not good from evil, and I committed sin against The Summit. She punished me, and I was in her hand day and night. I lay groaning on my couch like a woman in child-bed, and I made supplication to the air, but it did not come to me, for I was hunted down by The Summit of the West, the brave one among all the gods and all the goddesses of the city; so I would say to all



THE GODDESS MARITSAKRO.[4]

[1] The worship of the ram of Amon, the goose, the swallow, the cat, and the serpent was pointed out, particularly from the monuments in the Turin Museum, by Maspero, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 395–401, 411–414; cf. Wiedemann, *Le Culte des animaux en Égypte*, in the *Muséon*, vol. viii. pp. 90–101, and *Zu dem Thierkult der Alten Ægypter*, in the *Mélanges Charles de Harlez*, pp. 372–380. A stele exhibiting the cat and goose face to face was reproduced in *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 87. As to the cult of the hippopotamus in the necropolis, see the little stele published by Maspero, *Rapport sur une Mission en Italie*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. iv. p. 151, and by Lanzone, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, pl. cccxxx.

[2] As to the cult of Maritsakro, see Maspero, *Études de Mythologie*, etc., vol. ii. pp. 402–410.

[3] As to the first of these names, see p. 506 of the present work. The abundance of the monuments of Mafitsakro found at Sheikh Abd el-Gurneh, inclines me to believe that her sanctuary was situated in the neighbourhood of the temple of Urmont (Maspero, in the *Revue Critique*, 1890, vol. ii. pp. 412–414), but there was also on the top of the hill another sanctuary which would equally satisfy the name Ta-tahnit (Maspero, *Études de Mythologie*, etc., vol. ii. pp. 408–410).

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Lanzone; cf. Lanzone, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, pl. cxxv. The stele from which I have taken this figure is in the Turin Museum.

the miserable sinners among the people of the necropolis: 'Give heed to The Summit, for there is a lion in The Summit, and she strikes as strikes a spell-casting Lion, and she pursues him who sins against her!' I invoked then my mistress, and I felt that she flew to me like a pleasant breeze; she placed herself upon me, and this made me recognise her hand, and appeased she returned to me, and she delivered me from suffering, for she is my life, The Summit of the West, when she is appeased, and she ought to be invoked!'"[1] There were many sinners, we may believe, among that ignorant and superstitious population, but the governors of Thebes did not put their confidence in the local deities alone to keep them within bounds and to prevent their evil deeds: commissioners, with the help of a detachment of Mazaiû, were an additional means of conducting them into the right way.[2] They had, in this respect, a hard work to accomplish, for every day brought with it its contingent of crimes, which they had to follow up, and secure the punishment of the authors.[3] Nsisâmon came to inform them that the workman Nakhtummaut and his companions had stolen into his house, and robbed him of three large loaves, eight cakes, and some pastry; they had also drunk a jar of beer, and poured out from pure malice the oil which they could not carry away with them.[4] Panibi had met the wife of a comrade alone near an out-of-the-way tomb, and had taken advantage of her notwithstanding her cries; this, moreover, was not the first offence of the culprit, for several young girls had previously been victims of his brutality, and had not ventured up to this time to complain of him on account of the terror with which he inspired the neighbourhood.[5] Crimes against the dead were always common; every penniless fellow knew what quantities of gold and jewels had been entombed with the departed, and these treasures, scattered around them at only a few feet from the surface of the ground, presented to them a constant temptation to which they often succumbed.[6] Some were not disposed to have accomplices, while others associated together, and, having purchased at a serious cost the

[1] See stele No. 102 in Turin, published by MASPERO, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire, etc.*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ii. pp. 109, 110, and LANZONE, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, pl. cxxi. The figure reproduced on p. 537 of the present work was taken from this monument.

[2] The part played by the Mazaiû in the necropolis was first pointed out by BIRCH, *Le Papyrus Abbott*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1st series, vol. xvi. p. 261; cf. CHABAS-LIEBLEIN, *Deux Papyrus hiératiques du Musée de Turin*, p. 16.

[3] A legal description of the crimes committed in the necropolis, and the strikes which disturbed it, have been dealt with by SPIEGELBERG, *Arbeiter und Arbeiterbewegung im Pharaonenreich*, 1895.

[4] See the ostracon, No. 5637, in the British Museum, published by BIRCH, *Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Characters*, pl. xx., translated by CHABAS, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 3rd series, vol. i. pp. 213–216; cf. SPIEGELBERG, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[5] See the *Salt Papyrus*, No. 124, pl. i. l. 19, pl. ii. ll. 1–4, in CHABAS, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 3rd series, vol. i. pp. 180, 181, and in SPIEGELBERG, *op. cit.*, pp. 11–15; cf., for other crimes of the same kind, CHABAS, *op. cit.*, 3rd series, vol. ii. pp. 38, 39.

[6] See the *Abbott Papyrus*, pl. iii. ll. 17, 18, pl. iv. ll. 1–4, for an account of the particular tombs violated by a band of robbers (MASPERO, *Une Enquête judiciaire à Thèbes*, pp. 22–24; CHABAS, *Mélanges*, etc., 3rd series, vol. i. pp. 73, 74); we shall have occasion further on to show that even the royal tombs did not escape the rapacity of thieves.

connivance of the custodians, set boldly to work on tombs both recent and ancient.[1] Not content with stealing the funerary furniture, which they disposed of to the undertakers, they stripped the mummies also, and smashed the bodies in their efforts to secure the jewels; then, putting the remains together again, they rearranged the mummies afresh so cleverly that they can no longer be distinguished by their outward appearance from the originals, and the first wrappings must be removed before the fraud can be discovered.[2] From time to time one of these rogues would allow himself to be taken for the purpose of denouncing his comrades, and avenging himself for the injustice of which he was the victim in the division of the spoil; he was laid hold of by the Mazaîû, and brought before the tribunal of justice. The lands situated on the left bank of the Nile belonged partly to the king and partly to the god Amon, and any infraction of the law in regard to the necropolis was almost certain to come within the jurisdiction of one or other of them.[3] The commission appointed, therefore, to determine the damage done in any case, included in many instances the high priest or his delegates, as well as the officers of the Pharaoh.[4] The office of this commission was to examine into the state of the tombs, to interrogate the witnesses and the accused, applying the torture if necessary: when they had got at the facts, the tribunal of the notables condemned to impalement some half a dozen of the poor wretches, and caused some score of others to be whipped.[5] But, when two or three months had elapsed, the remembrance of the punishment began to die away, and the depredations began afresh.

The low rate of wages occasioned, at fixed periods, outbursts of discontent and trouble which ended in actual disturbances. The rations allowed to each workman, and given to him at the beginning of each month, would possibly have been sufficient for himself and his family, but, owing to the usual lack of foresight in the Egyptian, they were often consumed long before the time fixed, and the pinch soon began to be felt.[6] The workmen, demoralised by

[1] As to the corruption and complicity of scribes, priests, and guardians, see Chabas, *Mélanges égyptologiques*, 3rd series, vol. i. pp. 186-201, and vol. ii. pp. 24-43. Many of these individuals figure in the list of robbers copied out on the back of the Abbott Papyrus; see as to the scribes (ll. 11, 23, 27, 40, 41), as to the priests (ll. 8, 12, 18, 35, 55), and even a prophet appears among them (ll. 13, 28). Other examples are cited by Spiegelberg, *Arbeiter und Arbeiterbewegung im Pharaonenreich*, p. 21, and especially in the *Translation of the Mayer Papyri A, B*, in which a fair proportion of priests, scribes, and guardians are to be found among those accused of violating the tombs.

[2] Jomard pointed out some time ago cases of these re-made mummies of men and animals (*Description des Hypogées de la ville de Thèbes*, in *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. iii. pp. 85, 86, 94, 95). Many were discovered among those of the princes and princesses of the XVIIIth dynasty at Deir el-Bahari (Maspero, *Les Momies royales*, in *Mém. de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pp. 538-542, 544, 547, 548).

[3] Maspero, *Une Enquête judiciaire à Thèbes sous la XXe dynastie*, p. 69.

[4] With regard to this organisation of the police and of the tribunals of justice, I can only refer to the work of Spiegelberg, already referred to, *Studien und Materialien zum Rechtswesen des Pharaonenreiches*, 1892.

[5] This is how I translate a fairly common expression, which means literally, "to be put on the wood." Spiegelberg sees in this only a method of administering torture (*op. cit.*, pp. 75-78, 123, n. 325).

[6] See pp. 342-344 of the *Dawn of Civilization* for what is said on this subject. Brief descriptions

their involuntary abstinence, were not slow to turn to the overseer: "We are perishing of hunger, and there are still eighteen days before the next month."[1] The latter was prodigal of fair speeches, but as his words were rarely accompanied by deeds, the workmen would not listen to him; they stopped work, left the workshop in turbulent crowds, ran with noisy demonstrations to some public place to hold a meeting—perhaps the nearest monument, at the gate of the temple of Thûtmosis III.,[2] behind the chapel of Minephtah,[3] or in the court of that of Seti I.[4] Their overseers followed them: the police commissioners of the locality, the Mazaîû, and the scribes mingled with them and addressed themselves to some of the leaders with whom they might be acquainted. But these would not at first give them a hearing. "We will not return," they would say to the peacemakers; "make it clear to your superiors down below there." It must have been manifest that from their point of view their complaints were well founded, and the official, who afterwards gave an account of the affair to the authorities, was persuaded of this. "We went to hear them, and they spoke true words to us."[5] For the most part these strikes had no other consequence than a prolonged stoppage of work, until the distribution of rations at the beginning of the next month gave the malcontents courage to return to their tasks. Attempts were made to prevent the recurrence of these troubles by changing the method and time of payments. These were reduced to an interval of fifteen days, and at length, indeed, to one of eight.[6] The result was very much the same as before; the workman, paid more frequently, did not on that account become more prudent, and the hours of labour lost did not decrease. The individual man, if he had had nobody to consider but himself, might have put up with the hardships of his situation, but there were almost always wife and children or sisters concerned, who clamoured for bread in their hunger, and all the while the storehouses of the temples or those of the state close by were filled to overflowing with durrah, barley, and wheat.[7] The temptation to break open the doors and to

of these disorders have been given by Maspero, *La Vie populaire à Thèbes*, of which a summary was published in the *Bulletin du Cercle Historique*, 1883, pp. 68–71, *Lectures Historiques*, pp. 31–38, and by Spiegelberg, *Arbeiter und Arbeiterbewegung im Pharaonenreich*, pp. 17–23.

[1] Pleyte-Rossi, *Turin Papyrus*, pl. xlii. l. 2.

[2] Id., *ibid.*, pl. xlii. ll. 2, 3; perhaps the chapel of Uazmosu, or possibly the free space before the temple of Deir el-Bahari.

[3] Id., *ibid.*, pl. xlvi. l. 15; cf. Chabas, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 3rd series, vol. ii. p. 55. The site of this chapel was discovered by Prof. Petrie in the spring of 1896. It had previously been supposed to be a temple of Amenôthes III.

[4] Pleyte-Rossi, *Turin Papyrus*, pl. xlviii. l. 117; cf. Chabas, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 3rd series, vol. ii. pp. 56, 57; it was probably the court of the temple of Qurnah.

[5] The outbreak which I have described is treated fully in Pleyte-Rossi, *Turin Papyrus*, pl. xlii. ll. 11–17; cf. Chabas, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 3rd series, vol. ii. pp. 49–51.

[6] Chabas-Lieblein, *Deux Papyrus hiératiques du Musée de Turin*, pp. 25, 28, and pl. iv. l. 2.

[7] Khonsu, for example, excites his comrades to pillage the storehouses of the gate (Pleyte-Rossi, *Turin Papyrus*, pl. xlv. l. 6, xlvi. l. 2; cf. Chabas, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 3rd series, vol. ii. pp. 33, 34).

help themselves in the present necessity must have been keenly felt. Some bold spirits among the strikers, having set out together, scaled the two or three boundary walls by which the granaries were protected, but having reached this position their heart failed them, and they contented themselves with sending to the chief custodian an eloquent pleader, to lay before him their very humble request: "We are come, urged by famine, urged by thirst, having no more linen, no more oil, no more fish, no more vegetables. Send to Pharaoh, our master, send to the king, our lord, that he may provide us with the necessaries of life."[1] If one of them, with less self-restraint, was so carried away as to let drop an oath, which was a capital offence, saying, "By Amun! by the sovereign, whose anger is death!" if he asked to be taken before a magistrate in order that he might reiterate there his complaint, the others interceded for him, and begged that he might escape the punishment fixed by the law for blasphemy; the scribe, good fellow as he was, closed his ears to the oath,[2] and, if it were in his power, made a beginning of satisfying their demands by drawing upon the excess of past months to such an extent as would pacify them for some days, and by paying them a supplemental wage in the name of the Pharaoh.[3] They cried out loudly: "Shall there not be served out to us corn in excess of that which has been distributed to us; if not we will not stir from this spot?" At length the end of the month arrived, and they all appeared together before the magistrates, when they said: "Let the scribe, Khâmoisît, who is accountable, be sent for!" He was thereupon brought before the notables of the town, and they said to him: "See to the corn which thou hast received, and give some of it to the people of the necropolis." Pmontuniboisît was then sent for, and "rations of wheat were given to us daily." Famine was not caused only by the thriftlessness of the multitude: administrators of all ranks did not hesitate to appropriate, each one according to his position, a portion of the means entrusted to them for the maintenance of their subordinates, and the latter often received only instalments of what was due to them. The culprits often escaped from their difficulties by either laying hold of half a dozen of their brawling victims, or by yielding to them a proportion of their ill-gotten gains, before a rumour of the outbreak could reach head-quarters. It happened from time to time, however, when the complaints against them were either too serious or too frequent, that they were deprived of their functions, cited before the tribunals,

[1] Pleyte-Rossi, *Turin Papyrus*, pl. xliii. ll. 1–5.

[2] Id., *ibid.*, pl. xliii. ll. 6, 7; cf. Chabas, *Hebraeo-Ægyptiaca*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. i. pp. 177–182, and *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 3rd series, vol. i. pp. 47, 48.

[3] Pleyte-Rossi, *Turin Papyrus*, pl. xlvi. ll. 14–17; cf. Chabas, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 3rd series, vol. ii. pp. 53–55, and Chabas-Lieblein, *Deux Papyrus Hiératiques du Musée de Turin*, p. 38.

and condemned. What took place at Thebes was repeated with some variations in each of the other large cities. Corruption, theft, and extortion had prevailed among the officials from time immemorial, and the most active kings alone were able to repress these abuses, or confine them within narrow limits;[1] as soon as discipline became relaxed, however, they began to appear again, and we have no more convincing proof of the state of decadence into which Thebes had fallen towards the middle of the XXth dynasty, than the audacity of the crimes committed in the necropolis during the reigns of the successors of Ramses III.

The priesthood of Amon alone displayed any vigour and enjoyed any prosperity in the general decline. After the victory of the god over the heretic kings no one dared to dispute his supremacy, and the Ramessides displayed a devout humility before him and his ministers.[2] Henceforward he became united to Râ in a definite manner, and his authority not only extended over the whole of the land of Egypt, but over all the countries also which were brought within her influence; so that while Pharaoh continued to be the greatest of kings, Pharaoh's god held a position of undivided supremacy among the deities. He was the chief of the two Enneads, the Heliopolitan and the Hermopolitan, and displayed for the latter a special affection; for the vague character of its eight secondary deities only served to accentuate the position of the ninth and principal divinity with whose primacy that of Amon was identified. It was more easy to attribute to Amon the entire work of creation when Shû, Sibû, Osiris, and Sit had been excluded—the deities whom the theologians of Heliopolis had been accustomed to associate with the demiurge; and in the hymns which they sang at his solemn festivals they did not hesitate to ascribe to him all the acts which the priests of former times had assigned to the Ennead collectively. "He made earth, silver, gold,—the true lapis at his good pleasure.[3]—He brought forth the herbs for the cattle, the plants upon which men live.—He made to live the fish of the river,—the birds which hover in the air,—giving air to those which are in the egg.—He animates the insects,—he makes to live the small birds, the reptiles, and the gnats as well.—He provides food for the rat in his hole,—supports the bird upon the

[1] See pp. 346, 347 of the present work for the measures taken by Harmhabî to put a stop to the double-dealing of the officials and the depredations of the soldiers.

[2] For the exalted position obtained by Amon under the XVIIIth dynasty, see p. 312, *et seq.*, of the present work; and *ibid.*, pp. 344–346, for the triumph of Amon and his priests.

[3] MARIETTE, *Les Papyrus Égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq*, vol. ii. pl. xi. p. 8, ll. 6, 7; cf. GRÉBAUT, *l'Hymne à Ammon-Râ des Papyrus de Boulaq*, p. 22. Besides Grébaut's French, we have also the English translation of this hymn by GOODWIN, *Translation of an Egyptian Hymn to Amon*, in the *Transactions* of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. ii. pp. 250–263, and *Hymn to Amen Ra*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, pp. 127–136, and the German translation by L. STERN, *Ein Hymnus auf Ammon-Râ*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1873, pp. 74–81, 125–127.

branch.—May he be blessed for all this, he who is alone, but with many hands."[1] "Men spring from his two eyes,"[2] and quickly do they lose their breath while acclaiming him—Egyptians and Libyans, Negroes and Asiatics: "Hail to thee!" they all say; "praise to thee because thou dwellest amongst us!—Obeisances before thee because thou createst us!"—"Thou art blessed by every living thing,—thou hast worshippers in every place,—in the highest of the heavens, in all the breadth of the earth,—in the depths of the seas.—The gods bow before thy Majesty,—magnifying the souls which form them,—rejoicing at meeting those who have begotten them,—they say to thee: 'Go in peace,—father of the fathers of all the gods,—who suspended the heaven, levelled the earth;—creator of beings, maker of things,—sovereign king, chief of the gods,—we adore thy souls, because thou hast made us,—we lavish offerings upon thee, because thou hast given us birth,—we shower benedictions upon thee, because thou dwellest among us.'"[3] We have here the same ideas as those which predominate in the hymns addressed to Atonû,[4] and in the prayers directed to Phtah, the Nile, Shû, and the Sun-god of Heliopolis at the same period.[5] The idea of a single god, lord and maker of all things, continued to prevail more and more throughout Egypt—not, indeed, among the lower classes who persisted in the worship of their genii and their animals, but among the royal family, the priests, the nobles, and people of culture. The latter believed that the Sun-god had at length absorbed all the various beings who had been manifested in the feudal divinities: these, in fact, had surrendered their original characteristics in order to become forms of the Sun, Amon as well as the others—and the new belief displayed itself in magnifying the solar deity, but the solar deity united with the Theban Amon,

[1] MARIETTE, *Les Papyrus Égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq*, vol. ii. pl. xi. p. 6, ll. 2–7; cf. GRÉBAUT, *L'Hymne à Ammon-Râ des Papyrus de Boulaq*, pp. 17, 18.

[2] MARIETTE, *ibid.*, vol. ii. pl. xi. p. 6, l. 3; for the idea of creation as proceeding from the tears of the god, see MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 156.

[3] MARIETTE, *ibid.*, vol. ii. pl. xi. p. 7, l. 2, p. 8, l. 1; cf. GRÉBAUT, *L'Hymne à Ammon-Râ des Papyrus de Boulaq*, pp. 18–20. Cf. another hymn of a more mystic character, inscribed in the temple of Amon in the Theban Oasis; it was published, with a German translation, by BRUGSCH, *Reise nach der Grossen Oase El-Khargeh*, pl. xiii. pp. 27–48, and in English by BIRCH, *Inscription of Darius at the Temple of Khargeh*, in the *Transactions Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. v. pp. 293–302; the latter translation is also to be found in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. viii. pp. 135–144.

[4] See the fragments of these compositions given on pp. 322, 323 of the present work. Breasted (*De Hymnis in Solem sub Amenophide IV. conceptis*, p. 9) points out the decisive influence exercised by the solar hymns of Amenôthes IV. on the development of the solar ideas contained in the hymns to Amon put forth or re-edited in the XXth dynasty.

[5] The hymn to Phtah is contained in the *Berlin Papyrus*, No. VII. (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, vi. pls. 118–121); it was explained by PIERRET, *Études Égyptologiques*, vol. i. pp. 1–19. As to hymns to the Nile, see MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 39–42; the *Berlin Papyrus*, No. V. (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, vi. 115–117), contains a fine hymn addressed to Râ-Harmakhis, which was translated by MASPERO in *Études de Mythologie, etc., Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 454–457 (cf. *Histoire Ancienne*, 4th edit., pp. 280–284), and by LUSHINGTON, *Hymn to Ra-Harmachis*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. viii. pp. 129–134.

that is, Amon-Râ. The omnipotence of this one god did not, however, exclude a belief in the existence of his compeers; the theologians thought all the while that the beings to whom ancient generations had accorded a complete independence in respect of their rivals were nothing more than emanations from one supreme being. If local pride forced them to apply to this single deity the designation customarily used in their city—Phtah at Memphis, Anhûri-Shû at Thinis, Khnûmû in the neighbourhood of the first cataract—they were quite willing to allow, at the same time, that these appellations were but various masks for one face. Phtah, Hâpi, Khnûmû, Râ,—all the gods, in fact,—were blended with each other, and formed but one deity—a unique existence, multiple in his names, and mighty according to the importance of the city in which he was worshipped. Hence Amon, lord of the capital and patron of the dynasty, having more partisans, enjoyed more respect, and, in a word, felt himself possessed of more claims to be the sole god of Egypt than his brethren, who could not claim so many worshippers.

He did not at the outset arrogate to himself the same empire over the dead as he exercised over the living; he had delegated his functions in this respect to a goddess, Maritsakro, for whom the poorer inhabitants of the left bank entertained a persistent devotion.[1] She was a kind of Isis or hospitable Hathor, whose subjects in the other world adapted themselves to the nebulous and dreary existence provided for their disembodied "doubles." The Osirian and solar doctrines were afterwards blended together in this local mythology, and from the XIth dynasty onwards the Theban nobility had adopted, along with the ceremonies in use in the Memphite period, the Heliopolitan beliefs concerning the wanderings of the soul in the west, its embarkation on the solar ship, and its resting-places in the fields of Ialû. The rock-tombs of the XVIIIth dynasty demonstrate that the Thebans had then no different concept of their life beyond the world from that entertained by the inhabitants of the most ancient cities; they ascribed to that existence the same inconsistent medley of contradictory ideas, from which each one might select what pleased him best—either repose in a well-provisioned tomb, or a dwelling close to Osiris in the middle of a calm and agreeable paradise, or voyages with Râ around the world.[2] The fusion of Râ and Amon, and the predominance of the solar idea which arose from it, forced the theologians to examine more closely these inconsistent notions, and to eliminate from them anything which might be out of harmony

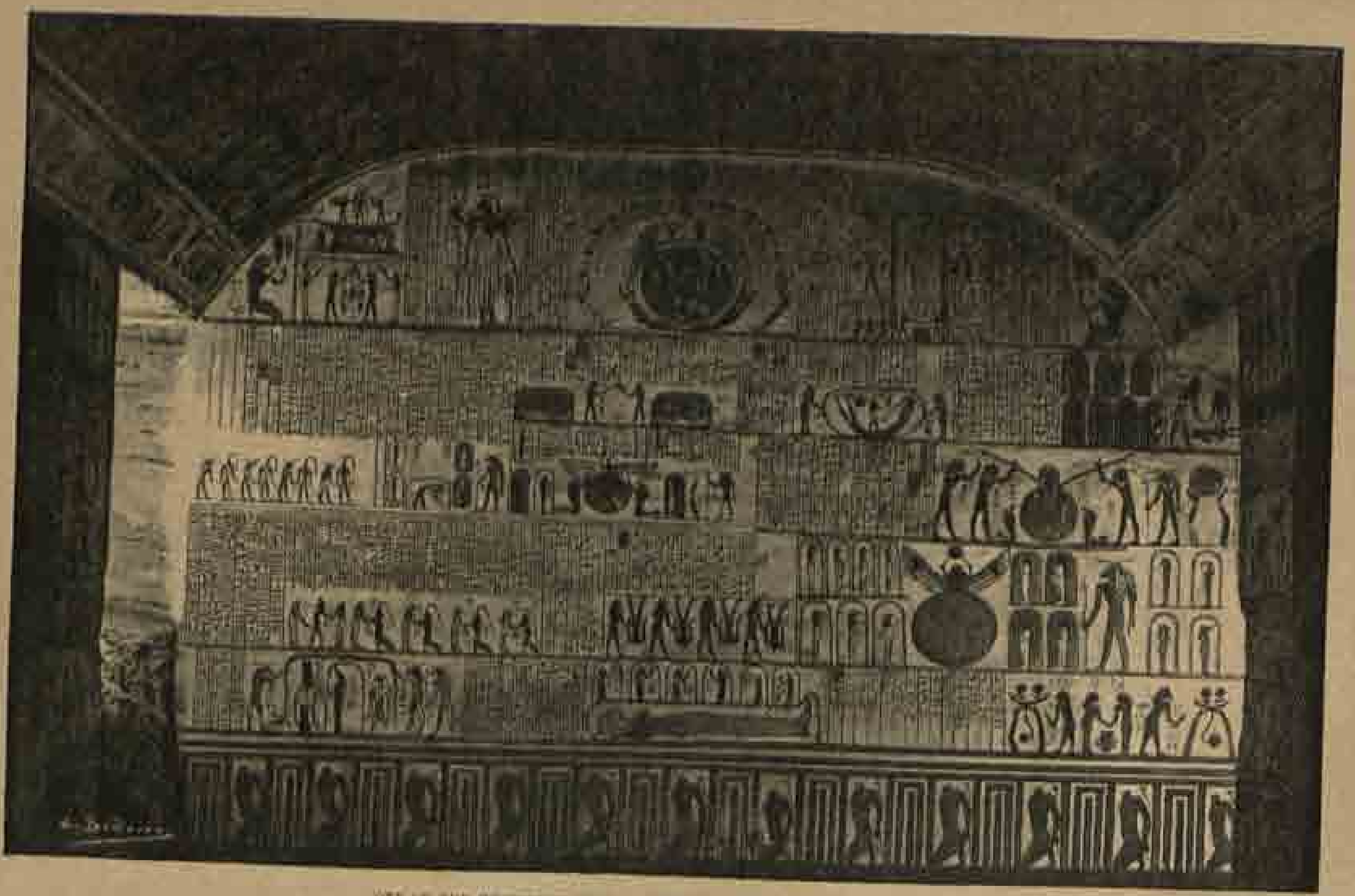
[1] See what is said about this goddess and her cult, pp. 537, 538 of the present work.

[2] The Pyramid texts are found for the most part in the tombs of Sakkâra (Maspero, *La Pyramide du roi Ounas*, in the *Recueil*, vol. iii. pp. 201–216) and Harhotpu (Maspero, *Trois Années de fouilles*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission*, etc., vol. i. p. 137, et seq., 229–231, 235); the texts of the *Book of the Dead* are met with on the Theban coffins of the same period (Lepsius, *Älteste Texte*, and Maspero, *Trois Années de fouilles*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission*, vol. i. pp. 155–172, 177–180, 210–221).

with the new views. The devout servant of Amon, desirous of keeping in constant touch with his god both here and in the other world, could not imagine a happier future for his soul than in its going forth in the fulness of light by day, and taking refuge by night on the very bark which carried the object of his worship through the thick darkness of Hades. To this end he endeavoured to collect the formulæ which would enable him to attain to this supreme happiness, and also inform him concerning the hidden mysteries of that obscure half of the world in which the sun dwelt between daylight and daylight, teaching him also how to make friends and supporters of the benevolent genii, and how to avoid or defeat the monsters whom he would encounter. The best known of the books relating to these mysteries contained a geographical description of the future world as it was described by the Theban priests towards the end of the Ramesside period; it was, in fact, an itinerary in which was depicted each separate region of the underworld, with its gates, buildings, and inhabitants.[1] The account of it given by the Egyptian theologians did not exhibit much inventive genius. They had started with the theory that the sun, after setting exactly west of Thebes, rose again due east of the city, and they therefore placed in the dark hemisphere all the regions of the universe which lay to the north of these two points of the compass. The first stage of the sun's journey, after disappearing below the horizon, coincided with the period of twilight; the orb travelled along the open sky, diminishing the brightness of his fires as he climbed northward, and did not actually enter the underworld till he reached Abydos, close to the spot where, at the "Mouth of the Cleft," the souls of the faithful awaited him. As soon as he had received them into his boat, he plunged into the tunnel which there pierces the mountains, and the cities through which he first passed between Abydos and the Fayûm were known as the Osirian fiefs. He continued his journey through them for the space of two hours, receiving the homage of the inhabitants, and putting such of the shades on shore as were predestined by their special devotion for the Osiris

[1] The monumental text of this book is found sculptured on a certain number of the tombs of the Theban kings; it was partially copied by CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. i. p. 758, et seq., and *in extenso* by LEFÉBURE, *Les Hypogées royaux de Thèbes*, in which the chapters are distributed throughout the work according to the place which they occupy on the walls of the tombs. Several texts from papyri have been published, notably that by LANZONE, *Le Domicile des Esprits*, 1879; by MARIETTE, *Les Papyrus Égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq*, vol. i. pls. 40–44; and by PLEYTE, *Les Monuments de Leyde*, 3rd part, T. 71. It was first translated into English by BIRCH, *The Papyrus of Neskhem*, 8vo, 1863, then into French by DEVÉRIA, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Égyptiens du Musée du Louvre*, pp. 13–18 (cf. PIERRET, *Recueil d'Inscriptions inédites du Musée du Louvre*, vol. i. pp. 103–148), and by MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie*, etc., vol. ii. pp. 30–147. An edition without illustrations, rarely met with on papyrus, has been edited and translated by JÉQUIER, *Le Livre de ce qu'il y a dans l'Hadès*, 1894, 8vo. A study of the ideas which inspired its composition has been made by MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie*, etc., vol. ii. pp. 1–181. Mention is made in this article of other still rarer and more mysterious works of the same type, found on the walls of the royal tombs; the illustration on p. 547 is taken from one of the latter.

of Abydos and his associates, Horus and Anubis, to establish themselves in this territory. Beyond Heracleopolis, he entered the domains of the Memphite gods, the "land of Sokaris," and this probably was the most perilous moment of his journey. The feudatories of Phtah were gathered together in grottoes, connected by a labyrinth of narrow passages through which even the most fully initiated were scarcely able to find their way; the luminous boat, instead of venturing within these catacombs, passed above them by mysterious tracks. The crew were unable to catch a glimpse of the sovereign through whose realm they journeyed, and they in like manner were invisible to him; he could only hear the voices of the divine sailors, and he answered them from the depth of the darkness. Two hours were spent in this obscure passage, after which navigation became easier as the vessel entered the nomes subject to the Osirises of the Delta: four consecutive hours of sailing brought the bark from the province in which the four principal bodies of the god slept to that in which his four souls kept watch, and, as it passed, it illuminated the eight circles reserved for men and kings who worshipped the god of Mendes. From the tenth hour onwards it directed its course due south, and passed through the Augarit, the place of fire and abysmal waters to which the Heliopolitans consigned the souls of the impious; then finally quitting the tunnel, it soared up in the east with the first blush of dawn. Each of the ordinary dead was landed at that particular hour of the twelve, which belonged to the god of his choice or of his native town. Left to dwell there they suffered no absolute torment, but languished in the darkness in a kind of painful torpor, from which condition the approach of the bark alone was able to rouse them. They hailed its daily coming with acclamations, and felt new life during the hour in which its rays fell on them, breaking out into lamentations as the bark passed away and the light disappeared with it. The souls who were devotees of the sun escaped this melancholy existence; they escorted the god, reduced though he was to a mummied corpse, on his nightly cruise, and were piloted by him safe and sound to meet the first streaks of the new day. As the boat issued from the mountain in the morning between the two trees which flanked the gate of the east, these souls had their choice of several ways of spending the day on which they were about to enter. They might join their risen god in his course through the hours of light, and assist him in combating Apophis and his accomplices, plunging again at night into Hades without having even for a moment quitted his side. They might, on the other hand, leave him and once more enter the world of the living, settling themselves where they would, but always by preference in the tombs where their bodies awaited them, and where they could enjoy the wealth which had been accumulated there: they might walk within



ONE OF THE MYSTERIOUS ROOMS OF AMON IN THE TOMB OF RAMSES V.

Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Golénischeff.

their garden, and sit beneath the trees they had planted; they could enjoy the open air beside the pond they had dug, and breathe the gentle north breeze on its banks after the midday heat, until the time when the returning evening obliged them to repair once more to Abydos, and re-embark with the god in order to pass the anxious vigils of the night under his protection. Thus from the earliest period of Egyptian history the life beyond the tomb was an eclectic one, made up of a series of earthly enjoyments combined together.



THE ENTRANCE TO A ROYAL TOMB.[1]

The Pharaohs had enrolled themselves instinctively among the most ardent votaries of this complex doctrine. Their relationship to the sun made its adoption a duty, and its profession was originally, perhaps, one of the privileges of their position. Râ invited them on board because they were his children, subsequently extending this favour to those whom they should deem worthy to be associated with them, and thus become companions of the ancient deceased kings of Upper and Lower Egypt.[2] The idea which the Egyptians thus formed of the other world, and of the life of the initiated within it, reacted gradually on their concept of the tomb and of its befitting decoration. They began to consider the entrances to the pyramid, and its internal passages and chambers, as a conventional representation of the gates, passages, and halls of Hades itself; when the pyramid passed out of fashion, and they had replaced it by a tomb cut in the rock in one or other of

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Beato of the tomb of Ramses IV.

[2] This is apparently what we gather from the picture inserted in chapter xvii. of the "Book of the Dead" (Lepsius, *Das Todtenbuch*, pl. xii.; and from the variants collected by Naville, *Das Thebanische Todtenbuch*, vol. i.), where we see the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt guiding the divine bark and the deceased with them.



ONE OF THE HOURS OF THE NIGHT—THE TENTH.
Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the facsimile by Lanzone.

the branches of the Bab el-Moluk valley, the plan of construction which they chose was an exact copy of that employed by the Memphites and earlier Thebans, and they hollowed out for themselves in the mountain-side a burying-place on the same lines as those formerly employed within the pyramidal structure. The relative positions of the tunnelled tombs along the valley were not determined by any order of rank or of succession to the throne:[1] each Pharaoh after Ramses I. set to work on that part of the rock where the character of the stone favoured his purpose, and displayed so little respect for his predecessors, that the workmen, after having tunnelled a gallery, were often obliged to abandon it altogether, or to change the direction of their excavations so as to avoid piercing a neighbouring tomb.[2] The architect's design was usually a mere project which could be modified at will, and which he did not feel bound to carry out with fidelity; the actual measurements of the tomb of Ramses IV. are almost everywhere at variance with the numbers and arrangement of the working drawing of it which has been preserved to us in a papyrus.[3] The general disposition of the royal tombs, however, is far from being complicated; we have at the entrance the rectangular door, usually surmounted by the sun, represented by a yellow disk, before which the sovereign kneels with his hands raised in the posture of adoration; this gave access to a passage sloping gently downwards, and broken here and there by a level landing and steps, leading to a first chamber of varying amplitude, at the further end of which a second passage opened which descended to one or more apartments, the last of which contained the coffin. The oldest rock-tombs present some noteworthy exceptions to this plan, particularly those of Seti I. and Ramses III.;[4] but from the time of Ramses IV., there is no difference to be remarked in them except in the degree of finish of the wall-paintings or in the length of the passages. The shortest of the latter extends some fifty-two feet into the rock, while the longest never exceeds three hundred and ninety feet. The same artifices which had been used by the pyramid-builders to defeat the designs of robbers[5]—false mummy-pits, painted and sculptured walls built across passages, stairs concealed under a movable stone in the corner of a chamber—were also

[1] Champollion, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, 2nd edit., pp. 223, 224.

[2] Costaz, *Description des Tombeaux des Rois*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. iii. p. 193; Wilkinson, *Topography of Thebes and General View of Egypt*, p. 100; cf. p. 122.

[3] The papyrus is now in the Turin Museum. It was published by Lepsius, *Grundplan des Grabes König Ramses IV. in einem Turiner Papyrus*, 1867, who was the first to recognise it as being the plan of the tomb of Ramses IV., and to notice the discrepancies between it and the tomb itself.

[4] For the tomb of Seti I., see supra, pp. 384, 385, and for the tomb of Ramses III., supra, p. 478.

[5] For the precautions taken by the architects of the great pyramids against robbers, cf. *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 367; the account of the discovery of the tomb of Seti I. is given in Belzoni, *Narrative of the Operations and Recent Discoveries in Egypt*, p. 237, et seq.

employed by the Theban engineers. The decoration of the walls was suggested, as in earlier times, by the needs of the royal soul, with this difference—that the Thebans set themselves to render visible to his eyes by paintings that which the Memphites had been content to present to his intelligence in writing, so that the Pharaoh could now see what his ancestors had been able merely to read on the walls of their tombs. Where the inscribed texts in the burial-chamber of Unas state that Unas, incarnate in the Sun, and thus representing Osiris, sails over the waters on high or glides into the Elysian fields, the sculptured or painted scenes in the interior of the Theban catacombs display to the eye Ramses occupying the place of the god in the solar bark and in the fields of Ialû. Where the walls of Unas bear only the prayers recited over the mummy for the opening of his mouth, for the restoration of the use of his limbs, for his clothing, perfuming, and nourishment, we see depicted on those of Seti I. or Ramses IV. the mummies of these kings and the statues of their doubles in the hands of the priests, who are portrayed in the performance of these various offices. The starry ceilings of the pyramids reproduce the aspect of the sky, but without giving the names of the stars: on the ceilings of some of the Ramesside rock-tombs, on the other hand, the constellations are represented, each with its proper figure, while astronomical tables give the position of the heavenly bodies at intervals of fifteen days, so that the soul could tell at a glance into what region of the firmament the course of the bark would bring him each night. In the earlier Ramesside tombs, under Seti I. and Ramses II., the execution of these subjects shows evidence of a care and skill which are quite marvellous, and both figures and hieroglyphics betray the hand of accomplished artists. But in the tomb of Ramses III. the work has already begun to show signs of inferiority, and the majority of the scenes are coloured in a very summary fashion; a raw yellow predominates, and the tones of the reds and blues remind us of a child's first efforts at painting. This decline is even more marked under the succeeding Ramessides; the drawing has deteriorated, the tints have become more and more crude, and the latest paintings seem but a lamentable caricature of the earlier ones.[1]

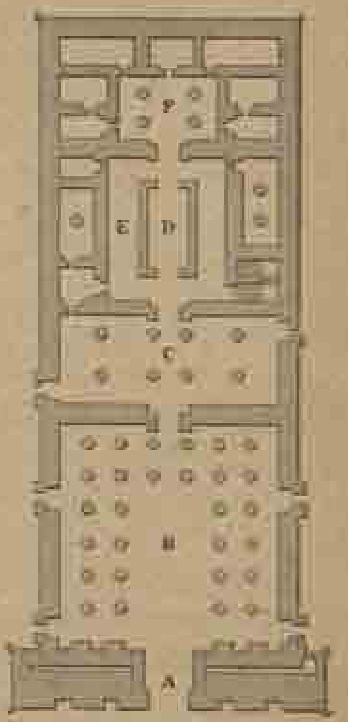
The courtiers and all those connected with the worship of Amon-Râ—priests, prophets, singers, and functionaries connected with the necropolis—shared the same belief with regard to the future world as their sovereign, and they carried their faith in the sun's power to the point of identifying themselves with him after death, and of substituting the name of Râ for that of Osiris;[2] they either did not venture, however, to go further than this,

[1] Maspero, *Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 152–158.

[2] For the substitution of the title of Râ for that of Osiris, and for the monuments which have permitted us to take cognisance of this change, cf. Maspero, *Rapport sur une Mission en Italie*, in the

or were unable to introduce into their tombs all that we find in the Bab el-Molûk. They confined themselves to writing briefly on their own coffins, or confiding to the mummies of their fellow-believers, in addition to the "Book of the Dead," a copy of the "Book of knowing what there is in Hades," or of some other mystic writing which was in harmony with their creed. Hastily prepared copies of these were sold by unscrupulous scribes, often badly written and almost always incomplete, in which were hurriedly set down haphazard the episodes of the course of the sun with explanatory illustrations. The representations of the gods in them are but little better than caricatures, the text is full of faults and scarcely decipherable, and it is at times difficult to recognize the correspondence of the scenes and prayers with those in the royal tombs. Although Amon had become the supreme god, at least for this class of the initiated, he was by no means the sole deity worshipped by the Egyptians:

KHONSU.[1]



TEMPLE OF KHONSU.[2]

the other divinities previously associated with him still held their own beside him, or were further defined and invested with a more decided personality. The goddess regarded as his partner was at first represented as childless, in spite of the name of Maût or Mût—the mother—by which she was invoked, and Amon was supposed to have adopted Montû, the god of Hermonthis, in order to complete his triad. Montû, however, formerly the sovereign of the Theban plain, and lord over Amon himself, was of too exalted a rank to play the inferior part of a divine son. The priests were, therefore, obliged to fall back upon a personage of lesser importance, named Khonsû, who up to that period had been relegated to an obscure position in the celestial hierarchy. How they came to identify him with the moon, and subsequently with Osiris and

Recueil de Travaux, vol. iii. pp. 103–106, and *Mélanges de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 26, 27.

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a bronze statuette in the Gîzeh Museum; cf. MARIETTE, *Album photographique du Musée de Boulaq*, pl. 4.

[2] Plan drawn by Thuillier. A is the pylon, B the court, C the hypostyle hall, E the passage isolating the sanctuary, D the sanctuary, F the opisthodomos with its usual chambers.

Thot, is as yet unexplained;[1] but the assimilation had taken place before the XIX[th] dynasty drew to its close. Khonsû, thus honoured, soon became a favourite deity with both the people and the upper classes, at first merely



THE TEMPLE OF KHONSÛ AT KARNAK.[2]

supplementing Montû, but finally supplanting him in the third place of the Triad. From the time of Sesostris onwards, Theban dogma acknowledged him alone side by side with Amon-Râ and Mût the divine mother.

It was now incumbent on the Pharaoh to erect to this newly made favourite a temple whose size and magnificence should be worthy of the rank to which his votaries had exalted him. To this end, Ramses III. chose a suitable site to the south of the hypostyle hall of Karnak, close to a corner of the enclosing wall, and there laid the foundations of a temple which his successors took nearly a century to finish.[3] Its proportions are by no means perfect, the sculpture is wanting in refinement, the painting is coarse, and the masonry was so faulty, that it was found necessary in several places to cover it with a coat of stucco before the bas-reliefs could be carved on the walls; yet, in spite of all this,

[1] It is possible that this assimilation originated in the fact that Khonsû is derived from the verb "khonsu," to navigate. Khonsû would thus have been he who crossed the heavens in his bark—that is, the moon-god (Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ægypter*, pp. 117, 118); cf. *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 397.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Beato.

[3] The proof that the temple was founded by Ramses III. is furnished by the inscriptions of the sanctuary and the surrounding chambers; cf. Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 207 a.

its general arrangement is so fine, that it may well be regarded, in preference to other more graceful or magnificent buildings, as the typical temple of the Theban period. It is divided into two parts, separated from each other by a solid wall. In the centre of the smaller of these is placed the Holy of Holies, which opens at both ends into a passage ten feet in width, isolating it from the surrounding buildings. To the right and left of the sanctuary are dark chambers, and behind it is a hall supported by four columns, into which open seven small apartments. This formed the dwelling-place of the god and his compeers. The sanctuary communicates, by means of two doors placed in the southern wall, with a hypostyle hall of greater width than depth, divided by its pillars into a nave and two aisles. The four columns of the nave are twenty-three feet in height, and have bell-shaped capitals, while



THE COURT OF THE TEMPLE OF KHONSÛ.[1]

those of the aisles, two on either side, are eighteen feet high, and are crowned with lotiform capitals. The roof of the nave was thus five feet higher than those of the aisles, and in the clear storey thus formed, stone gratings, similar to those in the temple of Amon, admitted light to the building. The court-yard, surrounded by a fine colonnade of two rows of columns, was square, and was entered by four side posterns in addition to the open gateway at the end placed between two quadrangular towers. This pylon measures 104 feet in length, and is 32 feet 6 inches wide, by 58 feet high. It contains no internal chambers, but merely a narrow staircase which leads to the top of the doorway, and thence to the summit of the towers. Four long angular grooves

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Beato.

run up the façade of the towers to a height of about twenty feet from the ground, and are in the same line with a similar number of square holes which pierce the thickness of the building higher up. In these grooves were placed venetian masts, made of poles spliced together and held in their place by means of hooks and wooden stays which projected from the four holes; these masts were to carry at their tops pennons of various colours.[1] Such was the temple of Khonsû, and the majority of the great Theban buildings—at Luxor, Qurneh, the Ramesseum, or Medinet-Habu—were constructed on similar lines. Even in their half-ruined condition there is something oppressive and uncanny in their appearance. The gods loved to shroud themselves in mystery, and, therefore, the plan of the building was so arranged as to render the transition almost imperceptible from the blinding sunlight outside to the darkness of their retreat within.



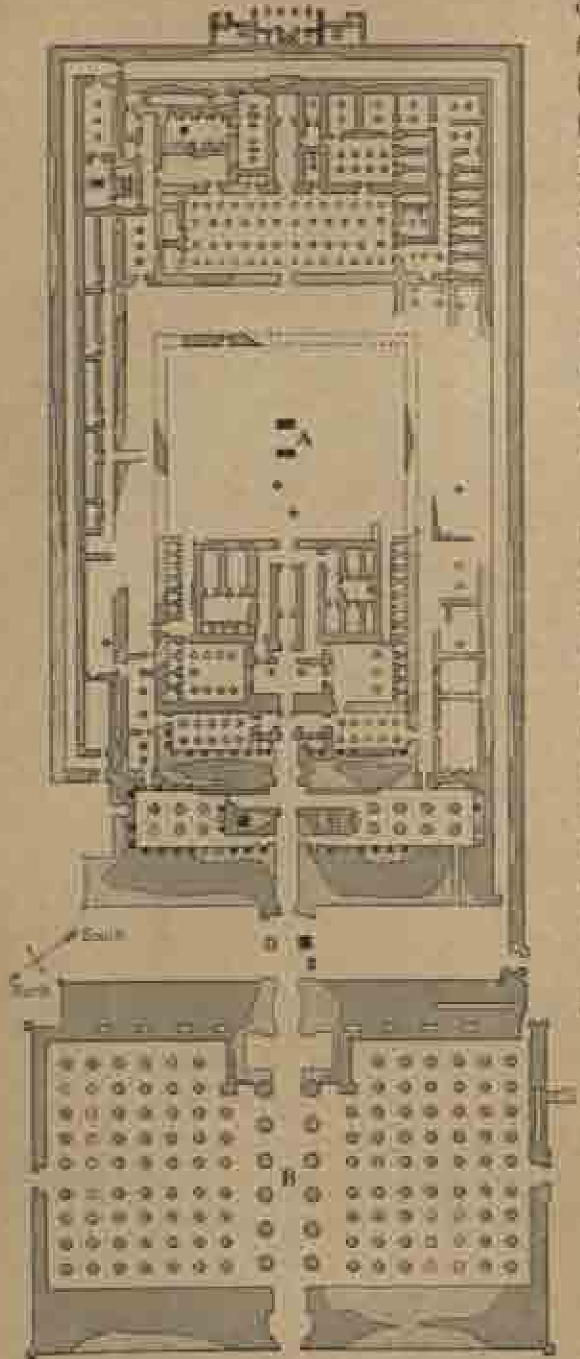
THE COLONNADE BUILT BY THÛTMOSE III.[2]

In the courtyard, we are still surrounded by vast spaces to which air and light have free access. The hypostyle hall, however, is pervaded by an appropriate twilight, the sanctuary is veiled in still deeper darkness, while in the chambers beyond reigns an almost perpetual night. The effect produced by this gradation of obscurity was intensified by constructional artifices. The different parts of the building are not all on the same ground-level, the pavement rising as the sanctuary is approached, and the rise is concealed by a few steps placed at intervals. The difference of level in the temple

[1] For a description of the various parts of the temple of Khonsû, cf. Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. i. pp. 334-341, 591, 593-595, 609, 612, 618, 619, and Maspero, *Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 68-73.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Insinger and Daniel Héron.

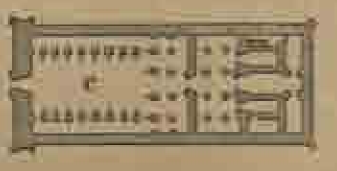
of Khonsû is not more than five feet three inches, but it is combined with a still more considerable lowering of the height of the roof. From the pylon to the wall at the further end the height decreases as we go on; the peristyle is more lofty than the hypostyle hall, this again is higher than the sanctuary and the hall of columns, and the chamber beyond it drops still further in altitude.[1]



Karnak is an exception to this rule; this temple had in the course of centuries undergone so many restorations and additions, that it formed a collection of buildings rather than a single edifice. It might have been regarded, as early as the close of the Theban empire, as a kind of museum, in which every century and every period of art, from the XIIth dynasty downwards, had left its distinctive mark.[2] All the resources of architecture had been brought into requisition during this period to vary, at the will of each sovereign, the arrangement and the general effect of the component parts. Columns with sixteen sides stand in the vicinity of square pillars;



KARNAK UNDER THE RAMESSIDES.



[1] This is "the law of progressive diminution of heights" of Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. i. pp. 363, 366.

[2] A on the plan denotes the XIIth dynasty temple (cf. *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 506, 507); B is the great hypostyle hall of Seti I. and Ramses II. (see *supra*, p. 378, note 3); C the temple of Ramses III.

and lotiform capitals alternate with those of the bell-shape; attempts were even made to introduce new types altogether. The architect who built at the back of the sanctuary what is now known as the colonnade of Thûtmosis III., attempted to invert the bell-shaped capital: the bell was turned downwards, and the neck attached to the plinth, while the mouth rested on the top of the shaft.[1] This awkward arrangement did not meet with favour, for we find it nowhere repeated; other artists, however, with better taste, sought at this time to apply the flowers symbolical of Upper and Lower Egypt to the decorations of the shafts. In front of the sanctuary of Karnak two pillars are still standing which have on them in relief representations respectively of the full-blown lotus and the papyrus.[3] A building composed of so many incongruous elements required frequent restoration—a wall which had been undermined by water needed strengthening, a pylon displaying cracks claimed attention, some unsafe colonnade, or a colossus which had been injured by the fall of a cornice, required shoring up—so that no sooner had the *corvée* for repairs completed their work in one part, than they had to begin again elsewhere. The revenues of Amon must, indeed, have been enormous to have borne the continual



THE TWO STELE-PILLARS AT KARNAK.[2]

[1] JOLLOIS-DEVILLIERS, *Description du palais, des propylées, des avenues de sphinx, des temples, etc.*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. ii. p. 474, and vol. iii. pl. 30, No. 4; LEPSIUS, *Sur l'Origine des colonnes-piliers en Égypte*, p. 29; PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. i. p. 558, and MASPERO, *Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 56, 57.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Beato.

[3] For further remarks on these pillars, usually called stele pillars, cf. JOLLOIS-DEVILLIERS, *Description du palais, des propylées, etc.*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. iii. pp. 461, 462, and vol. iii. pl. 30, No. 2; LEPSIUS, *Sur l'Origine des colonnes-piliers en Égypte*, pp. 27, 28; PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Histoire de l'Art Égyptien*, pp. 359, 360, and PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. i. p. 348.

drain occasioned by restoration, and the resources of the god would soon have been exhausted had not foreign wars continued to furnish him during several centuries with all or more than he needed. The gods had suffered severely in the troublous times which had followed the reign of Seti II., and it required all the generosity of Ramses III. to compensate them for the losses they had sustained during the anarchy under Arisû.[1] The spoil taken from the Libyans, from the Peoples of the Sea, and from the Hittites had flowed into the sacred treasuries, while the able administration of the sovereign had done the rest, so that on the accession of Ramses IV. the temples were in a more prosperous state than ever.[2] They held as their own property 169 towns, nine of which were in Syria and Ethiopia; they possessed 113,433 slaves of both sexes, 493,386 head of cattle, 1,071,780 *arura* of land, 514 vineyards and orchards, 88 barks and sea-going vessels, 336 kilograms of gold both in ingots and wrought, 2,993,964 grammes of silver, besides quantities of copper and precious stones, and hundreds of storehouses in which they kept corn, oil, wine, honey, and preserved meats—the produce of their domains. Two examples will suffice to show the extent of this latter item: the live geese reached the number of 680,714, and the salt or smoked fish that of 494,800.[3] Amon claimed the giant share of this enormous total, and three-fourths of it or more were reserved for his use, namely—86,486 slaves, 421,362 head of cattle, 898,168 *arura* of cornland, 433 vineyards and orchards, and 56 Egyptian towns.[4] The nine foreign towns all belonged to him, and one of them contained the temple in which he was worshipped by the Syrians whenever they came to pay their tribute to the king's representatives:[5] it was but just that his patrimony should surpass that of his compeers, since the conquering Pharaohs owed their success to him, who, without the co-operation of the other feudal deities, had lavished victories upon them. His domain was at least five times more considerable than that of Râ of Heliopolis, and ten times greater than that of the Memphite Phtah,[6] and yet of old, in the earlier times of history,

[1] Cf. what is said of the Syrian Arisû, *supra*, 446, 455.

[2] The donations of Ramses III., or rather the total of the donations made to the gods by the predecessors of that Pharaoh, and confirmed and augmented by him, are enumerated at length in the *Great Harris Papyrus*, Birch's edit., pls. 10-66. This information was first brought to notice by Erman, *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben*, etc., pp. 115, 118, and subsequently by Brugsch, *Die Ægyptologie*, pp. 271-274.

[3] An abridgment of these donations occupies seven large plates in the *Great Harris Papyrus*, Birch's edit., pls. 67-74; cf. Erman, *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben im Altertum*, pp. 406-408, and Brugsch, *Die Ægyptologie*, p. 274.

[4] *The Great Harris Papyrus*, Birch's edit., pl. 11, ll. 4-11; cf. Eisenlohr-Birch, *Annals of Ramses III.*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. vi. p. 36; Erman, *Ægypten*, etc., p. 403.

[5] *The Great Harris Papyrus*, Birch's edit., pl. 9, ll. 1-3; cf. Eisenlohr-Birch, *Annals of Ramses III.*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. vi. pp. 33, 34, and p. 475 of the present work.

[6] Cf. the comparative table drawn up by Erman from the information in the *Great Harris Papyrus*, in his *Ægypten*, etc., p. 410.

Râ and Phtah were reckoned the wealthiest of the Egyptian gods. It is easy to understand the influence which a god thus endowed with the goods of this world exercised over men in an age when the national wars had the same consequences for the immortals as for their worshippers, and when the defeat of a people was regarded as a proof of the inferiority of its patron gods. The most victorious divinity became necessarily the wealthiest, before whom all other deities bowed, and whom they, as well as their subjects, were obliged to serve.

So powerful a god as Amon had but few obstacles to surmount before becoming the national deity; indeed, he was practically the foremost of the gods during the Ramesside period, and was generally acknowledged as Egypt's representative by all foreign nations.[1] His priests shared in the prestige he enjoyed, and their influence in state affairs increased proportionately with his power. The chief of their hierarchy, however, did not bear the high titles which in ancient times distinguished those of Memphis and Heliopolis; he was content with the humble appellation of first prophet of Amon.[2] He had for several generations been nominated by the sovereign, but he was generally chosen from the families attached hereditarily or otherwise to the temple of Karnak, and must previously have passed through every grade of the priestly hierarchy. Those who aspired to this honour had to graduate as "divine fathers;" this was the first step in the initiation, and one at which many were content to remain, but the more ambitious or favoured advanced by successive stages to the dignity of third, and then of second, prophet before attaining to the highest rank.[3] The Pharaohs of the XIXth dynasty jealously supervised the promotions made in the Theban temples, and saw that none was elected except him who was devoted to their interests—such as, for example, Bakâni-khonsû and Unnofri under

[1] From the XVIIIth dynasty, at least, the first prophet of Amon had taken the precedence of the high priests of Heliopolis and Memphis, as is proved by the position he occupies in the Egyptian hierarchy in the *Hood Papyrus*; cf. Maspero, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 33–55, and Brugsch, *Die Ægyptologie*, pp. 217, 218.

[2] Maspero, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 53–55, where the fact and the consequences entailed by it are pointed out for the first time.

[3] What we know on this subject has been brought to light mainly by the inscriptions on the statue of Bakâni-Khonsû at Munich, published and commented on by Devéria, *Monument biographique de Bakenkhonsou, grand prêtre d'Ammon et architecte principal de Thèbes, contemporain de Moïse*, in the *Mémoires de l'Institut Égyptien*, vol. i. pp. 701–754 (cf. *Mémoires et Fragments*, vol. i. pp. 275–324), and by Lauth, *Der Hohepriester und Oberbaumeister Bekenchons, ein Zeitgenosse Mosis*, in the *Zeitschrift der Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, vol. xvii. Brugsch at first thought that the personage thus chosen was submitted to frequent re-elections (*Recueil de Monuments*, vol. i. p. 29); his opinion has been refuted by A. Baillet, *De l'Élection et de la durée des fonctions du Grand-Prêtre d'Ammon à Thèbes*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1862, vol. vii.; cf. Erman, *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben*, p. 397, et seq.; and Brugsch, *Die Ægyptologie*, pp. 275–278. The *cursus honorum* of Baki shows us that he was first third, then second prophet of Amon, before being raised to the pontificate in the reign of Minephtah.

Ramses II.[1] Baûkûni-khonsû distinguished himself by his administrative qualities; if he did not actually make the plans for the hypostyle hall at Karnak, he appears at least to have superintended its execution and decoration. He finished the great pylon, erected the obelisks and gateways, built the *bari* or vessel of the god, and found a further field for his activity on the opposite bank of the Nile, where he helped to complete both the chapel at Qurneh and also the Ramesseum. Ramses II. had always been able to make his authority felt by the high priests who succeeded Baûkûni-khonsû, but the Pharaohs who followed him did not hold the reins with such a strong hand. As early as the reigns of Minephtah and Seti II. the first prophets, Rai and Ramâ, claimed the right of building at Karnak for their own purposes, and inscribed on the walls long inscriptions in which their own panegyrics took precedence of that of the sovereign; they even aspired to a religious hegemony, and declared themselves to be the "chief of all the prophets of the gods of the South and North."[2] We do not know what became of them during the usurpation of Arisû, but Nakhtû-ramses, son of Miribastit, who filled the office during the reign of Ramses III., revived these ambitious projects as soon as the state of Egypt appeared to favour them. The king, however pious he might be, was not inclined to yield up any of his authority, even though it were to the earthly delegate of the divinity whom he reverenced before all others; the sons of the Pharaoh were, however, more accommodating, and Nakhtû-ramses played his part so well that he succeeded in obtaining from them the reversion of the high priesthood for his son Amenôthes. The priestly office, from having been elective, was by this stroke suddenly made hereditary in the family.[3] The kings preserved, it is true, the privilege of confirming the new appointment, and the nominee was not considered properly qualified until he had received his investiture from the sovereign.[4] Practically the Pharaohs lost the power of choosing one among the sons of the deceased pontiff; they were forced to enthrone the eldest of his survivors, and legalise his accession by their approbation, even when they would have preferred another. It was thus that a dynasty of vassal High Priests came to be established at Thebes side by side with the royal dynasty of the Pharaohs.

The new priestly dynasty was not long in making its power felt in Thebes.

[1] Unnofri is known to us by a monument in the Naples Museum, published by Vassalli, *Di alcuni Monumenti del Museo Egizio di Napoli*, pp. 25, 26, and pl. iv. b; cf. Brugsch, *Gesch. Ægyptens*, p. 541.

[2] Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 200 a, 237 c; Stern, *Ein Hymnus auf Amon-Râ*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1873, pp. 74-76; cf. Maspero, *Les Momies royales*, etc., in *Mém. de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pp. 666, 667.

[3] For Nakhtû-ramses and Amenôthes, cf. Maspero, *Les Momies royales de Déir el-Baharî*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pp. 667-671.

[4] This is proved by the Maunier stele, now in the Louvre; it is there related how the high priest Manakhpirri received his investiture from the Tanite king (Brugsch, *Recueil de Monuments*, vol. i. pl. xxii. pp. 39, 40, and *Reise nach der Grossen Oase El-Khargeh*, pl. xxii. pp. 85, 88).

Nakhtû-ramses and Amenôthes lived to a great age—from the reign of Ramses III. to that of Ramses X., at the least; they witnessed the accession of nine successive Pharaohs, and the unusual length of their pontificates no doubt increased the already extraordinary prestige which they enjoyed throughout the length and breadth of Egypt. It seemed as if the god delighted to prolong the lives of his representatives beyond the ordinary limits, while shortening those of the temporal sovereigns.[1] When the reigns of the Pharaohs began once more to reach their normal length, the authority of Amenôthes had become so firmly established that no human power could withstand it, and the later Ramessides were merely a set of puppet kings who were ruled by him and his successors. Not only was there a cessation of foreign expeditions, but the Delta, Memphis, and Ethiopia were alike neglected, and the only activity displayed by these Pharaohs, as far as we can gather from their monuments, was confined to the service of Amon and Khonsû at Thebes. The lack of energy and independence in these sovereigns may not, however, be altogether attributable to their feebleness of character; it is possible that they would gladly have entered on a career of conquest had they possessed the means. It is always a perilous matter to allow the resources of a country to fall into the hands of a priesthood, and to place its military forces at the same time in the hands of the chief religious authority.[2] The warrior Pharaohs had always had at their disposal the spoils obtained from foreign nations to make up the deficit which their constant gifts to the temples were making in the treasury. The sons of Ramses III., on the other hand, had suspended all military efforts, without, however, lessening their lavish gifts to the gods, and they must, in the absence of the spoils of war, have drawn to a considerable extent upon the ordinary resources of the country; their successors therefore found the treasury impoverished, and they would have been entirely at a loss for money had they attempted to renew the campaigns or continue the architectural work of their forefathers. The priests of Amon had not as yet suffered materially from this diminution of revenue, for they possessed property throughout the length and breadth of Egypt, but they were obliged to restrict their expenditure, and employ the sums formerly used for the enlarging of the temples on the maintenance of their own body. Meanwhile public works had been almost everywhere suspended; administrative discipline became relaxed, and disturbances, with which the police were unable to cope, were increasing in all the important towns. Nothing is more indicative of the state to which Egypt was reduced, under the combined influence of the

[1] For the complete list of the double series of kings and high priests, see MASPERO, *Les Momies royales de Déir el-Bahari*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission du Caire*, vol. i. p. 662, et seq.

[2] ED. MEYER, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 322, et seq., where the effect of the rapid increase of the holding of land by the priesthood is forcibly depicted.

priesthood and the Ramessides, than the thefts and pillaging of which the Theban necropolis was then the daily scene. The robbers no longer confined themselves to plundering the tombs of private persons; they attacked the royal burying-places, and their depredations were carried on for years before they were discovered. In the reign of Ramses IX., an inquiry, set on foot by Amenôthes, revealed the fact that the tomb of Sovkûmsaûf I. and his wife, Queen Nûbkhâs, had been rifled, that those of Amenôthes I. and of Antûf IV. had been entered by tunnelling, and that some dozen other royal tombs in the cemetery of Drah abu'l Neggah were threatened.[1] The severe means taken to suppress the evil were not, however, successful; the pillagings soon began afresh, and the reigns of the last three Ramessides were marked by a struggle between the robbers and the authorities, in which the latter did not always come off triumphant. A system of repeated inspections secured the valley of Biban el-Moluk from marauders,[2] but elsewhere the measures of defence employed were unavailing, and the necropolis was given over to pillage, although both Amenôthes and Hrihor had used every effort to protect it. Hrihor appears to have succeeded immediately after Amenôthes, and his accession to the pontificate gave his family a still more exalted



RAMSES IX.[3]

[1] The principal part of this inquiry constitutes the *Abbott Papyrus*, acquired and published by the British Museum (*Select Papyri*, vol. ii. pls. i.–viii.), first examined and made the subject of study by Birch (Birch-Chabas, *Le Papyrus Abbott*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1st series, vol. xvi. pp. 257–262), translated simultaneously into French by Maspero (*Une Enquête judiciaire à Thèbes*, etc., in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, vol. iii. p. 59, et seq.) and by Chabas (*Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 3rd series, vol. i. pp. 1–172), into German by Lauth (*Papyrus Abbott*, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Academy of Sciences of Munich, 1871, vol. i. pp. 707–755), by Erman (in part only, in the *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Ægyptischen Gerichtsverfahrens*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1879, pp. 81–83, 148–152, and in *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben*, pp. 190–193). Other papyri relate to the same or similar occurrences, such as the Salt and Amherst Papyri published by Chabas (*Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 3rd series, vol. i. pp. 173–201, and vol. ii. pp. 1–26; cf. Erman, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Ægypt. Gerichtsverfahren*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1879, pp. 152, 153), and also the Liverpool Papyri, of which we possess merely scattered notices in the writings of Goodwin (*Notes on unpublished Papyri*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1873, pp. 39, 40, and *Notes on the Mayer Papyri*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1874, pp. 61–65), and particularly in those of Spiegelberg (*Studien und Materialien zum Rechtswesen des Pharaonenreiches*, 1892, and *Translation of Hieratic Papyri Mayer A–B*).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 200, No. 74; cf. Champollion, *Mon. de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. ccxxix. 3, 4, and Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pls. viii. 37 and xviii. 11.

[3] Graffiti which are evidences of these inspections have been drawn on the walls of several royal tombs by the inspectors. Others have been found on several of the coffins discovered at Deir el-Bahari, e.g. on those of Seti I. and Ramses II.; cf. Maspero, *Les Momies royales de Deir el-Bahari*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pp. 553, 557; the most ancient belong to the pontificate of Hrihor, others belong to the XXIst dynasty.

position in the country. As his wife Nozmit was of royal blood, he assumed titles and functions to which his father and grandfather had made no claim.[1] He became the "Royal Son" of Ethiopia and commander-in-chief of the national and foreign troops; he engraved his name upon the monuments he decorated, side by side with that of Ramses XII.; in short, he possessed all the characteristics of a Pharaoh except the crown and the royal protocol. A century scarcely had elapsed since the abdication of Ramses III., and now Thebes and the whole of Egypt owned two masters: one the embodiment of the ancient line, but a mere nominal king; the other the representative of Amon, and the actual ruler of the country.[2]



HRIHOR.[3]

What then happened when the last Ramses who bore the kingly title was gathered to his fathers? The royal lists record the accession after his death of a new dynasty of Tanitic origin, whose founder was Nsbindidi or Smendes;[4] but, on the other hand, we gather from the Theban monuments that the crown was seized by Hrihor, who reigned over the southern provinces contemporaneously with Smendes. Hrihor boldly assumed as prenomen his title of "First Prophet of Amon," and his authority was acknowledged by Ethiopia, over which he was viceroy, as well as by the nomes forming the temporal domain of the high priests. The latter had acquired gradually, either by marriage or inheritance, fresh territory for the god, in the lands of the princes of Nekhabit, Koptos, Akhmim, and Abydos, besides the domains of some half-dozen

[1] For the Queen Nozmit, and for the position which she occupies among the members of the sacerdotal family, cf. MASPERO, *Les Momies royales de Deir el-Bahari*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pp. 648-650, 677, 678; her mummy and coffin are described on pp. 569, 570 of the same work.

[2] E. DE ROUGÉ, *Étude sur une Stèle Égyptienne appartenant à la Bibliothèque Impériale*, pp. 197, 198, and MASPERO, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1883, pp. 75-77, and *Les Momies royales de Déir el-Baharî*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission du Caire*, vol. i. pp. 691-695, 671, 672.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. cclxxxi. 1; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. x., No. 10; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 300, No. 73.

[4] Several attempts have been made to reconcile the testimony of the monuments with that of Manetho, by LEPSIUS, *Ueber die XXII. Ægyptische Königsdynastie*, pl. i., and *Königsbuch*, pls. xlii.–xliii., Nos. 551-566, and again in 1882, *Die XXI manethonische Dynastie*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1882, pp. 103-117, 151-159; by E. DE ROUGÉ, *Étude sur une Stèle Égyptienne appartenant à la Bibliothèque Impériale*, pp. 184, 195-203; by BRUGSCH, *Histoire d'Égypte*, pp. 210-214, 221, 222; by WIEDEMANN, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, pp. 528-542; the subject is fully discussed in MASPERO, *Les Momies royales*, etc., in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. p. 640, et seq. Some of the solutions suggested in this last-mentioned work have since had to be modified.

feudal houses who, from force of circumstances, had become sacerdotal families: the extinction of the direct line of Ramessides now secured the High Priests the possession of Thebes itself, and of all the lands within the southern provinces which were the appanage of the crown. They thus, in one way or another, became the exclusive masters of the southern half of the Nile valley, from Elephantinê to Siut; beyond Siut also they had managed to acquire suzerainty over the town of Khobit, and the territory belonging to it formed an isolated border province in the midst of the independent baronies.[1] The representative of the dynasty reigning at Tanis held the remainder of Egypt from Siut to the Mediterranean—the half belonging to the Memphite Phtah and the Heliopolitan Râ, as opposed to that assigned to Amon. The origin of this Tanite sovereign is uncertain, but it would appear that he was of more exalted rank than his rival in the south. The official chronicling of events was marked by the years of his reign, and the chief acts of the government were carried out in his name even in the Thebaid.[2] Repeated inundations had caused the ruin of part of the temple of Karnak, and it was by the order and under the auspices of this prince that all the resources of the country were employed to accomplish the much-needed restoration.[3] It would have been impossible for him to have exercised any authority over so rich and powerful a personage as Hrihor had he not possessed rights to the crown, before which even the high priests of Amon were obliged to bow, and hence it has been supposed that he was a descendant of Ramses II. The descendants of this sovereign were doubtless divided into at least two branches, one of which had just become extinct, leaving no nearer heir than Hrihor, while another, of which there were many ramifications, had settled in the Delta. The majority of these descendants had become mingled with the general population, and had sunk to the condition of private individuals; they had, however, carefully preserved the tradition of their origin, and added proudly to their name the qualification of royal son of Ramses. They were degenerate scions of the Ramessides, and had neither the features

[1] The extent of the principality of Thebes under the high priests has been determined by means of the sacerdotal titles of the Theban princesses, by Maspero, *Les Momies royales de Deir el-Bahari*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pp. 712-718.

[2] I have pointed out that the years of the reign mentioned in the inscriptions of the high priests and the kings of the sacerdotal line must be attributed to their suzerains, the kings of Tanis (Maspero, *op. cit.*, in the *Mémoires*, vol. i. p. 723, *et seq.*). Hrihor alone seems to have been an exception, since to him are attributed the dates inscribed in the name of the King Siamon. M. Daressy, however, will not admit this, and asserts that this Siamon was a Tanite sovereign who must not be identified with Hrihor, and must be placed at least two or three generations later than the last of the Ramessides (*Contribution à l'étude de la XXIe Dynastie Égyptienne*, p. 8).

[3] The real name Nsbindidi and the first monument of the Mendesian Smendes were discovered in the quarries of Dababîeh, opposite Gebelein, by Daressy, *Les Carrières de Gebelein et le roi Smendès*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. x. pp. 133–138; cf. Maspero, *Les Momies royales*, etc., in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pp. 675-677, and *A Stele of King Smendes*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. v. pp. 17-24.

nor the energy of their ancestor.[1] One of them, Zodphtahaûfônkhi, whose mummy was found at Deir el-Bahari, appears to have been tall and vigorous, but the head lacks the haughty refinement which characterizes those of Seti I. and Ramses II., and the features are heavy and coarse, having a vulgar, commonplace expression. It seems probable that one branch of the family, endowed with greater capability than the rest, was settled at Tanis, where Sesostris had, as we have seen, resided for many years; Smendes was the first of this branch to ascend the throne. The remembrance of his remote ancestor, Ramses II., which was still treasured up in the city he had completely rebuilt, as well as in the Delta into which he had infused new life, was doubtless of no small service in securing the crown for his descendant, when, the line of the Theban kings having come to an end, the Tanites put in their claim to the succession. We are unable to discover if war broke out between the two competitors, or if they arrived at an agreement without a struggle; but, at all events, we may assume that, having divided Egypt between them, neither of them felt himself strong enough to overcome his rival, and contented himself with the possession of half the empire, since he could not possess it in its entirety. We may fairly believe that Smendes had the greater right to the throne, and, above all, the more efficient army of the two, since, had it been otherwise, Hrihor would never have consented to yield him the priority.



ZODPHTAHAUFONKHI, ROYAL SON OF RAMSES.[2]

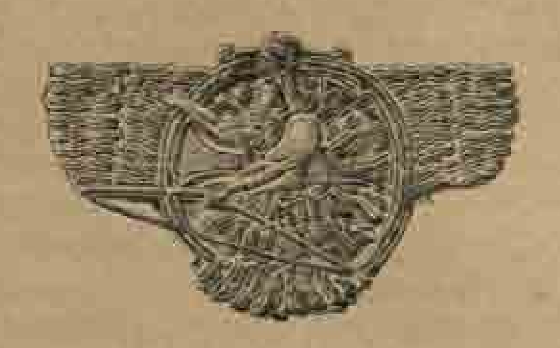
The unity of Egypt was, to outward appearances, preserved, through the nominal possession by Smendes of the suzerainty; but, as a matter of fact, it had ceased to exist, and the fiction of the two kingdoms had become a reality for the first time within the range of history. Henceforward there were two Egypts, governed by different constitutions and from widely remote centres. Theban Egypt was, before all things, a community recognizing a theocratic government, in which the kingly office was merged in that of the high priest. Separated from Asia by the length of the Delta, it turned its attention, like the Pharaohs

[1] For these personages and for the various hypotheses of which they have been the subject, see Brugsch (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 650), Haigh (*Ramessu Meramen, Horus Haremheb*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1879, p. 154, *et seq.*), Lauth (*Aus Ægyptens Vorzeit*, p. 409); cf. Maspero, *Les Momies royales*, etc., in the *Mémoires de la Mission du Caire*, vol. i. pp. 718–723.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from the photograph by Insinger; cf. Maspero, *Les Momies royales de Deir el-Bahari*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pp. 572–574.

of the VIth and XIIth dynasties, to Ethiopia, and owing to its distance from the Mediterranean, and from the new civilization developed on its shores, it became more and more isolated, till at length it was reduced to a purely African state. Northern Egypt, on the contrary, maintained contact with European and Asiatic nations; it took an interest in their future, it borrowed from them to a certain extent whatever struck it as being useful or beautiful, and when the occasion presented itself, it acted in concert with the Mediterranean powers. There was an almost constant struggle between these two divisions of the empire, at times breaking out into an open rupture, to end as often in a temporary re-establishment of unity. At one time Ethiopia would succeed in annexing Egypt, and again Egypt would seize some part of Ethiopia; but the settlement of affairs was never final, and the conflicting elements, brought with difficulty into harmony, relapsed into their usual condition at the end of a few years. A kingdom thus divided against itself could never succeed in maintaining its authority over those provinces which, even in the heyday of its power, had proved impatient of its yoke. Asia was associated henceforward in the minds of the Egyptians with painful memories of thwarted ambitions, rather than as offering a field for present conquest. They were pursued by the memories of their former triumphs, and the very monuments of their cities recalled what they were anxious to forget. Wherever they looked within their towns they encountered the representation of some Asiatic scene; they read the names of the cities of Syria on the walls of their temples; they saw depicted on them its princes and its armies, whose defeat was recorded by the inscriptions as well as the tribute which they had been forced to pay. The sense of their own weakness prevented the Egyptians from passing from useless regrets to action; when, however, one or other of the Pharaohs felt sufficiently secure on the throne to carry his troops far afield, he was always attracted to Syria, and crossed her frontiers, often, alas! merely to encounter defeat.





THE RISE OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE.

PHŒNICIA AND THE NORTHERN NATIONS AFTER THE DEATH OF RAMSES III.—THE FIRST ASSYRIAN EMPIRE: TIGLATH-PILESER I.—THE ARAMÆANS AND THE KHÂTI.

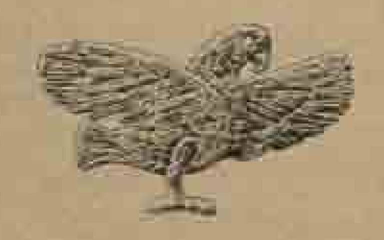
The continuance of Egyptian influence over Syrian civilization after the death of Ramses III.—Egyptian myths in Phœnicia: Osiris and Isis at Byblos—Horus, Thot, and the origin of the Phœnician alphabet—The tombs at Arvad and the Kabr-Hiram; Egyptian designs in Phœnician glass and goldsmiths' work—Commerce with Egypt, the withdrawal of Phœnician colonies in the Ægean Sea and the Achæans in Cyprus; maritime expeditions in the Western Mediterranean.

Northern Syria: the decadence of the Hittites and the steady growth of the Aramæan tribes—The decline of the Babylonian empire under the Cossæan kings, and its relations with Egypt: Assuruballit, Ramman-nirâri I. and the first Assyrian conquests—Assyria, its climate, provinces, and cities: the god Assur and his Ishtar—The wars against Chaldæa: Shalmaneser I., Tukulti-ninip I., and the taking of Babylon—Belchadrezzar and the end of the Cossæans.

The dynasty of Pashé: Nebuchadrezzar I., his disputes with Elam, his defeat by Assur-rishisi—The legend of the first Assyrian empire, Ninus and Semiramis—The Assyrians and their political constitution: the literati, the king and his divine character, his hunting and his wars—The Assyrian army: the infantry and charioteers, the crossing of rivers, mode of

marching in the plains and in the mountain districts—Camps, battles, sieges; cruelty shown to the conquered, the destruction of towns and the removal of the inhabitants, the ephemeral character of the Assyrian conquests.

Tiglath-pileser I.: his campaign against the Mushku, his conquest of Kurkhi and of the regions of the Zab—The petty Asiatic kingdoms and their civilization: art and writing in the old Hittite states—Tiglath-pileser I. in Nairi and in Syria: his triumphal stele at Sebeneh-Su—His buildings, his hunts, his conquest of Babylon—Merodach-nadin-akhi and the close of the Pashe dynasty—Assurbelkala and Samsi-ramman III.: the decline of Assyria—Syria without a foreign ruler: the incapacity of the Khati to give unity to the country.





THE PRINCIPAL SOURCE OF THE TIGRIS.[1]

CHAPTER VI.

THE RISE OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE.

Phœnicia and the northern nations after the death of Ramses III.—The first Assyrian empire: Tiglath-pileser I.—The Aramæans and the Khâti.



THE cessation of Egyptian authority over countries in which it had so long prevailed did not at once do away with the deep impression which it had made upon their constitution and customs. While the nobles and citizens of Thebes were adopting the imported worship of Baal and Astartê, and were introducing into the spoken and written language words borrowed from Semitic speech,[2] the Syrians, on the other hand, were not unreceptive of the influence of their conquerors. They had applied themselves zealously to the study of Egyptian arts, industry, and religion, and had borrowed from these as much, at least, as they had lent to the dwellers on the Nile. The ancient Babylonian foundation of their civilization was not, indeed, seriously modified, but it was covered

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a picture in CHESNEY'S *Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, vol. i. p. 257. The vignette is by Faucher-Gudin, from a bas-relief from Kouyunjik, now in the British Museum; cf. LAYARD, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, vol. i. pls. 11, 20.

[2] See what is said on this subject on pp. 195, 196 of the present work.

over, so to speak, with an African veneer which varied in depth according to the locality.[1] Phœnicia especially assumed and retained this foreign exterior. Its merchants, accustomed to establish themselves for lengthened periods in the principal trade-centres on the Nile, had become imbued therein with something of the religious ideas and customs of the land,[2] and on returning to their own country had imported these with them and propagated them in their neighbourhood. They were not content with other household utensils, furniture, and jewellery than those to which they had been accustomed on the Nile, and even the Phœnician gods seemed to be subject to this appropriating mania, for they came to be recognised in the indigenous deities of the Saïd and the Delta. There was, at the outset, no trait in the character of Baalat by which she could be assimilated to Isis or Hathor: she was fierce, warlike, and licentious, and wept for her lover, while the Egyptian goddesses were accustomed to shed tears for their husbands only.[3] It was this element of a common grief, however, which served to associate the Phœnician and Egyptian goddesses, and to produce at length a strange blending of their persons and the legends concerning them: the lady of Byblos ended in becoming an Isis or a Hathor,[5] and in playing the part assigned to the latter in the Osirian drama. This may have been occasioned by her city having maintained closer relationships than the southern towns with Bûto and Mendes, or by her priests having come to recognise a fundamental agreement between their theology and that of Egypt. In any case, it was at Byblos that the most marked and numerous, as well as the most ancient, examples of borrowing from the religions of the Nile were to be found. The theologians of Byblos imagined that the coffin of Osiris, after it had been thrown into the sea by Typhon, had been thrown up on the land somewhere


THE TREE GROWING ON THE TOMB OF OSIRIS.[4]

[1] Most of the views put forth in this part of the chapter are based on posterior and not contemporary data. As to the mixture of Egyptian and Assyrian influences on Phœnician art, see Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. iii. pp. 121–123, et seq., 241, et seq., 465, et seq., etc. The most ancient monuments which give evidence of it show it in such a complete state that we may fairly ascribe it to some centuries earlier; that is, to the time when Egypt still ruled in Syria, the period of the XIXth and even the XVIIIth dynasty.

[2] As to the sanctuaries of Astartè and other Phœnician deities, and consequently the presumed establishment of foreign colonies in Egyptian cities, see what is said on pp. 465, 466 of the present work.

[3] See on the Baalat of Byblos, p. 173, et seq., of the present work.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., pl. xxx.; cf. Devéria, *Œuvres et Fragments*, vol. i. pp. 125–126.

[5] The assimilation must have been ancient, since the Egyptians of the Theban dynasties already accepted Baalat as the Hathor of Byblos; see *supra*, p. 174, n. 6.

near their city at the foot of a tamarisk, and that this tree, in its rapid growth, had gradually enfolded within its trunk the body and its case. King Malkander cut it down in order to use it as a support for the roof of his palace: a marvellous perfume rising from it filled the apartments, and it was not long before the prodigy was bruited abroad. Isis, who was travelling through the world in quest of her husband, heard of it, and at once realised its meaning; clad in rags and weeping, she sat down by the well whither the women of Byblos were accustomed to come every morning and evening to draw water, and, being interrogated by them, refused to reply; but when the maids of Queen Astartê[1] approached in their turn, they were received by the goddess in the most amiable manner—Isis deigning even to plait their hair, and to communicate to them the odour of myrrh with which she herself was impregnated. Their mistress came to see the stranger who had thus treated her servants, took her into her service, and confided to her the care of her lately born son. Isis became attached to the child, adopted it for her own, after the Egyptian manner, by inserting her finger in its mouth;[2] and having passed it through the fire during the night in order to consume away slowly anything of a perishable nature in its body, metamorphosed herself into a swallow, and flew around the miraculous pillar uttering plaintive cries. Astartê came upon her once while she was bathing the child in the flame, and broke by her shrieks of fright the charm of immortality. Isis was only able to reassure her by revealing her name and the object of her presence there. She opened the mysterious tree-trunk, anointed it with essences, and wrapping it in precious cloths, transmitted it to the priests of Byblos, who deposited it respectfully in their temple: she put the coffin which it contained on board ship, and brought it, after many adventures, into Egypt.[3] Another tradition asserts, however, that Osiris never found his way back to his country; he was buried at Byblos, this tradition maintained, and it was in his honour that the festivals attributed by the vulgar to the young Adonis were really celebrated. A marvellous fact seemed to support this view. Every year a head of papyrus, thrown into the sea at some unknown point of the Delta, was carried for six days along the Syrian coast, buffeted by winds and waves, and on the seventh

[1] Astartê is the name taken by the queen in the Phœnician version: the Egyptian counterpart of the same narrative substituted for it Nemanûs or Saôsis; that is to say, the two principal forms of Hathor—the Hermopolitan Nahmâuît and the Heliopolitan Iûsasît (see *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 104): τινὲς δ' αὐτὴν Ἀστάρτην, οἱ δὲ Σάωσιν, οἱ δὲ Νεμανοῦν, ὅπερ ἂν Ἕλληνες Ἀθηναΐδα προσείποιεν (*De Iside et Osiride*, § 15, edit. Parthey, p. 26). It would appear from the presence of these names that there must have been in Egypt two versions at least of the Phœnician adventures of Isis—the one of Hermopolitan and the other of Heliopolitan origin.

[2] Upon this detail in the legend, which the author of *De Iside, etc.*, did not understand (§ 16, edit. Parthey, p. 26), see *supra*, pp. 487, 488; Isis, in putting her finger in the mouth, was following the ordinary rite of adoption.

[3] This history is contained in chaps. xv.–xvii. of *De Iside et Osiride* (edit. Parthey, pp. 25–29); cf., with the necessary reserve, Movers, *Die Phönizier*, pp. 235–238.



THE PHŒNICIAN HORUS.[4]

was thrown up at Byblos, where the priests received it and exhibited it solemnly to the people.[1] The details of these different stories are not in every case very ancient, but the first fact in them carries us back to the time when Byblos had accepted the sovereignty of the Theban dynasties, and was maintaining daily commercial and political relations with the inhabitants of the Nile valley.[2] The city proclaimed Horus to be a great god.[3] El-Kronos allied himself with Osiris as well as with Adonis: Isis and Baalat became blended together at their first encounter, and the respective peoples made an exchange of their deities with the same light-heartedness as they displayed in trafficking with the products of their soil or their industry.

After Osiris, the Ibis Thot was the most important among the deities who had emigrated to Asia.[5] He was too closely connected with the Osirian cycle to be forgotten by the Phœnicians after they had adopted his companions. We are ignorant of the particular divinity with whom he was identified, or would be the more readily associated from some similarity in the pronunciation of his name: we know only that he still preserved in

[1] *De Deâ Syriâ*, § 7. In the later Roman period it was letters announcing the resurrection of Adonis-Osiris that the Alexandrian women cast into the sea, and these were carried by the current as far as Byblos. See on this subject the commentaries of Cyril of Alexandria and Procopius of Gaza on chap. xviii. of Isaiah.

[2] It is worthy of note that Philo gives to the divinity with the Egyptian name Taautos the part in the ancient history of Phœnicia of having edited the mystic writings put in order by Sanchoniathon at a very early epoch (*Frag.* 1, § 4, in Müller-Didot, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, vol. iii. pp. 563, 564).

[3] This is confirmed by one of the names inscribed on the Tel el-Amarna tablets as being that of a governor of Byblos under Amenôthes IV. This name was read Rabimur (Delattre, *Azirou*, in the *Proceedings* of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., 1890–91, vol. xiii. pp. 219, 220), Aribamur, or Ilrabimur (Halévy, *La Correspondance d'Aménophis III.*, etc., in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1891, vol. xviii. pp. 171, 172), and finally Ilurabihur (Sayce, *Patriarchal Palestine*, p. 131): the meaning of it is "Muru is the great god," or "Horus is the great god." Muru is the name which we find in an appellation of a Hittite king, Maurosaru, "Muru is king" (cf. *supra*, p. 355, note 1). On an Aramæan cylinder in the British Museum, representing a god in Assyrian dress fighting with two griffins, there is the inscription "Horkhu," Harmakhis (M. de Vogüé, *Mélanges d'Archéologie Orientale*, p. 127, and pl. vi., No. 24).

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from an intaglio engraved in Cesnola, *Cyprus*, pp. 310, 372; cf. Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. iii. p. 644. The Phœnician figures of Horus and Thot which I have reproduced were pointed out to me by my friend Clermont-Ganneau.

[5] He is the Taautos of Sanchoniathon: Τάαυτος, ὃς εὗρε τὴν τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων γραφήν, ὃν Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν ἐκάλεσαν Θωύθ, Ἀλεξανδρεῖς δὲ Θώθ, Ἕλληνες δὲ Ἑρμῆν (Philo of Byblos, *Frag.* 1, § 14, in Müller-Didot, *Frag. Hist. Græcorum*, vol. iii. p. 567; cf. *Frag.* 1, § 1, p. 564; *Frag.* 3, p. 570; *Frag.* 9, pp. 571–572): El, having conquered the world, gave Thot as a king to the Egyptians (Philo of Byblos, *Frag.* 2, § 27, in Müller-Didot, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 570). The principal passages in ancient authors bearing upon this god have been collected and annotated by Movers, *Die Phœnizier*, pp. 500–502; cf. pp. 89–92.

his new country all the power of his voice and all the subtilty of his mind. He occupied there also the position of scribe and enchanter, as he had done at Thebes, Memphis, Thinis, and before the chief of each Heliopolitan Ennead. He became the usual adviser of El-Kronos at Byblos, as he had been of Osiris and Horus; he composed charms for him, and formulæ which increased the warlike zeal of his partisans: he prescribed the form and insignia of the god and of his attendant deities, and came finally to be considered as the inventor of letters.[1] The epoch, indeed, in which he became a naturalised Phœnician coincides approximately with a fundamental revolution in the art of writing—that in which a simple and rapid stenography was substituted for the complicated and tedious systems with which the empires of the ancient world had been content from their origin.



THE PHŒNICIAN THOT.[2]

Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, Arvad, had employed up to this period the most intricate of these systems. Like most of the civilized nations of Western Asia, they had conducted their diplomatic and commercial correspondence in the cuneiform character impressed upon clay tablets. Their kings had had recourse to a Babylonian model for communicating to the Amenôthes Pharaohs the expression of their wishes or their loyalty; we now behold them, after an interval of four hundred years and more[3]—during which we have no examples of their monuments—possessed of a short and commodious script, without the encumbrance of ideograms, determinatives, polyphony and syllabic sounds, such as had fettered the Egyptian and Chaldæan scribes, in spite of their cleverness in dealing with them. Phonetic articulations were ultimately resolved into twenty-two sounds, to each of which a special sign was attached, which collectively took the place of the hundreds or thousands of signs formerly required. This was an alphabet, the first in point of time, but so ingenious and so pliable that the majority of ancient and modern nations have found it able to supply all their

[1] The part of counsellor which Thot played in connexion with the god of Byblos was described at some length in the writings attributed to Sankhuniathon (PHILO OF BYBLOS, *Frag.* 2, §§ 11, 15, 23–27, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. pp. 567–569).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, after an intaglio engraved in M. DE VOGÜÉ, *Mélanges d'Archéologie Orientale*, pl. i., No. 4, pp. 106–108.

[3] The inscription on the bronze cup dedicated to the Baal of the Lebanon, and reproduced on the next page (574), goes back probably to the time of Hiram I., say the X^th^ century before our era (*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, vol. i. pl. iv. pp. 22–26); the reasons advanced by Winckler (*Geschichte Israels*, vol. i. p. 120) for dating it in the time of Hiram II. have not been fully accepted up to the present. By placing the introduction of the alphabet somewhere between Amenôthes IV. in the XV^th^ and Hiram I. in the X^th^ century before our era, and by taking the middle date between them, say the accession of the XXI^st^ dynasty towards the year 1100 B.C. for its invention or adoption, we cannot go far wrong one way or the other.

needs—Greeks and Europeans of the western Mediterranean on the one hand, and Semites of all kinds, Persians and Hindus on the other. It must have originated between the end of the XVIII[th] and the beginning of the XXI[st] dynasties, and the existence of Pharaonic rule in Phœnicia during this period has led more than one modern scholar to assume that it developed under Egyptian influence.[1] Some affirm that it is traceable directly to the hieroglyphs,



ONE OF THE MOST ANCIENT PHŒNICIAN INSCRIPTIONS.[2]

while others seek for some intermediary in the shape of a cursive script, and find this in the Hieratic writing, which contains, they maintain, prototypes of all the Phœnician letters. Tables have been drawn up, showing at a glance the resemblances and differences which appear respectively to justify or condemn their hypothesis. Perhaps the analogies would be more evident and more numerous if we were in possession of inscriptions going back nearer to the date of origin.[3] As it is, the divergencies are sufficiently striking to

[1] The hypothesis of an Egyptian origin, suggested casually by Champollion (*Lettre à M. Dacier*, p. 80; cf. Salvolini, *Analyse grammaticale de l'inscription de Rosette*, p. 85, et seq.), has been ably dealt with by E. de Rougé (*Mémoire sur l'origine égyptienne de l'Alphabet Phénicien*, read at the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres in 1859, criticised in the *Comptes Rendus*, 1859, vol. iii. pp. 115-124, and published in 1874 by H. de Rougé). E. de Rougé derives the alphabet from the Hieratic, and his identifications have been accepted by Lauth (*Ueber den Ægyptischen Ursprung unserer Buchstaben und Ziffern*, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Academy of Sciences at Munich, 1867, vol. ii. pp. 84-124), by Brugsch (*Ueber Bildung und Entwickelung der Schrift*, 1868), by F. Lenormant (*Essai sur la propagation de l'Alphabet Phénicien dans l'Ancien Monde*, vol. i. pp. 85-97), and by Isaac Taylor (*The Alphabet*, vol. i.). Halévy would take it from the Egyptian hieroglyphs directly without the intervention of the Hieratic (*Mélanges d'Épigraphie et d'Archéologie Sémitiques*, pp. 168-183). The Egyptian origin, strongly contested of late, has been accepted by the majority of scholars: cf. Ph. Berger, *Histoire de l'Écriture dans l'Antiquité*, pp. 113-129.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a heliogravure in the *Corpus Inscr. Semit.*, vol. i. pl. iv. This is the cup of the Baal of the Lebanon, mentioned in the preceding page, note 3.

[3] The table on the next page (575) contains the principal identifications proposed by E. de Rougé, but varies from it in a few minor points. I derive the Phœnician [sign] from the hieratic [sign] and not from [sign]: the form [sign] is that which is used, in fact, to express the Semitic *g* in the names *Megiddo* and *Gargamish*, and a hieratic form in which the ring is reduced to a simple stroke like that of the Phœnician alphabet is common in all Egyptian epochs. The [sign] *k*, comes also from the [sign], which is easily explained, the Egyptians having but one sign and one sound for the *g* and *k* of Semitic speech: the Phœnicians must have taken two hieratic variants to make the two separate letters equivalent to their *g* and *k*. The [sign] appears to me to be derived from the Archaic form of the "owl," and not from that with which E. de Rougé identifies it, and which was more in use in Theban times. I accept, as others do, the assumption that [sign] and [sign] are but one sign, differentiated to mark the

lead some scholars to seek the prototype of the alphabet elsewhere—either in Babylon,[1] in Asia Minor,[2] or even in Crete, among those barbarous hieroglyphs

GREEK ALPHABET.	HIERATIC SIGNS.	PHŒNICIAN ALPHABET.	GREEK ALPHABET.	HIERATIC SIGNS.	PHŒNICIAN ALPHABET.
A			Λ		
B			M		
Γ			N		
Δ			Ξ		
E			O		
F			Π		
Z					
H			Ϙ		
Θ			P		
I			Σ		
K			T		

which are attributed to the primitive inhabitants of the island.[3] It is no easy matter to get at the truth amid these conflicting theories. Two points only

sounds of the *ṣain* and the *tsadî*; the hieroglyph is, indeed, the equivalent of , at least in the Theban period, and answers as well as the latter to the *ṣain* and *tsadî* of the Semites. The and the appear to me to be the same character, although I cannot say whether the former came from the latter or vice versâ. I have preferred to use in my comparison the hieratic signs in the manuscripts of the XIXth dynasty, which is the period approximately of the beginning of Phœnician writing. The Greek alphabet is given merely to show the values of the Egyptian and Phœnician signs.

[1] This position was taken up by Deecke, *Der Ursprung des altsemitischen Alphabets aus der neuassyrischen Keilschrift*, in the *Zeitsch. der D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, 1877, pp. 102–134; afterwards by Peters, *The Babylonian Origin of the Phœnician Alphabet*, in the *Proceedings of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. vi., 1883–84; and by Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 50–55.

[2] Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. i. p. 228, derives it from the Hittite syllabary.

[3] This identification was proposed by Arthur Evans, *Cretan Pictographs and pre-Phœnician Script*, pp. 92–102, of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xiv. pp. 261–372, and accepted by Reinach,

are indisputable: first, the almost unanimous agreement among writers of classical times in ascribing the first alphabet to the Phœnicians; and second, the Phœnician origin of the Greek, and afterwards of the Latin alphabet which we employ to-day.[1]


RASHUF ON HIS LION.[4]

To return to the religion of the Phœnicians: the foreign deities were not content with obtaining a high place in the estimation of priests and people; they acquired such authority over the native gods that they persuaded them to metamorphose themselves almost completely into Egyptian divinities. One finds among the majority of them the emblems commonly used in the Pharaonic temples, sceptres with heads of animals, head-dress like the Pschent, the *crux ansata*, the solar disk, and the winged scarab.[2] The lady of Byblos placed the cow's horns upon her head from the moment she became identified with Hathor.[3] The Baal of the neighbouring Arvad—probably a form of Rashuf—was still represented as standing upright on his lion in order to traverse the high places: but while, in the monument which has preserved the figure of the god, both lion and mountain are given according to Chaldæan tradition, he himself, as the illustration shows, is dressed after the manner of Egypt, in the striped and plaited loin-cloth, wears a large necklace on his neck and bracelets on his arms, and bears upon his head the white mitre with its double plume and the Egyptian uræus.[5] He brandishes in one hand the weapon of the victor, and is on the point of despatching with it a lion, which he has seized by the tail with

Chronique d'Orient, No. xxx., pp. 64, 65. He puts reliance on a Cretan tradition which has been preserved by Diodorus Siculus; φασὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας οὐκ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὑρεῖν ἀλλὰ τοὺς τύπους τῶν γραμμάτων μεταθεῖναι μόνον (v. 74).

[1] For the testimony of ancient writers on this subject, see F. LENORMANT, *Essai sur la propagation de l'alphabet phénicien*, vol. i. pp. 82, 83, and PH. BERGER, *Histoire de l'Écriture dans l'Antiquité*, pp. 115, 126. Some ancient as well as certain modern writers, notably Winckler (*Geschichte Israels*, vol. i. pp. 124–126), have repudiated altogether the claim of the Phœnicians to have been the inventors of the alphabet.

[2] PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. iii. p. 130, Nos. 75, 167, 408, 410, *et seq.*

[3] She is represented as Hathor on the stele of Ehav-melek, King of Byblos, during the Persian period (*Corpus Inscript. Semit.*, vol. i. pl. 1, and p. 3); cf. the bronze belonging to the former Péretié collection, reproduced in PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Hist. de l'Art*, etc., vol. iii. p. 77, No. 26; and the fragment of a bas-relief of the Saïte epoch, published in RENAN, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 179, 180, and *Corpus Inscript. Semit.*, vol. i. p. 2.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph reproduced in CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Mission en Palestine et en Phénicie*, *Fifth Report*, pl. vi. A, and p. 120; cf. PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. iii. p. 413.

[5] This monument, which belonged to the Péretié collection, was found near Amrith, at the place called Nahr-Abrash (CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Mission en Palestine, etc., en 1881*, *Fifth Report*, p. 128).

the other, after the model of the Pharaonic hunters, Amenothes I. and Thûtmosis III. The lunar disk floating above his head lends to him, it is true, a Phoenician character, but the winged sun of Heliopolis hovering above the disk leaves no doubt as to his Egyptian antecedents.[1] The worship, too, offered to these metamorphosed gods was as much changed as the deities themselves; the altars assumed something of the Egyptian form, and the tabernacles were turned into shrines, which were decorated at the top with a concave groove, or with a frieze made up of repetitions of the uræus.[2]


A PHŒNICIAN GOD IN HIS EGYPTIAN SHRINE.[3]

Egyptian fashions had influenced the better classes so far as to change even their mode of dealing with the dead, of which we find in not a few places clear evidence.[4] Travellers arriving in Egypt at that period must have been as much astonished as the tourist of to-day


AMENÔTHES I. SEIZING A LION.[5]

The dress and bearing are so like those of the Reshuf represented on Egyptian monuments (see supra, pp. 156, 158), that I have no hesitation in regarding this as a representation of that god. He may be compared with the individual represented on the small Egyptian stele published by GRIFFITH, *The God Set of Ramesses II. and an Egypto-Syrian Deity*, in the *Proceedings* of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., 1893–94, vol. xvi. p. 89, the head-dress of which has the floating points —in this case a serpent—of the Phoenician god.

[1] The Phoenician symbol represents the crescent moon holding the darkened portion in its arms (CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Mission en Palestine, etc., Fifth Report*, p. 128, note 1), like the symbol reserved in Egypt for the lunar gods.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from p. 365 of RENAN'S *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 365.

[2] RENAN, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 69, and pl. ix., where one of the shrines of Amrit is reproduced; the uræus frieze crowning it must have been the origin of its modern name, Aïn el-Hayyât, the "Fountain of Serpents." *Cf.* the similar remains pointed out by Renan at Arvad (ID., *ibid.*, p. 29), at Sidon (*ibid.*, p. 365), and at Tyre (*ibid.*, p. 561).

[4] With regard to the Egyptian aspect of the necropolis at Adlun, see p. 166, note 3, of the present volume. RENAN, *op. cit.*, p. 121, *et seq.*, insists upon the resemblance between the Phoenician Tabernacles and the Egyptian tomb.

[5] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin; *cf.* ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, vol. iii. pt. 1, p. 110, and pl. ii. E. This monument was in the Louvre Museum. See p. 101, *supra*, for another stele of the same series. Analogous figures of gods or kings holding a lion by the tail are found on various monuments of

by the monuments which the Egyptians erected for their dead. The pyramids which met their gaze, as soon as they had reached the apex of the Delta, must have far surpassed their ideas of them, no matter how frequently they may have been told about them, and they must have been at a loss to know why such a number of stones should have been brought together to cover a single corpse. At the foot of these colossal monuments, lying like a pack of hounds asleep around their master, the mastabas of the early dynasties were ranged, half buried under the sand, but still visible, and still visited on certain days by the descendants of their inhabitants, or by priests charged with the duty of keeping them up. Chapels of more recent generations extended as a sort of screen before the ancient tombs,



A PHŒNICIAN MASTABA AT ARVAD.[1]

affording examples of the two archaic types combined—the mastaba more or less curtailed in its proportions, and the pyramid with a more or less acute point.[2] The majority of these monuments are no longer in existence, and only one of them has come down to us intact—that which Amenôthes III. erected in the Serapeum at Memphis in honour of an Apis which had died in his reign. Phœnicians visiting the Nile valley must have carried back with them to their native country a remembrance of this kind of burying-place, and have suggested it to their architects as a model. One of the cemeteries at Arvad contains a splendid specimen of this imported design.[3] It is a square tower some thirty-

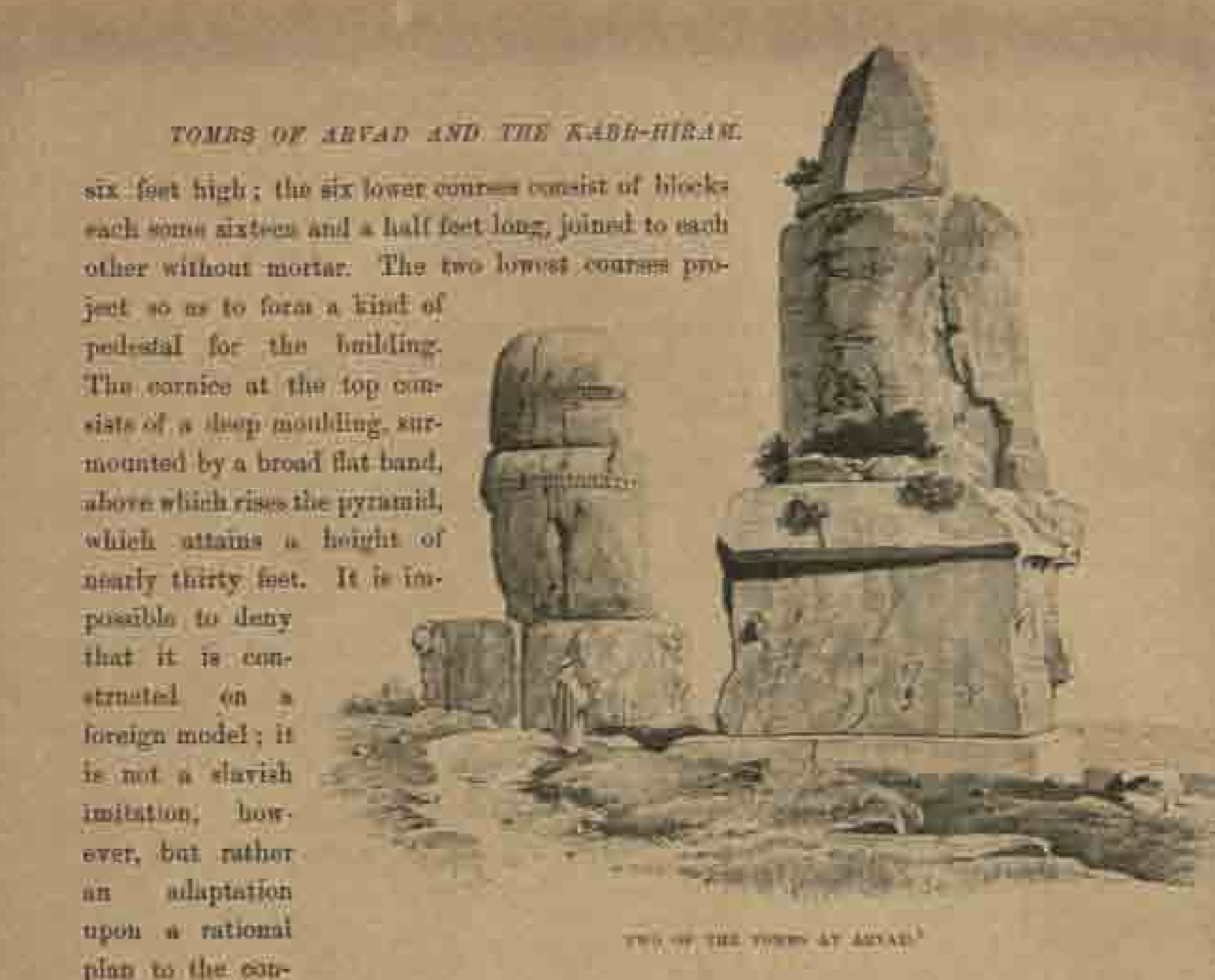
the Theban dynasties, as well as on a little wooden stand, No. 282 in the HOFFMANN Collection, *Antiquités Égyptiennes*, pp. 84, 85.

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the restoration by Thobois, as given in RENAN, *Mission de Phénicie*, pl. xvi. The cuttings made in the lower stonework appear to be traces of unfinished steps, corresponding to the steps of the Egyptian chapel reproduced on p. 425, *supra*. The pyramid at the top is no longer in existence, but its remains are scattered about the foot of the monument, and furnished M. Thobois with the means of reconstructing with exactness the original form.

[2] This kind of tomb is described at p. 517, *supra*; the chapel of Amenôthes III.—the only example existing a few years ago—is reproduced on p. 425, *supra*.

[3] RENAN, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 83–90; cf. PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. iii. pp. 23, 24, 145, 155, 156. Pietschmann (*Geschichte der Phönizier*, p. 196, note 2) thinks that the monument is not older than the Greek epoch, and it must be admitted that the cornice is not such as we usually meet with in Egypt in Theban times; nevertheless, the very marked resemblance to the Theban mastaba shows that it must have been directly connected with the Egyptian type which prevailed from the XVIII[th] to the XX[th] dynasties.

six feet high; the six lower courses consist of blocks each some sixteen and a half feet long, joined to each other without mortar. The two lowest courses project so as to form a kind of pedestal for the building. The cornice at the top consists of a deep moulding, surmounted by a broad flat band, above which rises the pyramid, which attains a height of nearly thirty feet. It is impossible to deny that it is constructed on a foreign model; it is not a slavish imitation, however, but rather an adaptation upon a rational plan to the conditions of its new home. Its foundations rest on nothing but a mixture of soil and sand impregnated with water, and if vaults had been constructed beneath this, as in Egypt, the body placed there would soon have corrupted away, owing to the infiltration of moisture. The dead bodies were, therefore, placed within the structure above ground, in chambers corresponding to the Egyptian chapel, which were superimposed the one upon the other. The first storey would furnish space for three bodies, and the second would contain twelve, for which as many niches were provided. In the same cemetery we find examples of tombs which the architect has constructed, not after an Egyptian, but a Chaldæan model. A round tower is here substituted for the square structure and a cupola for the pyramid, while the cornice is represented by crenellated markings. The only Egyptian feature about it is the four lions, which seem to support the whole edifice upon their backs.[2] Arvad was, among Phœnician cities, the nearest neighbour



TWO OF THE TOMBS AT ARVAD.[1]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a water-colour by Thobois, reproduced in RENAN, *Mission de Phénicie*, pl. xx.

[2] The fellahin in the neighbourhood call these two monuments the *Meghazil* or "distaffs." They have been minutely described by RENAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 70–80, and pls. xx.–xiii.; cf. PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. iii. pp. 149–153.

to the kingdoms on the Euphrates, and was thus the first to experience either the brunt of an attack or the propagation of fashions and ideas from these countries. In the more southerly region, in the country about Tyre, there are fewer indications of Babylonian influence, and such examples of burying-places for the ruling classes as the Kabr-Hiram and other similar tombs correspond with the mixed mastaba of the Theban period.[1] We have the same rectangular base, but the chapel and its crowning pyramid are represented by the sarcophagus itself with its ridged cover. The work is of an



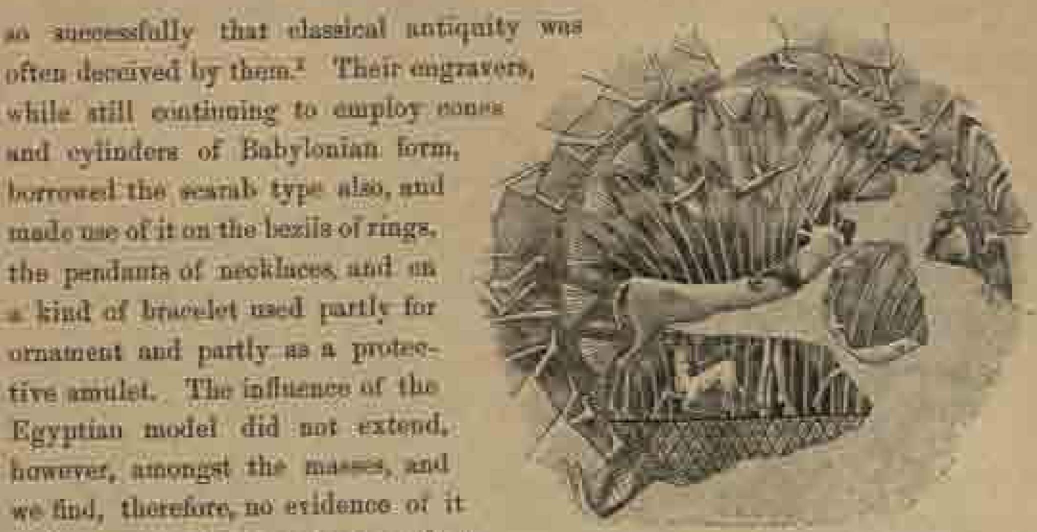
THE KABR-HIRAM NEAR TYRE.[2]

unfinished character, and carelessly wrought, but there is a charming simplicity about its lines and a harmony in its proportions which betray an Egyptian influence.

The spirit of imitation which we find in the religion and architecture of Phœnicia is no less displayed in the minor arts, such as goldsmiths' work, sculpture in ivory, engraving on gems, and glass-making. The forms, designs, and colours are all rather those of Egypt than of Chaldæa. The many-hued glass objects, turned out by the manufacturers of the Said in millions, furnished at one time valuable cargoes for the Phœnicians; they learned at length to cast and colour copies of these at home, and imitated their Egyptian models

[1] Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 597–600, and pl. xlvii.; cf. F. de Saulcy, *Voyage en Terre Sainte*, 1865, pp. 278, 279, and Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, etc., vol. iii. pp. 161–167.
[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a sketch by Thobois, reproduced by Renan, *op. cit.*, pl. xliii.

so successfully that classical antiquity was often deceived by them.[1] Their engravers, while still continuing to employ cones and cylinders of Babylonian form, borrowed the scarab type also, and made use of it on the bezils of rings, the pendants of necklaces, and on a kind of bracelet used partly for ornament and partly as a protective amulet. The influence of the Egyptian model did not extend, however, amongst the masses, and we find, therefore, no evidence of it in the case of common objects, such as those of coarse sand or glazed earthenware. Egyptian scarab forms were thus confined to the rich, and the material upon which they are found is generally some costly gem, such as cut and polished agate, onyx, hæmatite, and lapis-lazuli.[3] The goldsmiths did not slavishly copy the golden and silver bowls which were imported from the Delta; they took their inspiration from the principles displayed in the ornamentation of these objects, but they treated the subjects after their own manner, grouping them afresh and blending them with new designs.[4] The intrinsic value of the metal upon which these artistic conceptions had been impressed led to their destruction, and among the examples which have come down to us I know of no object which can be traced to the period of the Egyptian conquest. It was Theban art for the most part which furnished the Phœnicians with their designs. These included the lotus, the papyrus, the cow standing in a thicket and suckling her calf, the sacred bark, and the king threatening with his uplifted arm the crowd of conquered foes who lie prostrate before him. The king's double often accompanied him on some of the original objects, impassive and armed with the banner bearing the name of Horus. The Phœnician artist modified this figure, which in its original form did not satisfy his ideas of



EGYPTIAN TREATMENT OF THE COW ON A PHŒNICIAN BOWL.[2]

[1] Glass manufacture was carried to such a degree of perfection among the Phœnicians, that many ancient authors attributed to them the invention of glass (PLINY, *Nat. Hist.*, v. § 17; cf. xxxvi. § 190). As to Phœnician glasswork, see PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Hist. de l'Art, etc.*, vol. iii. p. 723, et seq.; and on the existence of numerous glass objects—some of eastern and others of local manufacture—in the tombs of primeval Greece, see PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *op. cit.*, vol. vi. pp. 182, 556, 557, 743, 746, 850, 943–947.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, after GRIFI, *Monumenti di Cere antica*, pl. x. 1; this monument ought to be ascribed approximately to the Saïte rather than the Tanite period.

[3] A detailed notice of Phœnician cylinders and scarabs is given in PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Hist. de l'Art, etc.*, vol. iii. p. 629, et seq.

[4] For Phœnician goldsmiths' work, and the various influences to which it was subjected before the Greek period, see PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 751, et seq.

human nature, by transforming it into a protective genius, who looks with approval on the exploits of his *protégé*, and gathers together the corpses of those he has slain. Once these designs had become current among the goldsmiths, they continued to be supplied for a long period, without much modification, to the markets of the Eastern and Western worlds. Indeed, it was natural that they should have taken a stereotyped form, when we consider that the Phœnicians who employed them held continuous commercial relations with the country whence they had come—a country of which, too, they recognised the supremacy. Egypt in the Ramesside period was, as we have seen, distinguished for the highest development of every branch of industry; it had also a population which imported and exported more raw material and more manufactured products than any other. The small nation which acted as a commercial intermediary between Egypt and the rest of the world had in this traffic a steady source of profit, and even in providing Egypt with a single article—for example, bronze, or the tin necessary for its preparation—could realise enormous profits.[1] The people of Tyre and Sidon had been very careful not to alienate the good will of such rich customers, and as long as the representatives of the Pharaoh held sway in Syria, they had shown themselves, if not thoroughly trustworthy vassals, at least less turbulent than their neighbours of Arvad and Qodshû. Even when the feebleness and impotence of the successors of Ramses III. relieved them from the obligation of further tribute, they displayed towards their old masters such deference that they obtained as great freedom of trade with the ports of the Delta as they had enjoyed in the past. They maintained with these ports the same relations as in the days of their dependence, and their ships sailed up the river as far as Memphis, and even higher, while the Egyptian galleys continued to coast the littoral of Syria.[2] An official report addressed to Hrihor by one of the ministers of the Theban Amon, indicates at one and the same time the manner in which these voyages were accomplished, and the dangers to which their crews were exposed. Hrihor, who was still high priest, was in need of foreign timber to complete some work he had in hand, probably the repair of the sacred barks, and commanded the official above mentioned to proceed by sea to Byblos, to King Zikarbal,[3] in order to purchase cedars of Lebanon. The messenger started from Tanis, coasted along Kharu.

[1] The provision of bronze and copper for Egypt is referred to at p. 237, *supra*, as showing the relations of Alasia and Egypt during the XVIIIth dynasty.

[2] Several Egyptian documents of the XXth dynasty refer to these Egyptian and foreign vessels voyaging on the "Very Green" (PLEYTE-ROSSI, *Les Papyrus de Turin*, pl. lxxxvii. ll. 9, 10, and pl. lxxxix. ll. 1, 2); see pp. 107, 108, *supra*, where there is an illustration representing the arrival of Phœnician ships at Thebes.

[3] W. MAX MÜLLER, *Asien und Europa*, p. 395. This is the name which classical tradition ascribed to the first husband of Dido, the founder of Carthage—Sicharbas, Sichæus, Acerbas (SCHRÖDER, *Die Phönizische Sprache*, pp. 90, 100, 128).

and put into the harbour of Dor, which then belonged to the Zakkala;[1] while he was revictualling his ship, one of the sailors ran away with the cash-box. The local ruler, Badilu,[2] expressed at first his sympathy at this misfortune, and gave his help to capture the robber; then unaccountably changing his mind, he threw the messenger into prison, who had accordingly to send to Egypt to procure fresh funds for his liberation and the accomplishment of his mission. Having arrived at Byblos, nothing occurred there worthy of record. The wood having at length been cut and put on board, the ship set sail homewards. Driven by contrary winds, the vessel was thrown upon the coast of Alasia, where the crew were graciously received by the Queen Khatiba.[4] We have evidence everywhere, it may be stated, as to the friendly disposition displayed, either with or without the promptings of interest, towards the representative of the Theban pontiff. Had he been ill-used, the Phœnicians living on Egyptian territory would have been made to suffer for it.



THE KING AND HIS DOUBLE ON A PHŒNICIAN BOWL.[3]

Navigators had to take additional precautions, owing to the presence of Ægean or Asiatic pirates on the routes followed by the mercantile marine, which rendered their voyages dangerous and sometimes interrupted them altogether.

[1] For the establishment of the Zakkala on the Canaanite coast in the neighbourhood of Dor and Carmel, see p. 470, *supra*.

[2] The name Badîlu, Bodîlu, Bodilu, appears to be an apocopated form of Abdilu, "the servant of Ilu," of which we have numerous instances in such Phœnician names as Bodeshmun, Bodashtoreth = Bodastoreth, Bodmelkarth = Βαλόκαρ, Bomilcar (Maspero, *Sur un Nom Asiatique*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xviii. p. 120). Cf. an analogous form in the name of the King of Arvad, Budilalu, Bodbaal, who lived in the time of Assurbanipal (Tiele, *Varia*, in the *Zeitschrift für Keilforschung*, vol. ii. pp. 292, 293), and possibly also in that of the King of Assyria, Budilu, Pudilu, of whom there will be something to say on p. 596, *infra*.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a sketch by Longpérier, *Musée Napoléon III.*, pl. xi. The importance this group acquired in Phœnician mythology, and its possible derivations in Greek art and tradition, were studied especially by Clermont-Ganneau, *Mythologie Iconographique*, pp. 8, 9, and Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, etc., vol. iii. pp. 96, 97, 772–774, 787–789, 802.

[4] The document containing an account of these events was discovered by Golénischeff in 1891. The text is unpublished, but two brief summaries of it exist: Golénischeff, *Extrait d'une lettre*, etc., in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xv. p. 88, and W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 388, 389, 395, 396.

The Syrian coast-line was exposed to those marauders quite as much as the African had been during the sixty or eighty years which followed the death of Ramses II.; the seamen of the north—Achæans and Tyrseni, Lycians and Shardanians—had pillaged it on many occasions, and in the invasion which followed these attacks it experienced as little mercy as Naharaim, the Khâti, and the region of the Amorites. The fleets which carried the Philistines, the Zakkala, and their allies had devastated the whole coast before they encountered the Egyptian ships of Ramses III. near Magadil, to the south of Carmel. Arvad as well as Zahi had succumbed to the violence of their attack, and if the cities of Byblos, Berytus, Sidon, and Tyre had escaped, their suburbs had been subjected to the ravages of the foe.[1] Peace followed the double victory of the Egyptians, and commerce on the Mediterranean resumed once more its wonted ways, but only in those regions where the authority of the Pharaoh and the fear of his vengeance were effective influences. Beyond this sphere there were continual warfare, piracy, migrations of barbaric hordes, and disturbances of all kinds, among which, if a stranger ventured, it was at the almost certain risk of losing his life or liberty. The area of undisturbed seas became more and more contracted in proportion as the memory of past defeats faded away. Cyprus was not comprised within it, and the Ægeans, who were restrained by the fear of Egypt from venturing into any region under her survey, perpetually flocked thither in numerous bodies. The Achæans, too, took up their abode on this island at an early date—about the time when some of their bands were infesting Libya, and offering their help to the enemies of the Pharaoh. They began their encroachments on the northern side of the island—the least rich, it is true, but the nearest to Cilicia, and the easiest to hold against the attacks of their rivals.[2] The disaster of Piriu had no doubt dashed their hopes of finding a settlement in Egypt:[3] they never returned thither any more, and the current of emigration which had momentarily inclined towards the south, now set steadily towards the east, where the large island of Cyprus offered an unprotected and more profitable field of adventure. We know not how far they penetrated into its forests and its interior. The natives began, at length, under their influence, to despise the customs and mode of existence with which they had been previously contented: they acquired a taste for pottery rudely decorated after the Mycenean manner, for jewellery, and for the bronze swords which they had seen in the hands of the invaders. The Phœnicians, in order to

[1] See, for this invasion, pp. [illegible], *supra*.

[2] I am forced here, by the exigencies of space, to leave out details. I confine myself to the facts indispensable for a knowledge of the history of the East without criticism or a bibliography.

[3] Cf., for the part taken by the Achæans in the Libyan war against Minephtah, the short account on pp. [illegible], *supra*.

maintain their ground against the intruders, had to strengthen their ancient posts or found others—such as Carpasia, Cerynia, and Lapathos on the Achæan coast itself, Tamassos near the copper-mines, and a new town, Qart-hadashât, which is perhaps only the ancient Citium under a new name.[1] They thus added to their earlier possessions on the island regions on its northern side, while the rest either fell gradually into the hands of Hellenic adventurers, or continued in the possession of the native populations. Cyprus served henceforward as an advance-post against the attacks of Western nations, and the Phœnicians must have been thankful for the good fortune which had made them see the wisdom of fortifying it. But what became of their possessions lying outside Cyprus? They retained several of them on the southern coasts of Asia Minor, and Rhodes remained faithful to them, as well as Thasos, enabling them to overlook the two extremities of the Archipelago;[2] but, owing to the movements of the People of the Sea and the political development of the Mycenæan states, they had to give up the stations and harbours of refuge which they held in the other islands or on the continent. They still continued, however, to pay visits to these localities—sometimes in the guise of merchants and at others as raiders, according to their ancient custom. They went from port to port as of old, exposing their wares in the market-places, pillaging the farms and villages, carrying into captivity the women and children whom they could entice on board, or whom they might find defenceless on the strand; but they attempted all this with more risk than formerly, and with less success. The inhabitants of the coast were possessed of fully manned ships, similar in form to those of the Philistines or the Zakkala, which, at the first sight of the Phœnicians, set out in pursuit of them, or, following the example set by their foe, lay in wait for them behind some headland, and retaliated upon them for their cruelty. Piracy in the Archipelago was practised as a matter of course, and there was no islander who did not give himself up to it when the opportunity offered, to return to his honest occupations after a successful venture. Some kings seem to have risen up here and there who found this state of affairs intolerable, and endeavoured to remedy it by every means within their power: they followed on the heels of the corsairs and adventurers, whatever might be their country; they followed them up to their harbours of refuge, and became an effective police force in

[1] It is mentioned in the inscription of Baal of Lebanon (*Corpus Inscr. Semit.*, vol. i. pp. 25, 26), and in the Assyrian inscriptions of the VIIth century B.C. (F. DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 282–290).

[2] This would appear to be the case, as far as Rhodes is concerned, from the traditions which ascribed the final expulsion of the Phœnicians to a Doric invasion from Argos; cf. THUCYDIDES, viii. 57; [illegible]. The somewhat legendary accounts of the state of affairs after the Hellenic conquest are in the fragments of Ergias and Polyzelos (MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iv. pp. 405, 406, 481).

all parts of the sea where they were able to carry their flag. The memory of such exploits was preserved in the tradition of the Cretan empire which Minos had constituted, and which extended its protection over a portion of continental Greece.

If the Phœnicians had had to deal only with the piratical expeditions of the peoples of the coast or with the jealous watchfulness of the rulers of the sea, they might have endured the evil, but they had now to put up, in addition, with rivalry in the artistic and industrial products of which they had long had the monopoly. The spread of art had at length led to the establishment of local centres of production everywhere, which bade fair to vie with those of Phœnicia. On the continent and in the Cyclades there were produced statuettes, intaglios, jewels, vases, weapons, and textile fabrics which rivalled those of the East, and were probably much cheaper. The merchants of Tyre and Sidon could still find a market, however, for manufactures requiring great technical skill or displaying superior taste—such as gold or silver bowls, engraved or decorated with figures in outline—but they had to face a serious falling off in their sales of ordinary goods.[1] To extend their commerce they had to seek new and less critical markets, where the bales of their wares, of which the Ægean population was becoming weary, would lose none of their attractions. We do not know at what date they ventured to sail into the mysterious region of the Hesperides, nor by what route they first reached it. It is possible that they passed from Crete to Cythera, and from this to the Ionian Islands and to the point of Calabria, on the other side of the straits of Otranto, whence they were able to make their way gradually to Sicily.[2] Did the fame of their discovery, we may ask, spread so rapidly in the East as to excite there the cupidity and envy of their rivals? However this may have been, the People of the Sea, after repeated checks in Africa and Syria, and feeling more than ever the pressure of the northern tribes encroaching on them, set out towards the west, following the route pursued by the Phœnicians. The traditions current among them and collected afterwards by the Greek historians give an account, mingled with many fabulous details, of the causes which led to their migrations and of the vicissitudes

[1] Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. ii. pp. 268-270, where a brief summary of all that is known on the subject is given; for details see Helbig, *L'Épopée homérique*, translated by Trawinski, pp. 20, 24, 27, et seq.

[2] Ed. Meyer, *op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 235, 337-348, and vol. ii. pp. 96, 680-690, thinks that the extension of Phœnician commerce in the Western Mediterranean goes back to the XVIIIth dynasty, or, at the latest, the XVth century before our era. Without laying undue stress on this view, I am inclined to ascribe with him, until we get further knowledge, the colonisation of the West to the period immediately following the movements of the People of the Sea and the diminution of Phœnician trade in the Grecian Archipelago. Exploring voyages had been made before this, but the founding of colonies was not earlier than this epoch.

which they experienced in the course of them. Dædalus having taken flight from Crete to Sicily, Minos, who had followed in his steps, took possession of the greater part of the island with his Eteocretes.[1] Iolaos was the leader of Pelasgic bands, whom he conducted first into Libya and finally to Sardinia.[2] It came also to pass that in the days of Atys, son of Manes, a famine broke out and raged throughout Lydia; the king, unable to provide food for his people, had them numbered, and decided by lot which of the two halves of the population should expatriate themselves under the leadership of his son Tyrsenos. Those who were thus fated to leave their country assembled at Smyrna, constructed ships there, and having embarked on board of them what was necessary, set sail in quest of a new home. After a long and devious voyage, they at length disembarked in the country of the Umbrians, where they built cities, and became a prosperous people under the name of Tyrseni, being thus called after their leader Tyrsenos.[3] The remaining portions of the nations who had taken part in the attack on Egypt—of which several tribes had been planted by Ramses III. in the Shephelah, from Gaza to Carmel—proceeded in a series of successive detachments from Asia Minor and the Ægean Sea to the coasts of Italy and of the large islands; the Tursha into that region which was known afterwards as Etruria, the Shardana into Sardinia, the Zakkala into Sicily, and along with the latter some Pulasati, whose memory is still preserved on the northern slopes of Etna.[4] Fate thus brought the Phœnician emigrants once more into close contact with their traditional enemies, and the hostility which they experienced in their new settlements from the latter was among the influences which determined their further migration from Italy proper, and from the region occupied by the Ligurians between the Arno and the Ebro.

[1] For the traditions of the colonisation of Sicily by Cretans, see Hoeck, *Kreta*, vol. i. pp. 373–391, and Holm, *Geschichte Siciliens*, vol. i. pp. 90, 91. [The Eteocretes are mentioned in the Odyssey, xix. 175.—Tr.]

[2] For the traditions as to the original inhabitants of Sardinia, see, with much reserve, Movers, *Das Phœnizische Alterthum*, vol. ii. p. 562, et seq.

[3] Herodotus, I. xciv., whence all the information of other classical writers is directly or indirectly taken. Most modern historians reject this tradition. I see no reason for my own part why they should do so, at least in the present state of our knowledge. The Etruscans of the historical period were the result of a fusion of several different elements, and there is nothing against the view that the Tursha—one of these elements—should have come from Asia Minor, as Herodotus says. Properly understood, the tradition seems well founded, and the details may have been added afterwards, either by the Lydians themselves, or by the Greek historians who collected the Lydian traditions.

[4] This view was put forth by Maspero in the *Revue Critique*, 1873, vol. i. pp. 84–86; 1878, vol. i. p. 320; 1880, vol. i. pp. 109, 110; for the contrary views, which make the tribes mentioned on the Egyptian monuments to have come from Italy and Sicily, see pp. 360, note 2; 361, 432, note 2, supra. The Pulasati of Sicily are known only from a passage in Appian: Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν Παλαιστηνῶν γῆν [illegible] (*Bell. Civ.*, V. cxvii.), which Cluvier and most geographers after him have corrected into τὴν Ἀλαισίνων γῆν. Movers was the first to identify these Palestines of Sicily with the Philistines of Syria, and saw in them the remains of a Cretan colony (*Das Phönizische Alterthum*, vol. ii. pp. 318, 319), and was followed with some reserve by Holm (*Gesch. Siciliens*, vol. i. pp. 91, 378).

They had already probably reached Sardinia and Corsica, but the majority of their ships had sailed to the southward, and having touched at Malta, Gozo, and the small islands between Sicily and the Syrtes, had followed the coast-line of Africa, until at length they reached the straits of Gibraltar and the southern shores of Spain.[1] No traces remain of their explorations, or of their early establishments in the western Mediterranean, as the towns which they are thought—with good reason in most instances—to have founded there belong to a much later date. Every permanent settlement, however, is preceded by a period of exploration and research, which may last for only a few years or be prolonged to as many centuries. I am within the mark, I think, in assuming that Phœnician adventurers, or possibly even the regular trading ships of Tyre and Sidon, had established relations with the semi-barbarous chiefs of Bætica as early as the XII[th] century before our era, that is, at the time when the power of Thebes was fading away under the weak rule of the pontiffs of Amon and the Tanite Pharaohs.

The Phœnicians were too much absorbed in their commercial pursuits to aspire to the inheritance which Egypt was letting slip through her fingers. Their numbers were not more than sufficient to supply men for their ships, and they were often obliged to have recourse to their allies or to mercenary tribes—the Leleges or Carians—in order to provide crews for their vessels or garrisons for their trading posts;[2] it was impossible, therefore, for them to think of raising armies fit to conquer or keep in check the rulers on the Orontes or in Naharaim. They left this to the races of the interior—the Amorites and Hittites—and to their restless ambition. The Hittite power, however, had never recovered from the terrible blow inflicted on it at the time of the Asianic invasion.[3] The confederacy of feudal chiefs, which had been brought momentarily together by Sapalulu and his successors, was shattered by the violence of the shock, and the elements of which it was composed were engaged henceforward in struggles with each other. At this time the entire plain between the Amanus and the Euphrates was covered with rich cities, of which the sites are represented to-day by only a few wretched villages or by heaps of ruins. Arabian and Byzantine remains sometimes crown the summit of the latter, but as soon as we reach the lower strata we find in more or less abundance the ruins of buildings of the Greek or Persian period, and beneath these those belonging to a still earlier time. The history of Syria lies buried in such sites, and is waiting

[1] I shall have to return later on to the Phœnician colonies in Spain, and especially to the founding of Cadiz.

[2] Cf., with the necessary reserve, Movers, *Das Phönizische Alterthum*, vol. ii. pp. 17–31.

[3] See what is said on this subject on pp. 466, 468–470, 475 of the present work.



AZÂZ—ONE OF THE TUMULI ON THE ANCIENT HITTITE PLAIN.[1]

only for a patient and wealthy explorer to bring it to light.[2] The Khâti proper were settled to the south of the Taurus in the basin of the Sajur, but they were divided into several petty states, of which that which possessed Carchemish was the most important, and exercised a practical hegemony over the others. Its chiefs alone had the right to call themselves kings of the Khâti.[3] The Patinu, who were their immediate neighbours on the west, stretched right up to the Mediterranean above the plains of Naharaim and beyond the Orontes; they had absorbed, it would seem, the provinces of the ancient Alasia.[4] Aramæans occupied the region to the south of the Patinu between the two Lebanon ranges, embracing the districts of Hamath and Qobah.[5] The valleys of the Amanus and the southern slopes of the Taurus included within them

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by M. Barthélemy, taken in 1885.

[2] The results of the excavations at Zinjirli are evidence of what historical material we may hope to find in these tumuli. See the account of the earlier results in F. von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, 1893.

[3] As to the localisation of the Khâti to the south of the Taurus, and the restricted use of their name, see Schrader, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, pp. 225-236; F. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 269-273; F. Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. iii. p. 267, note 2; Delattre, *L'Asie Occidentale dans les Inscriptions Assyriennes*, pp. 34-36.

[4] The extension of the Patinu was determined by Schrader, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-221; cf. F. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 274, and Delattre, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-50.

[5] The Aramæans are mentioned by Tiglath-pileser I. as situated between the Balikh, the Euphrates, and the Sajur (Schrader, op. cit., p. 236, note; Delitzsch, op. cit., pp. 257-259; Delattre, op. cit., p. 37).

some half-dozen badly defined principalities—Samalla on the Kara-Su,[1] Gurgum[2] around Marqasi, the Qui[3] and Khilakku[4] in the classical Cilicia, and the Kasku[5] and Kummukh[6] in a bend of the Euphrates to the north and north-east of the Khâti. The ancient Mitanni to the east of Carchemish, which was so active in the time of the later Amenôthes, had now ceased to exist, and there was but a vague remembrance of its former prowess. It had foundered probably in the great cataclysm which engulfed the Hittite empire, although its name appears inscribed once more among those of the vassals of Egypt on the triumphal lists of Ramses III.[7] Its chief tribes had probably migrated towards the regions which were afterwards described by the Greek geographers as the home of the Matieni on the Halys and in the neighbourhood of Lake Urmiah.[8] Aramæan kingdoms, of which the greatest was that of Bit-Adini,[9] had succeeded them, and bordered the Euphrates on

[1] The country of Samalla, in Egyptian Samalla (Mariette, Karnak, pl. 2, No. 314; cf. Tomkins, *On the Topography of Northern Syria*, in the Transactions Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. ix. p. 231), extended around the Tell of Zinjirli, at the foot of the Amanus, in the valley of Marash of the Arab historians (Sachau, *Zur Historischen Geographie von Nordsyrien*, pp. 2, 7).

[2] The name has been read Gungumu, Gaugum (Wallerman-Schmidt, *Assyriens og Ægyptens Gamle Historie*, p. 755, who places it near Zeugma, on the Euphrates, and connected by Tomkins (*Notes on the Geography of Northern Syria*, in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. iii. pp. 3, 44) with the Egyptian Augamu, which he reads Gaganu, in the lists of Thûtmosis III. (Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 21, No. 312). The Aramæan inscription on the statue of King Panammu shows that it must be read Gurgumu, and Sachau has identified this new name with that of Jurjuma, which was the name by which the province of the Amanus, lying between Baias and the lake of Antioch, was known in the Byzantine period (*Zur Historischen Geographie von Nordsyrien*, pp. 2–17); the ancient Gurgum stretched further towards the north, around the town of Marqasi, which Tomkins (*Notes on the Geog. of Northern Syria*, pp. 3, 44) and Sachau (*op. cit.*, pp. 6, 7) have identified with Marash.

[3] The site of the country of Qui was determined by Schrader (*Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, pp. 236–242); it was that part of the Cilician plain which stretches from the Amanus to the mountains of the Kotis, and takes in the great town of Tarsus. F. Lenormant has pointed out that this country is mentioned twice in the Scriptures (1 Kings x. 28 and 2 Chron. i. 16) [The Revised Version does not support this, but the LXX. gives "of Thecue," and the Vulgate "de Coa."—Tr.] in the time of Solomon (*Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. iii. p. 9, n. 2). The designation of the country, transformed into the appellation of an eponymous god (see p. 359, note 1, *supra*), is found in the name Qauisarri, "Qaui is king" (F. Lenormant, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. pp. 70, 173, n. 4).

[4] Khilakku, the name of which is possibly the same as the Egyptian Khiliakka (Maspero, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire, etc.*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1879, p. 58), is the Cilicia Trachea of classical geographers (Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 245).

[5] The country of Kashku, which has been connected with Kashkisha, which takes the place of Karkisha in an Egyptian text (see p. 389, note 4, *supra*), was still a dependency of the Hittites in the time of Tiglath-pileser I. (*Annals*, ii. l. 101). It was in the neighbourhood of the Urumu, whose capital seems to have been Urima, the Ourima of Ptolemy (V. xv. § 14), near the bend of the Euphrates between Sumeisat and Birejik; it extended into the Commagene of classical times, on the borders of Melitene and the Tubal (Delattre, *L'Asie Occidentale dans les Inscriptions Assyriennes*, pp. 64, 65, and *Encore un mot sur la Géographie Assyrienne*, pp. 27–31).

[6] Kummukh lay on both sides of the Euphrates and of the Upper Tigris (Delattre, *L'Asie Occidentale*, etc., pp. 41–43); it became gradually restricted, until at length it was conterminous with the Commagene of classical geographers (Schrader, *Keilinschriften*, etc., pp. 122–155, 181–213).

[7] Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, vol. i. pl. 11, where Ramses III. seems to have simply copied the lists of Thûtmosis III.; see *supra*, p. 470.

[8] Théodore Reinach, *Un Peuple oublié, les Matiènes*, in the *Revue des Études Grecques*, 1894, pp. 217–318.

[9] The province of Bit-Adini was specially that part of the country which lay between the Euphrates and the Balîkh (Schrader, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, pp. 198, 200), but it extended

each side as far as the Chalus and Balikh respectively; the ancient Harran belonged also to them, and their frontier stretched as far as Hamath, and to that of the Patinu on the Orontes. It was, as we have seen, a complete breaking up of the old nationalities, and we have evidence also of a similar disintegration in the countries to the north of the Taurus, in the direction of the Black Sea. Of the mighty Khâti with whom Thûtmosis III. had come into contact, there was no apparent trace: either the tribes of which they were composed had migrated towards the south, or those who had never left their native mountains had entered into new combinations and lost even the remembrance of their name. The Milidu, Tabal (Tubal), and Mushku (Meshech) stretched behind each other from east to west on the confines of the Tokhma-Su,[1] and still further away other cities of less importance contended for the possession of the Upper Sarus and the middle region of the Halys. These peoples, at once poor and warlike, had been attracted, like the Hittites of some centuries previous, by the riches accumulated in the strongholds of Syria. Revolutions must have been frequent in these regions, but our knowledge of them is more a matter of conjecture than of actual evidence. Towards the year 1170 B.C. the Mushku swooped down on Kummukh, and made themselves its masters; then pursuing their good fortune, they took from the Assyrians the two provinces, Alzi and Purukuzzi, which lay not far from the sources of the Tigris and the Balikh.[2] A little later the Kashku, together with some Aramæans, broke into Shubarti, then subject to Assyria, and took possession of a part of it.[3] The majority of these invasions had, however, no permanent result: they never issued in the establishment of an empire like that of the Khâti, capable by its homogeneity of offering a serious resistance to the march of a conqueror from the south. To sum up the condition of affairs: if a redistribution of races had brought about a change in Northern Syria, their want of cohesion was no less marked than in the time of the Egyptian wars; the first enemy to make an attack upon the frontier of one or other of these tribes was sure

also to other Syrian provinces between the Euphrates and the Afrîn (Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 268–269; Delattre, *L'Asie Occidentale dans les Inscriptions Assyriennes*, pp. 14, 15, et seq.).

[1] With regard to these peoples, see Schrader (*Keilinschriften*, etc., pp. 155–162), Fr. Lenormant (*Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. iii. pp. 181–248), and afterwards the observations of Delattre (*op. cit.*, pp. 64–88, and by the same writer, *Encore un mot sur la Géographie Assyrienne*, pp. 27–30), who has succeeded in fixing their positions on the map better than any of his predecessors.

[2] *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. i. ll. 62–73, ed. Lotz, pp. 16, 17. The king places their invasion fifty years before the beginning of his reign. Ed. Meyer (*Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. i. pp. 318, 319, and *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 312) sees a connexion between this and the invasion of the Peoples of the Sea, which took place under Ramses III. (cf. Winckler, *Geschichte Babyloniens*, etc., pp. 171, 172). I think that the invasion of the Mushku was a purely local affair, and had nothing in common with the general catastrophe occasioned by the movement of the Asiatic armies (see *supra*, p. 461, et seq.). As to the site of Alzi, see Sayce, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van deciphered and translated*, in the *J. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xiv. pp. 388, 389; the Purukuzzi must have occupied the neighbouring region to the west of Diarbekr.

[3] *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. ii. l. 100—col. iii. l. 2.

of victory, and if he persevered in his efforts could make himself master of as much territory as he might choose. The Pharaohs had succeeded in welding together their African possessions, and their part in the drama of conquest had been played long ago; but the cities of the Tigris and the Lower Euphrates —Nineveh and Babylon—were ready to enter the lists as soon as they felt themselves strong enough to revive their ancient traditions of foreign conquest.

The successors of Agumkakrimê were not more fortunate than he had been in attempting to raise Babylon once more to the foremost rank; their want of power, their discord, the insubordination and sedition that existed among their Cossæan troops, and the almost periodic returns of the Theban generals to the banks of the Euphrates, sometimes even to those of the Balikh and the Khabur, all seemed to conspire to aggravate the helpless state into which Babylon had sunk since the close of the dynasty of Uruazagga.[1] Elam was pressing upon her eastern, and Assyria on her northern frontier, and their kings not only harassed her with persistent malignity, but, by virtue of their alliances by marriage with her sovereigns, took advantage of every occasion to interfere both in domestic and state affairs; they would espouse the cause of some pretender during a revolt, they would assume the guardianship of such of their relatives as were left widows or minors, and, when the occasion presented itself, they took possession of the throne of Bel, or bestowed it on one of their creatures. Assyria particularly seemed to regard Babylon with a deadly hatred. The capitals of the two countries were not more than some one hundred and eighty-five miles apart, the intervening district being a flat and monotonous alluvial plain, unbroken by any feature which could serve as a natural frontier. The line of demarcation usually followed one of the many canals in the narrow strip of land between the Euphrates and the Tigris; it then crossed the latter, and was formed by one of the rivers draining the Iranian table-land,—either the Upper Zab, the Radanu, the Turnat, or some of their ramifications in the spurs of the mountain ranges. Each of the two states strove by every means in its power to stretch its boundary to the farthest limits, and to keep it there at all hazards. This narrow area was the scene of continual war, either between the armies of the two states or those of partisans, suspended from time to time by an elaborate treaty which was supposed to settle all difficulties, but, as a matter of fact, satisfied no one, and left both parties discontented with their lot and jealous of each other. The concessions made were never of sufficient importance to enable the conqueror to crush his rival and regain for himself the ancient domain of Khammurabi; his losses, on the other hand, were often considerable enough to paralyse his forces, and prevent him from extending his border in any other direction. When the Egyptians seized on

[1] Cf. pp. 117–120 of the present work.

Naharaim, Assyria and Babylon each adopted at the outset a different attitude towards the conquerors. Assyria, which never laid any permanent claims to the seaboard provinces of the Mediterranean, was not disposed to resent their occupation by Egypt, and desired only to make sure of their support or their neutrality. The sovereign then ruling Assyria, but of whose name we have no record, hastened to congratulate Thûtmosis III. on his victory at Megiddo, and sent him presents of precious vases, slaves, lapis-lazuli, chariots and horses, all of which the Egyptian conqueror regarded as so much tribute.[1] Babylon, on the other hand, did not take action so promptly as Assyria; it was only towards the latter years of Thûtmosis that its king, Karaindash, being hard pressed by the Assyrian Assurbelnishishu, at length decided to make a treaty with the intruder.[2] The remoteness of Egypt from the Babylonian frontier no doubt relieved Karaindash from any apprehension of an actual invasion by the Pharaohs; but there was the possibility of their subsidising some nearer enemy, and also of forbidding Babylonish caravans to enter Egyptian provinces, and thus crippling Chaldæan commerce.[3] Friendly relations, when once established, soon necessitated a constant interchange of embassies and letters between the Nile and the Euphrates. As a matter of fact, the Babylonian king could never reconcile himself to the idea that Syria had passed out of his hands. While pretending to warn the Pharaoh of Syrian plots against him,[4] the Babylonians were employing at the same time secret agents, to go from city to city and stir up discontent at Egyptian rule, praising the while the great Cossæan king and his armies, and inciting to revolt by promises of help never meant to be fulfilled. Assyria, whose very existence would have been endangered by the re-establishment of a Babylonian empire, never missed an opportunity of denouncing these intrigues at head-quarters; they warned the royal messengers and governors of them, and were constantly contrasting the frankness and honesty

[1] Cf. p. 282 of the present work.

[2] We have no direct testimony in support of this hypothesis, but several important considerations give it probability. As no tribute from Babylon is mentioned in the *Annals of Thûtmosis III.*, we must place the beginning of the relations between Egypt and Chaldæa at a later date. On the other hand, Burnaburiash II., in a letter written to Amenôthes III., cites Karaindash as the first of *his fathers*, who had established friendly relations with the *fathers* of the Pharaoh (BEZOLD-BUDGE, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, etc., No. 3, p. 28, ll. 8-10, and p. xxxi.), a fact which obliges us to place the interchange of presents before the time of Amenôthes III.: as the reigns of Amenôthes II. and of Thûtmosis IV. were both short (cf. *supra*, pp. 289-293), it is probable that these relations began in the latter years of Thûtmosis III.

[3] Cf. p. 279, *et seq.*, of the present work. Burnaburiash II. had taken the precaution to warn Amenôthes IV. of what the Assyrians might say of him, and dissuaded him from forming an alliance with them (BEZOLD-BUDGE, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, etc., No. 2, p. 7, ll. 31-35; cf. ZIMMERN, *Briefe aus dem Funde in El-Amarna*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. v. pp. 152, 153; DELATTRE, *Correspondance d'Aménophis III.*, in the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, vol. liv. p. 387).

[4] This was done by Kurigalzu I., according to a letter addressed by his son Burnaburiash to Amenôthes IV. (BEZOLD-BUDGE, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, etc., No. 2, p. 7, ll. 19-30; cf. ZIMMERN, *Briefe aus dem Funde in El-Amarna*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. v. pp. 152, 153, and DELATTRE, *Lettres de Tell el-Amarna*, in *Proceedings of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, 1890-91, vol. xiii. pp. 2, 3).

of their own dealings with the duplicity of their rival.[1] This state of affairs lasted for more than half a century, during which time both courts strove to ingratiate themselves in the favour of the Pharaoh, each intriguing for the exclusion of the other, by exchanging presents with him, by congratulations on his accession, by imploring gifts of wrought or unwrought gold, and by offering him the most beautiful women of their family for his harem. The son of Karaindash, whose name still remains to be discovered, bestowed one of his daughters on the young Amenôthes III.: Kallimasin, the sovereign who succeeded him, also sent successively two princesses to the same Pharaoh.[2] But the underlying bitterness and hatred would break through the veneer of polite formulæ and protestations when the petitioner received, as the result of his advances, objects of inconsiderable value such as a lord might distribute to his vassals, or when he was refused a princess of solar blood, or even an Egyptian bride of some feudal house; at such times, however, an ironical or haughty epistle from Thebes would recall him to a sense of his own inferiority.

As a fact, the lot of the Cossæan sovereigns does not appear to have been a happy one, in spite of the variety and pomposity of the titles which they continued to assume. They enjoyed but short lives, and we know that at least three or four of them—Kallimasin, Burnaburiash I., and Kurigalzu I. ascended the throne in succession during the forty years that Amenôthes III. ruled over Egypt and Syria.[3] Perhaps the rapidity of this succession may have arisen from

[1] Cf. the letter of Assuruballit, King of Assyria, to Pharaoh Amenôthes IV., in Winckler-Abel, *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna*, No. 9, p. 8.

[2] See, for example, the correspondence between Kallimasin and Amenôthes III. (Winckler-Abel, *Der Thontafelfund*, etc., No. 1, pl. 1, and Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, etc., No. 1, pp. 2-4, and pp. xxv.-xxvi.), and the letters of Burnaburiash to Amenôthes IV. (Winckler-Abel, *op. cit.*, No. 2, p. 3, and Bezold-Budge, *op. cit.*, No. 2, pp. 8, 9, and pp. xxxi., xxxiii.).

[3] Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, p. 120. The copy we possess of the Royal Canon of Babylon is mutilated at this point (Pinches, *The Babylonian Kings of the Second Period*, in the *Transactions*, 1883-84, vol. vi. pp. 195, 196, and pl. I. col. ii.; cf. Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, vol. i. pl. 60), and the original documents are not sufficiently complete to fill the gap. About two or three names are missing after that of Agumkakrime (cf. p. 119, note 1, of the present work, for the list of the first seven kings of the Cossæan dynasty), and the reigns must have been very short, if indeed, as I think, Agumkakrime and Karaindash were both contemporaries of the earlier Pharaohs bearing the name of Thûtmosis. The order of the names which have come down to us is not indisputably established: Hilprecht (*The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, vol. i. pp. 37, 38, and *Assyriaca*, vol. i. pp. 43-80) and Winckler (*Altorientalische Forschungen*, pp. 103-133) do not agree on this subject (cf. Tiele, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. x. pp. 105-112). The following order appears to me to be the most probable at present:—

Karaindash	Karakhardash.
	Kadashmankharbe I.
Kallimasin.	Nazibugash.
Burnaburiash I.	Kurigalzu II.
Kurigalzu I.	Nazimaruttash.
Burnaburiash II.	Kadashmanturgu.

This is, with a slight exception, the classification adopted by Winckler (*Altorientalische Forschungen*, p. 135), and that of Hilprecht (*Assyriaca*, vol. i. p. 99) differs from it only in the intercalation of Kudurturgu and Shagarakhtiburiash between Burnaburiash II. and Karakhardash.

some internal revolution or from family disturbances. The Chaldæans of the old stock reluctantly rendered obedience to these Cossæan kings, and, if we may judge from the name, one at least of these ephemeral sovereigns, Kullimasin, appears to have been a Semite, who owed his position among the Cossæan princes to some fortunate chance.[1] A few rare inscriptions stamped on bricks, one or two letters or documents of private interest, and some minor objects from widely distant spots, have enabled us to ascertain the sites upon which these sovereigns erected buildings; Karaindash restored the temple of Nana at Uruk,[2] Burnaburiash and Kurigalzu added to that of Shamash at Larsam,[3] and Kurigalzu took in hand that of Sin at Uru.[4] We also possess a record of some of their acts in the fragments of a document, which a Ninevite scribe of the time of Assurbanipal had compiled, or rather jumbled together,[5] from certain Babylonian chronicles dealing with the wars against Assyria and Elam, with public treaties, marriages, and family quarrels.[6] We learn from this, for example, that Burnaburiash I. renewed with Buzurassur the conventions drawn up between Karaindash and Assurbelnishishu.[7] These friendly relations were maintained, apparently, under Kurigalzu I. and

[1] This is the opinion of Robert W. Rogers, *Outlines of the History of Early Babylonia*, p. 55, and I propose to adopt it for the present. I ought, however, to remark that Kullimasin may have been born of a Cossæan king and a Babylonian concubine, which would explain the form of his name without excluding him from the royal line.

[2] Brick in the British Museum mentioned in Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. 36, No. 3; cf. G. Smith, *Early History of Babylonia*, in the *Transactions* of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. i. p. 68, and Winckler, *Inschriften von Babylonischen Kossäer-Königen*, in Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. pt. 1, pp. 152, 153.

[3] Brick from Senkereh, in Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pl. 4, No. xiii.; cf. G. Smith, *Early History of Babylonia*, in the *Transactions*, vol. i. p. 68, and Winckler, *Inschriften von Babylonischen Kassiten-Königen*, in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. pp. 152, 153. Nabonidus stated that Burnaburiash made this restoration seven hundred years after Khammurabi (Bezold, *Two Inscriptions of Nabonidus*, in the *Proceedings* of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., 1888-89, vol. xi. pp. 93, 94, 98, 99, and Peiser, *Inschriften Nabonid's*, in Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. pt. 2, pp. 88–91).

[4] Brick from Mugheir in the British Museum, see Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pl. 4, No. xiv. 2, 3; cf. Smith, *Early Hist. of Babylonia*, in the *Transactions* of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. i. p. 70, and Winckler, *op. cit.*, in Schrader, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. pt. 1, pp. 155, 156. For the works undertaken by Kurigalzu in Aganê, see the inscription on the cylinder in Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pl. 69, col. ii. ll. 32-36; cf. Peiser, *Inschriften Nabonid's*, in the *Keil. Bibliothek*, vol. iii. pt. 2, pp. 84, 85.

[5] This is what is generally called the "Synchronous History," the principal remains of which were discovered and published by H. Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. ii. pl. 65, No. 1, and vol. iii. pl. 3, No. 3, and subsequently by Sayce, *Synchronous Hist. of Assyria and Babylon*, in the *Transactions* of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. ii. pp. 119–145 (cf. *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. iii. pp. 29-36, and 2nd series, vol. iv. pp. 24-35), and again by Peiser-Winckler, *Die sogenannte Synchronistische Geschichte*, in Schrader, *Keil. Bibliothek*, vol. i. pp. 194-203. It is a very unskilful compilation, in which Winckler has discovered several blunders (*Altorientalische Forschungen*, pp. 114-138; 122, 123).

[6] One of these Babylonian chronicles has been found, and the fragments have been translated by Pinches, *An Early Tablet of the Babylonian Chronicle*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. v. pp. 106-114, and also by Winckler, *Altorient. Forschungen*, pp. 115, 116, 122-124, who has most skilfully filled in several of the lacunæ.

[7] *Synchronous History*, col. i. ll. 5-7.

Assur-nadin-akhi, the son of Buzurassur:[1] if Kurigalzu built or restored the fortress, long called after him Dur-Kurigalzu,[2] at one of the fords of the Narmalka, it was probably as a precautionary measure rather than because of any immediate danger. The relations between the two powers became somewhat strained when Burnaburiash II. and Assuruballit had respectively succeeded to Kurigalzu and Assur-nadin-akhi;[3] this did not, however, lead to hostilities, and the subsequent betrothal of Karakhardash, son of Burnaburiash II., to Muballitatserua, daughter of Assuruballit, tended to restore matters to their former condition. The good will between the two countries became still more pronounced when Kadashmankharbê succeeded his father Karakhardash. The Cossæan soldiery had taken umbrage at his successor and had revolted, assassinated Kadashmankharbê, and proclaimed king in his stead a man of obscure origin named Nazibugash. Assuruballit, without a moment's hesitation, took the side of his new relatives; he crossed the frontier, killed Nazibugash, and restored the throne to his sister's child, Kurigalzu II., the younger.[4] The young king, who was still a minor at his accession, appears to have met with no serious difficulties; at any rate, none were raised by his Assyrian cousins, Belnirâri I. and his successor Budilu.[5] Towards the close of his reign, however, revolts broke out, and it was only by sustained efforts that he was able to restore order in Babylon, Sippara, and the Country of the Sea. While the king was in the midst of these difficulties, the Elamites took advantage of his troubles to steal from him a portion of his territory, and their king, Khurbatila, challenged him to meet his army near Dur-Dungi. Kurigalzu accepted the challenge, gained a decisive victory, took his adversary prisoner, and released him only on receiving as ransom a province beyond the Tigris; he even entered Susa, and, from among other trophies of past wars, resumed possession of an agate tablet belonging to Dungi, which the veteran Kudurnakhunta had stolen from the temple of Nipur nearly a thousand years previously.[6]

[1] Assur-nadin-akhi I. is mentioned in a Tel el-Amarna tablet as being the father of Assuruballit (Winckler-Abel, Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna, No. 9, p. 8, ll. 19–23).

[2] This is the present Akerkuf, as is proved by the discovery of bricks bearing the name of Kurigalzu (Rawlinson, Cun. Ins. W. As., vol. i. pl. 4, xiv., No. 1; cf. Winckler, Inschriften von bab. Kassiten-Königen, in Schrader, Keilinschrift. Bibliothek, vol. iii. pt. 1, pp. 154, 155); but perhaps what I have attributed to Kurigalzu I. must be referred to the second king of that name. For mention of Dur-Kurigalzu, cf. the documents collected by Fr. Delitzsch, Wo lag das Paradies? pp. 207, 208.

[3] We infer this from the way in which Burnaburiash speaks of the Assyrians in the correspondence with Amenôthes IV. (Bezold-Budge, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, No. 2, p. 7, ll. 30–35); cf. pp. 279, et seq., and 596, note 1, of the present volume.

[4] Synchronous History, col. I. ll. 8–17, in which the errors of the Assyrian scribe have been corrected by the Chronicle of Pinches, An Early Tablet of the Babylonian Chronicle, in the Records of the Past, 2nd series, vol. v. pp. 107, 108; cf. Winckler, Altorientalische Forschungen, pp. 115, 116. For the succession of the Babylonian kings of this period, cf. Lehmann, Inschrift Kurigalzu's II., in the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, vol. v. pp. 417–419, and Winckler, Kurigalzu älter, ibid., vol. vi. pp. 134–137.

[5] The Synchronous History erroneously places the events of the reign of Rammânnirâri I. in that of Belnirâri (Winckler, Altorientalische Forschungen, pp. 115, 116). The order of succession of Buzurassur, Assuruballit, Belnirâri, and Budilu, has been established by the bricks of Kalah-Shergat (Fr. Lenormant, Inscriptions cunéiformes inédites, in the Revue Archéologique, 1869, vol. xix. pp. 306–307).

[6] Hilprecht, The Babylonian Expedition, vol. i. p. 31; and p. 37, note 3, of the present volume.

This victory was followed by the congratulations of most of his neighbours, with the exception of Rammân-nirâri II., who had succeeded Budîlu in Assyria, and probably felt some jealousy or uneasiness at the news. He attacked the Cossæans, and overthrew them at Sugagi, on the banks of the Salsallât; their losses were considerable, and Kurigalzu could only obtain peace by the cession to Assyria of a strip of territory the entire length of the north-west frontier, from the confines of the Shubari country, near the sources of the Khabur, to the suburbs of Babylon itself.[1] Nearly the whole of Mesopotamia thus changed hands at one stroke, but Babylon had still more serious losses to suffer. Nazimaruttash, who attempted to wipe out the disaster sustained by his father Kurigalzu, experienced two crushing defeats, one at Kar-Ishtar and the other near Akarsallu,[2] and the treaty which he subsequently signed was even more humiliating for his country than the preceding one. All that part of the Babylonian domain which lay nearest to Nineveh was ceded to the Assyrians, from Pilaski on the right bank of the Tigris to the province of Lulumê in the Zagros mountains.[3] It would appear that the Cossæan tribes who had remained in their native country, took advantage of these troublous times to sever all connection with their fellow-countrymen established in the cities of the plain; for we find them henceforward carrying on a petty warfare for their own profit, and leading an entirely independent life. The descendants of Gandish, deprived of territories in the north, repulsed in the east, and threatened in the south by the nations of the Persian Gulf, never recovered their former ascendency, and their authority slowly declined during the century which followed these events. Their downfall brought about the decadence of the cities over which they had held sway; and the supremacy which Babylon had exercised for a thousand years over the countries of the Euphrates passed into the hands of the Assyrian kings.

Assyria itself was but a poor and insignificant country when compared with her rival. It occupied, on each side of the middle course of the Tigris, the territory lying between the 35th and 37th parallels of latitude.[4] It was bounded

[1] *Synchronous History*, vol. i. ll. 18–23, where the events are attributed to Belnirâri I.; cf. Sayce, *The Synchronous History*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. iv. p. 28, and Peiser-Winckler, *Die sogenannte synchronistische Geschichte*, in Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. i. pp. 196, 197. For the Shubari or Shubarti, and the territory ceded by the Babylonians, cf. Hommel, *Gesch. Bab. und Assyriens*, pp. 463, 500; Jensen, *Vorstudien zur Entzifferung des Mitanni*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. vi. p. 59. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, pp. 133–135, and *Geschichte Bab. und Ass.* pp. 173, 331, distinguishes between Shubari and the Shubarti, which appears to be a province near Melitene, along the Tokhma-su.

[2] The names of Nazimaruttash and of his successors, Kadashmankharbe, Bibeiashu, and Kadashmanburiash, were read by Hilprecht, *Die Votiv-Inschrift eines nicht erkannten Kassitenkönigs*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. vii. pp. 208–214; cf. *Assyriaca*, vol. i. pp. 83–89.

[3] *Synchronous History*, vol. i. ll. 21–31; cf. Sayce, *The Synchronous History*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. iv. pp. 28, 29, and Peiser-Winckler, *Die sogenannte synchronistische Geschichte*, in Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. i. pp. 196, 197. For the frontier-line, cf. Hommel, *Gesch. Babyloniens*, pp. 436, 437, and Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, p. 153.

[4] These are approximately the limits of the first Assyrian empire, as given by the monuments

on the east by the hills and mountain ranges running parallel to the Zagros Chain—Gebel Guâr, Gebel Gara, Zergnizavân-dagh, and Baravân-dagh, with their rounded monotonous limestone ridges, scored by watercourses and destitute of any kind of trees. On the north it was hemmed in by the spurs of the Masios, and bounded on the east by an undefined line running from Mount Masius to the slopes of Singar, and from these again to the Chaldæan plain; to the south the frontier followed the configuration of the table-land and the curve of the low cliffs, which in prehistoric times had marked the limits of the Persian Gulf; from here the boundary was formed on the left side of the Tigris by one of its tributaries, either the Lower Zab or the Radanu. The territory thus enclosed formed a compact and healthy district; it was free from extremes of temperature arising from height or latitude, and the relative character and fertility of its soil depended on the absence or presence of rivers. The eastern part of Assyria was well watered by the streams and torrents which drained the Iranian plateau and the lower mountain chains which run parallel to it. The beds of these rivers are channelled so deeply in the alluvial soil, that it is necessary to stand on the very edge of their banks to catch a sight of their silent and rapid waters; and it is only in the spring or early summer, when they are swollen by the rains and melting snow, that they spread over the adjacent country. As soon as the inundation is over, a vegetation of the intensest green springs up, and in a few days the fields and meadows are covered with a luxuriant and fragrant carpet of verdure. This brilliant growth is, however, short-lived, for the heat of the sun dries it up as quickly as it appears, and even the corn itself is in danger of being burnt up before reaching maturity. To obviate such a disaster, the Assyrians had constructed a network of canals and ditches, traces of which are in many places still visible, while a host of *shadufs* placed along their banks facilitated irrigation in the dry seasons.[2] The provinces supplied with water in this manner enjoyed a fertility which passed into a proverb, and was well known among the

(G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies*, 2nd edit., vol. i. p. 180; Hommel, *Gesch. Bab. und Assyriens*, pp. 426, 427, 479; Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 252); from the Persian epoch onwards, the name was applied to the whole course of the Tigris as far as the mountain district (Herodotus, I. 106, 192, iii. 92, cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii. 26; Strabo, XVI. i. § 1, p. 725, who applies the name Aturia especially to Nineveh). The ancient orthography of the name is Aushar (H. Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. ii. pl. 48, 2 a, d, and vol. iii. pl. 2, No. 5, vol. iv. pls. 19, 32 l), which we shall meet with later on (p. [illegible] of the present work) as applied to both the god and the town.

[2] For the irrigation by means of shadufs, cf. *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 751; the illustration on that page is taken from an Assyrian monument. The course of an Assyrian canal and the works undertaken to keep it up are described by F. Jones, *Topography of Nineveh*, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xv. pp. 310, 311; the inscriptions mention the opening of new and the cleaning out of old canals (*Annals of Assur-nazir-pal*, col. iii. l. 135, and *Building Inscriptions*, col. ii. ll. 20-24).

ancients;[1] they yielded crops of cereals which rivalled those of Babylonia, and included among their produce wheat, barley, millet, and sesame. But few olive trees were cultivated, and the dates were of inferior quality; indeed, in the



Greek period, these fruits were only used for fattening pigs and domestic animals.[2] The orchards contained the pistachio, the apple, the pomegranate, the apricot, the vine, the almond, and the fig, and, in addition to the essences common to both Syria and Egypt, the country produced cedrats of a delicious scent which were supposed to be an antidote to all kinds of poisons.[3] Assyria was not well wooded, except in the higher valleys, where willows and poplars bordered the rivers, and sycamores, beeches, limes, and plane trees abounded, besides several varieties of pines and oaks, including a dwarf species of the latter, from whose branches manna was obtained.[4] This is a saccharine substance,

[1] HEROD., I. 193; DIONYS. PERIEGETES, ll. 982–1000, and the commentary of Eustathius on this passage in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Geographi Græci minores*, vol. ii. pp. 177, 188, and pp. 388, 389; STRABO, XVI. i. § 14, p. 742.

[2] PLINY, *Nat. Hist.*, xiii. 4.

[3] PLINY, *Nat. Hist.*, xii. 3. For the history of this species, which was known in Egypt in the time of Thûtmosis III., cf. V. LORET, *Le Cédratier dans l'Antiquité*, in the *Annales de la Société Botanique de Lyon*, 1891, vol. xvii.

[4] For manna and the various ways of preparing it, cf. OLIVIER, *Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman*,

which is deposited in small lumps, and is found in greater abundance during wet years and especially on foggy days. When fresh, it has an agreeable taste and is pleasant to eat; but as it will not keep in its natural state, the women prepare it for exportation by dissolving it in boiling water, and evaporating it to a sweetish paste, which has more or less purgative qualities. The aspect of the country changes after crossing the Tigris westward. The slopes of Mount Masios are everywhere furrowed with streams, which feed the Khabur and its principal affluent, the Kharmis;[1] woods become more frequent, and the valleys green and shady. The plains extending southwards, however, contain, like those of the Euphrates, beds of gypsum in the sub-soil, which render the water running through them brackish, and prevent the growth of vegetation. The effects of volcanic action are evident on the surface of these great steppes; blocks of basalt pierce through the soil, and near the embouchure of the Kharmis, a cone, composed of a mass of lava, cinders, and scoriæ, known as the Tell-Kôkab, rises abruptly to a height of 325 feet. The mountain chain of Singar, which here reaches its western termination, is composed of a long ridge of soft white limestone, and seems to have been suddenly thrown up in one of the last geological upheavals which affected this part of the country: in some places it resembles a perpendicular wall, while in others it recedes in natural terraces which present the appearance of a gigantic flight of steps. The summit is often wooded, and the spurs covered with vineyards and fields, which flourish vigorously in the vicinity of streams; when these fail, however, the table-land resumes its desolate aspect, and stretches in bare and sandy undulations to the horizon, broken only where it is crossed by the Thartar, the sole river in this region which is not liable to be dried up, and whose banks may be traced by the scanty line of vegetation which it nourishes.[2]

In a country thus unequally favoured by nature, the towns are necessarily distributed in a seemingly arbitrary fashion. Most of them are situated on the left bank of the Tigris, where the fertile nature of the soil enables it to support a dense population. They were all flourishing centres of population, and were in close proximity to each other, at all events during the centuries of Assyrian hegemony.[3] Three of them soon eclipsed their rivals in political and religious

vol. ii. pp. 359, 360; CHESNEY, *The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, vol. i. pp. 123, 124.

[1] The Kharmis is the Mygdonios of Greek geographers, the Hirmâs of the Arabs; the latter name may be derived from Kharmis (G. RAWLINSON, *The Five Great Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. 87, note 2; SCHRADER, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, pp. 141, note 2, 232; HOMMEL, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 577, note 2), or it may be that it merely presents a fortuitous resemblance to it (NÖLDEKE, in the *Zeitschrift der Deut. Morgenl. Ges.*, vol. xxxiii. p. 328).

[2] For the countries to the west of the Tigris, cf. LAYARD, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 199, et seq., where the author describes his journey to the Khabur and his return to Kouyunjik.

[3] We find, for example, in the inscription of Bavian (H. RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iii. pl. 14), a long enumeration of towns and villages situated almost within the suburbs of Nineveh, on the banks of the Khosr (POGNON, *L'Inscription de Bavian*, pp. 8, 9, 116–119).

importance; these were Kalakh and Ninâ on the Tigris, and Arbailu, lying beyond the Upper Zab, in the broken plain which is a continuation eastwards of the first spurs of the Zagros.[1] On the right bank, however, we find merely some dozen cities and towns, scattered about in places where there was a supply of water sufficient to enable the inhabitants to cultivate the soil; as, for example, Assur on the banks of the Tigris itself, Singara near the sources of the Thartar, and Nazibina near those of the Kharmis, at the foot of the Masios.[3] These cities were not all under the rule of one sovereign when Thûtmosis III. appeared in Syria, for the Egyptian monuments mention, besides the kingdom of Assyria, that of Singara[4] and Araphka in the upper basin of the Zab.[5] Assyria, however, had already asserted her supremacy over this corner of Asia, and the remaining princes, even if they were not mere vicegerents depending on her king, were not strong enough in wealth and extent of territory to hold their own against her, since she was undisputed mistress of Assur, Arbeles, Kalakh, and Nineveh, the most important cities of the plain. Assur covered a considerable area, and the rectangular outline formed by the remains of its walls is still discernible on the surface of the soil. Within the circuit of the city rose a mound, which the ancient builders had transformed, by the addition of masses of brickwork, into a nearly square platform, surmounted by the usual palace, temple, and ziggurat; it was enclosed within a wall of squared stone, the battlements of which remain to the present day.[6]



THE VOLCANIC CONE OF KÔKAB.[2]

[1] The name of Arbeles is written in a form which appears to signify "the town of the four gods" (*Arba-ilu*): cf. the analogous orthography of *Arab-kha*, "the town of the four fish," which the Assyrians use for the name of the country of Arrapakhitis (Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 124, 125, 256).

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from the cut in Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 271.

[3] For Singara and its ruins, cf. Layard, *op. cit.*, pp. 311, 312; for Nazibina (Nisibis) and its ruins, cf. G. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, pp. 30, 102, 119.

[4] This kingdom of Singara is mentioned in the Egyptian lists of Thûtmosis III. (W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, etc., p. 279). Schrader was doubtful as to its existence (*Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, pp. 173–175, note), but one of its kings is mentioned in a letter from the King of Alasia to Amenôthes IV. (Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 5, p. 13, l. 49, and p. xxxv. note 2); according to Niebuhr (*Studien und Bemerkungen*, etc., p. 91, et seq.), the state of which Singara was the capital must have been identical, at all events at one period, with the Mitanni of the Egyptian texts (cf. what is said of Mitanni on p. 146, note 2, of the present volume).

[5] The Araphka of the Egyptian monuments has been identified with the Arrapakhitis of the Greeks by Brugsch (*Geog. Inschriften*, vol. ii. pp. 22, 56).

[6] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i. p. 2, and vol. ii. pp. 48–64. Ainsworth (*Journal of the Geographical Society*, vol. xi. p. 5) states the circumference of the principal mound of Kalah-Shergat to be 4685 yards, which would make it one of the most extensive ruins in the whole country.

The whole pile was known as the "Ekharsagkurkurra," or the "House of the terrestrial mountain,"[1] the sanctuary in whose decoration all the ancient sovereigns had vied with one another, including Samsirammân I. and Irishum, who were merely vicegerents dependent upon Babylon.[2] It was dedicated to Anshar, that duplicate of Anu who had led the armies of heaven in the struggle with Tiâmat; the name Anshar, softened into Asshur, and subsequently into Ashshur, was first applied to the town and then to the whole country.[3] The god himself was a deity of light, usually represented under the form of an armed man, wearing the tiara and having the lower half of his body concealed by a feathered disk. He was supposed to hover continually over the world, hurling fiery darts at the enemies of his people, and protecting his kingly worshippers under the shadow of his wings.[4] Their wars were his wars, and he was with them in the thick of the attack, placing himself in the front rank with the soldiery,[5] so that when he gained the victory, the bulk of the spoil—precious metals, gleanings of the battle-field, slaves and productive lands—fell to his share. The gods of the vanquished enemy, moreover, were, like their princes, forced to render him homage. In the person of the king he took their statues prisoners, and shut them up in his sanctuary; sometimes he would engrave his name upon their figures and send them back to their respective temples, where the sight of them

[1] For the "terrestrial mountain," cf. what is said in *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 543, 544. The name of this temple is met with for the first time in the Inscription of Rammân-nirâri I., discovered by G. Smith (H. Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. 45, verso, l. 28).

[2] Bricks in the British Museum found at Kalah-Shergat, bearing the names of Samsirammân (H. Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pl. 6, Nos. 1, 2) and of Irishum (H. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, vol. i. pl. 6, No. 2); cf. Schrader, *Altere Assyrische Inschriften*, in the *Keil. Bibliothek*, vol. i. pp. 2, 3).

[3] Another name of the town in later times was Palbiki, "the town of the old empire," "the ancient capital," or Shauru (Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 254, 255). Many Assyriologists believe that the name Ashur, anciently written Aushar, signified "the plain at the edge of the water," *a + ushar*; and that it must have been applied to the town before being applied to the country and the god (Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 252–254; Hommel, *Gesch. Bab. und Assyriens*, pp. 380, 470). Others, on the contrary, think, with more reason, that it was the god who gave his name to the town and the country (Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 2nd edit., pp. 35–37); they make a point of the very ancient play of words, which in Assyria itself attributed the meaning "good god" to the word *Ashur* (Oppert, *Grande Inscription du Palais de Khorsabad*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1863, vol. xi. p. 237). Jensen was the first to state that Ashur was the god Anshar of the account of the creation (*Ueber einige Sumero-Akkadische und Bab.-Assyrische Götternamen*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. i. pp. 1–7, and *Die Kosmologie*, p. 275). Against this opinion, cf. Schrader, *Bemerkungen zu P. Jensen*, etc., in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. i. pp. 209–217. Schrader had, however, traced the same connection in *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 2nd edit., p. 35. Jensen's opinion has been adopted by Hommel (*Gesch. Bab. und Assyriens*, p. 492, note 2), by Sayce (*The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 125, 126), and by Tiele (*Gesch. der Religion im Alterthum*, vol. i. p. 186).

[4] See the picture of Assur, drawn by Faucher-Gudin at the head of the present chapter, p. 567; cf. Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, vol. i. pl. 21. I have used, in describing the god, the very words of the inscriptions, *pulkhu adiru melam Ashur*, "the fear inspired by the splendour of Ashur" (*Inscription of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. ii. l. 38), *namrirê Ashur*, "the fearful brightness of Assur" (*Annals of Assurbanipal*, *Rassam Cylinder*, col. i. l. 48).

[5] In one of the pictures, for instance, representing the assault of a town, we see a small figure of the god, hurling darts against the enemy (Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, vol. i. pl. 19). The inscriptions also state that the peoples "are alarmed and quit their cities *before the arms of Assur, the powerful one*" (*Annals of Samsirammân*, col. iii. ll. 29–30).

would remind their worshippers of his own omnipotence.[1] The goddess associated with him as his wife had given her name, Ninâ, to Nineveh,[2] and was, as the companion of the Chaldæan Bel, styled the divine lady Belit; she was, in fact, a chaste and warlike Ishtar, who led the armies into battle with a boldness characteristic of her father.[3] These two divinities formed an abstract and solitary pair, around whom neither story nor myth appears to have gathered, and who never became the centre of any complex belief. Assur seems to have



ISHTAR AS A WARRIOR BRINGING PRISONERS TO A CONQUERING KING.*

had no parentage assigned to him, no statue erected to him, and he was

[1] As, for instance, the statues of the gods taken from the Arabs in the time of Esarhaddon (*Cylinders A and C*, col. iii. ll. 7-12). Tiglath-pileser I. had carried away twenty-five statues of gods taken from the peoples of Kurkhi and Kummukh, and had placed them in the temples of Beltis, Ishtar, Anu, and Ramman (*Annals*, col. iv. ll. 32-39); he mentions other foreign divinities who had been similarly treated, in the *Annals*, col. ii. l. 31, col. iii. l. 106, col. iv. l. 23, col. vi. ll. 8-10.

[2] The ideogram of the name of the goddess Ninâ serves to write the name of the town Nineveh (Oppert, *Sur quelques-unes des Inscriptions cunéiformes découvertes en Chaldée*, in the *Actes du Congrès de Leyden*, vol. ii. p. 628). The name itself has been interpreted by Schrader as "station, habitation" (*Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 2nd edit., p. 102), in the Semitic languages, and by Fr. Delitzsch "repose of the god" (cf. Hommel, *Die Semitischen Völker und Sprachen*, vol. i. pp. 382, 402, 485, and *Gesch. Bab. und Assyriens*, p. 280), an interpretation which Delitzsch himself repudiated later on (*Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 260). It is probable that the town, which, like Assur, was a Chaldæan colony, derived its name from the goddess to whom it was dedicated, and whose temple existed there as early as the time of the vicegerent Samsiramman (G. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, pp. 247-249).

[3] Belit is called by Tiglath-pileser I. "the great spouse, beloved of Assur" (*Annals*, col. iv. ll. 34, 35; cf. K. 100, l. 5, in Sayce, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 128, note), but Belit, "the lady," is here merely an epithet used for Ishtar (Delitzsch-Mürdter, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, 2nd edit., pp. 108, 109). For the Chaldæan Ishtar, see *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 658, 670, 672, 693, et seq.; the Assyrian Ishtar, Ishtar of Assur (*Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. iv. l. 36, col. vi. ll. 86, 87), Ishtar of Nineveh (*Annals of Assurnazirpal*, col. iii. ll. 21, 22), or rather—especially from the time of the Sargonidæ—Ishtar of Arbela, is almost always a fierce and warlike Ishtar, the "lady of combat, who directs battles" (*Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. i. ll. 13, 14), "whose heart incites her to the combat and the struggle" (*Annals of Assurbanipal*, *Cylinder B*, col. v. ll. 32-76). Sayce thinks that the union of Ishtar and Assur is of a more recent date (*The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 123, 126, 127, 271, et seq.).

* Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from squeezes brought back by M. de Morgan; cf. J. de Morgan,

not associated with the crowd of other divinities; on the contrary, he was called their lord, their "peerless king," and, as a proof of his supreme sovereignty over them, his name was inscribed at the head of their lists, before those of the triads constituted by the Chaldæan priests—even before those of Anu, Bel, and Ea.[1] The city of Assur, which had been the first to tender him allegiance for many years, took precedence of all the rest, in spite of the drawbacks with which it had to contend. Placed at the very edge of the Mesopotamian desert, it was exposed to the dry and burning winds which swept over the plains, so that by the end of the spring the heat rendered it almost intolerable as a residence. The Tigris, moreover, ran behind it, thus leaving it exposed to the attacks of the Babylonian armies, unprotected as it was by any natural fossa or rampart. The nature of the frontier was such as to afford it no safeguard; indeed, it had, on the contrary, to protect its frontier. Nineveh, on the other hand, was entrenched behind the Tigris and the Zab, and was thus secure from any sudden attack. Northerly and easterly winds prevailed during the summer, and the coolness of the night rendered the heat during the day more bearable. It became the custom for the kings and vicegerents to pass the most trying months of the year at Nineveh, taking up their abode close to the temple of Ninâ, the Assyrian Ishtar, but they did not venture to make it their habitual residence, and consequently Assur remained the official capital and chief sanctuary of the empire. Here its rulers concentrated their treasures, their archives, their administrative offices, and the chief staff of the army; from this town they set out on their expeditions against the Cossæans of Babylon or the mountaineers of the districts beyond the Tigris, and it was in this temple that they dedicated to the god the tenth of the spoil on their return from a successful campaign.[2]

The struggle with Chaldæa, indeed, occupied the greater part of their energies, though it did not absorb all their resources, and often left them times of respite, of which they availed themselves to extend their domain to the north and east. We cannot yet tell which of the Assyrian sovereigns added the nearest provinces of the Upper Tigris to his realm; but when the names of these districts appear in history, they are already in a state of submission and vassalage, and their principal towns are governed by Assyrian officers in the same manner as those of Singara and Nisibis.

Mission scientifique en Perse, vol. ii. p. 109. It is a monument of Anubanini, King of Lulumê, mentioned on p. 596 of the present volume.

[1] For the kingly character of the god Assur, cf. Sayce, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 122–129, where he is compared with the Iahveh of the Israelites; Delitzsch-Mürdter, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, 2nd edit., pp. 106–108, and Tiele, *Gesch. der Religion im Alterthum*, vol. i. pp. 185–188.

[2] We owe nearly all our information with regard to the local history of Nineveh during this ancient period to G. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, pp. 242–252. The majority of scholars now admit that the town of Ninâ, mentioned by Gudea and the vicegerents of Tello, was a quarter of, or neighbouring borough of, Lagash (cf. *Dawn of Civilization*, p. [illegible], note 5), and had nothing in common with Nineveh, in spite of Hommel's assumption to the contrary (*Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, pp. 240, 327, 328, 489, 490, where the name of the goddess is read Ghanna, and that of the town Ghanna-ki).



A VILLAGE IN THE MOUNTAIN DISTRICTS OF THE OLD ASSYRIAN KINGDOM.[1]

Assurballit, the conqueror of the Cossæans, had succeeded in establishing his authority over the turbulent hordes of Shubari which occupied the neighbourhood of the Masios, between the Khabur and the Balikh, and extended perhaps as far as the Euphrates; at any rate, he was considered by posterity as the actual founder of the Assyrian empire in these districts.[2] Belnirâri had directed his efforts in another direction, and had conquered the petty kingdoms established on the slopes of the Iranian table-land, around the sources of the two Zabs, and those of the Radanu and the Turnât.[3] Like Susiana, this part of the country was divided up into parallel valleys, separated from each other by broken ridges of limestone, and watered by the tributaries of the Tigris or their affluents. It was thickly strewn with walled towns and villages; the latter, perched upon the precipitous mountain summits, and surrounded by deep ravines, owed their security solely to their position,

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a drawing by Père Dumond, lent by Père Scheil.

[2] It is called, in an inscription of his great-grandson, Rammân-nirâri I., the powerful king "who reduced to servitude the forces of the vast country of Shubari, and who enlarged the territory and limits" of Assur (II. RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. 44, recto, ll. 32-34; SCHEIL, *Inscription de Rammânnirâri I.*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xv. p. 139, ll. 23, 24; and J. JASTROW, *The two Copies of Rammânnirâri's Inscription*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. x. pp. 35-48; cf. POGNON, *Inscription de Mérou-nérar I., King of Assyria*, pp. 12, 19, 78, 79; PEISER, *Die Steinplatteninschrift Rammân-nirâri's I.*, in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. i. pp. 6, 7; OPPERT, *Adadnirar roi d'Ellassar*, Extrait des *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1893, pp. 9, 15). For the country of Shubari, Shubartu, see p. 290, note 3, of the present work.

[3] The inscription of Rammân-nirâri I. styles him the prince "who crushes the army of the Cossæans, he whose hand conquers the enemy, and who enlarges the territory and its limits" (*Ibid.*, ll. 24-27). The Cossæans mentioned in this passage are usually taken to be the Cossæan kings of Babylon (HOMMEL, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, pp. 492, 500), and not the mountain tribes.

and, indeed, needed no fortification. The country abounded in woods and pastures, interspersed with cornlands; access to it was gained by one or two passes on the eastern side, which thus permitted caravans or armies to reach the districts lying between the Erythræan and Caspian Seas. The tribes who inhabited it had been brought early under Chaldæan civilization, and had adopted the cuneiform script; such of their monuments as are still extant resemble the bas-reliefs and inscriptions of Assyria.[1] It is not always easy to determine the precise locality occupied by these various peoples; the Guti were situated near the upper courses of the Turnât and the Radanu, in the vicinity of the Kashshu;[2] the *Lulumê* had settled in the neighbourhood of the Batir, to the north of the defiles of Zohab;[3] the Namar separated the Lulumê from Elam, and were situated half in the plain and half in the mountain,[4] while the Arapkha occupied both banks of the Great Zab. Bulîlu carried his arms against these tribes, and obtained successes over the Turuki and the Nigimkhi, the princes of the Guti and the Shuti, as well as over the Akhlamî and the Iauri.[5] The chiefs of the Lulumê had long resisted the attacks of their neighbours, and one of them, Anubanini, had engraved on the rocks overhanging the road not far from the village of Seripul, a bas-relief celebrating his own victories. He figures on it in full armour, wearing a turban on his head, and treading underfoot a fallen foe, while Ishtar of Arbela leads

[1] Pinches has published an inscription of a king of Khani, named Tukultimir, son of Ilushaba, written in Chaldæo-Assyrian, and found in the temple of Shamash at Sippara, where the personage himself had dedicated it (*Babylonian Art illustrated by M. A. Rassam's latest discoveries*, in the *Transactions of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch.*, vol. viii. pp. 351-353). Winckler gives another inscription of a king of the Guti (*Eine neu veröffentlichte Inschrift eines unbekannten Königs*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. iv. p. 406), which is also in Semitic and in cuneiform character.

[2] The name is written sometimes Quti, at others Guti, which induced Pognon to believe that they were two different peoples (*Inscription de Mérou-nérar I.*, p. 78, note 1): the territory occupied by this nation must have been originally to the east of the Lower Zab, in the upper basins of the Adhem and the Diyaleh (Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 233, 234). Oppert proposes to recognise in these Guti "the ancestors of the Goths, who, fifteen hundred years ago, pushed forward to the Russia of the present day: we find" (he adds), "in this passage and in others, some of which go back to the third millennium before the Christian era, the earliest mention of the Germanic races" (*Adad-nirar, King of Ellasar*, p. 18).

[3] The people of Lulumê-Lullubi have been pointed out as living to the east of the Lower Zab by Schrader (*Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, pp. 270, 271); their exact position, together with that of Mount Padir-Batir in whose neighbourhood they were, has been determined by Père Scheil (*Les deux stèles de Zohâb*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiii. pp. 104, 105).

[4] For the locality of Namar, see the observations of Boscawen, *The Horses of Namar*, in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. vi. pp. 138, 140.

[5] *Inscription of Ramman-nirari I.*, recto, ll. 14-22. For the Guti, see *supra*, note 2 of this page; the Shutu or Shuti, who are always found in connection with the Guti, appear to have been the inhabitants of the lower mountain slopes which separate the basin of the Tigris with the regions of Elam, to the south of Turnat (Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 234, 235). The Akhlamê were neighbours of the Shuti and the Guti; they were settled partly in the Mesopotamian plain and partly in the neighbourhood of Turnat (Hommel, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, p. 433). The territory of the Iauri is not known; the Turuki and the Nigimkhi, the latter of whom are called Nishikhi by Oppert, *Adad-nirar, roi d'Ellasar*, pp. 9, 13, and Nigimti by Winckler, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, p. 158, were probably situated somewhere to the east of the Great Zab. In the same way that Oppert connects the Goths with the Guti, so Hommel sees in the Turuki the Turks of a very early date (*Gesch. Bab. und Assyriens*, p. 501).

towards him a long file of naked captives, bound ready for sacrifice.[1] The resistance of the Lulumê was, however, finally overcome by Rammân-nirâri, the son of Budilû; he strengthened the suzerainty gained by his predecessor over the Guti, the Cossæans, and the Shubarti, and he employed the spoil taken from them in beautifying the temple of Assur.[2] He had occasion to spend some time in the regions of the Upper Tigris, warring against the Shubari, and a fine bronze sabre belonging to him has been found near Diarbekir, among the ruins of the ancient Amidi, where, no doubt, he had left it as an offering in one of the temples.[3]

He was succeeded by Shalmânuâsharid,[4] better known to us as Shalmaneser I., one of the most powerful sovereigns of this heroic age of Assyrian history. His reign seems to have been one continuous war against the various races then in a state of ferment on the frontiers of his kingdom. He appears in the main to have met with success, and in a few years had doubled the extent of his dominions.[5] His most formidable attacks were directed against the Aramæans of Mount Masios, whose numerous tribes had advanced on one side till they had crossed the Tigris, while on the other they had pushed beyond the river Balikh, and

[1] Morgan-Scheil, *Les deux Stèles de Zohab*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiii. pp. 100–107; cf. Heuzey, *Sculpture rupestre de Cheikh-Khan relevée par le Capitaine Léon Berger*, in the *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale*, vol. ii. pp. 112–120.

[2] *Inscription of Rammân-nirâri I.*, recto, ll. 3–5; cf. Pognon, *Inscription de Mérou-nérar I.*, pp. 8, 10; Peiser, *Die Steinplatteninschrift Rammân-nirâri's I.*, in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. i. pp. 4, 5; Oppert, *Adad-nirar*, etc., pp. 9, 12, 18. The document which has preserved the record of these facts mentions the restoration of two of the gates of the temple of Assur (recto, ll. 23, 28, verso, ll. 1–8).

[3] Boscawen, *Notes on an Ancient Assyrian Bronze Sword bearing a Cuneiform Inscription*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iv. pp. 347, 348.

[4] Shalmânu-asharid, or Shulmânu-ashshariid, signifies "the god Shulmânu (Shalmân) is prince," as Pinches was the first to point out (*The Babylonian Kings of the Second Period*, in the *Proceedings of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, 1883–84, vol. vi. p. 198); cf. Schrader, *Der Assyrische Königsname Salmanassar*, in the *Zeitschrift für Keilforschung*, vol. ii. pp. 197–204).

[5] Some of the details of these campaigns have been preserved on the much-mutilated obelisk of Assur-nazir-pal, published in H. Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pl. 28, and vol. iii. pl. 4, No. 1. This was a compilation taken from the Annals of Assyria to celebrate the important acts of the king's ancestors. The events recorded in the third column (Pinches, *Guide to the Kouyunjik Gallery*, p. 122) were at first attributed to the reign of Tiglath-pileser I. (G. Smith, *On Fragments of an Inscription giving part of the Chronology*, etc., in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iii. pp. 366, 367); Fr. Delitzsch was the first to recognise that they could be referred to the reign of this Shalmaneser (*Die Sprache der Kossäer*, p. 19, note 2), and his opinion is now admitted by most of the Assyriologists who have studied the question (Hommel, *Gesch. Bab. und Assyriens*, pp. 437, 438, 502–504; Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, pp. 110, 127, 128, 137; Hilprecht, *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, vol. i. pp. 32, 33).

[6] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the sketch published in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iv., plate facing p. 347.

THE SABRE OF RAMMÂN-NIRÂRI I.[6]

had probably reached the Euphrates.[1] He captured their towns one after another, razed their fortresses, smote the agricultural districts with fire and sword, and then turned upon the various peoples who had espoused their cause—the Kirkhu, the Kuri, the Kharrân,[2] and the Muzri, who inhabited the territory between the basins of the two great rivers;[3] once, indeed, he even crossed the Euphrates and ventured within the country of Khanigalbat, a feat which his ancestors had never even attempted.[4] He was recalled by a revolt which had broken out in the scattered cities of the district of Dur-Kurigalzu; he crushed the rising in spite of the help which Kadash-manburiash, King of Babylon, had given to the rebels,[5] and was soon successful in subduing the princes of Lulumê.[6] These were not the raids of a day's duration undertaken, without any regard to the future, merely from love of rapine or adventure. Shalmaneser desired to bring the regions which he annexed permanently under the authority of Assyria, and to this end he established military colonies in suitable places, most of which were kept up long after his death.[7] He seems to have directed the internal affairs of his kingdom with the same

[1] The identity of the Aramû (written also Arumu, Arumi, Arimi) with the Aramæans, admitted by the earlier Assyriologists, Rawlinson, Oppert, Hincks, Talbot (cf., lately, Norris, *Assyrian Dict.*, vol. i. p. 52, and Finzi, *Ricerche per lo Studio dell' Antichità Assira*, pp. 206–212), is still universally accepted (Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 257, 258; Hommel, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, p. 507; Winckler, *Gesch. Israels*, vol. i. p. 136).

[2] The people of the country of Kirkhi, or Kirkhi, the Kurkhi, occupied the region between the Tigris at Diarbekir and the mountains overlooking the lake of Urumiah (Schrader, *Keilinschriften*, etc., pp. 145–147; Hommel, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, p. 537). The position of the Kuri is not known, but it is certain that on one side they joined the Aramæans, and that they were in the neighbourhood of Tukhan (*Annals of Assurnazirpal*, col. ii. ll. 2–8). Kharrân is the Harrân of the Balikh, mentioned on pp. 26, 27 of the present work.

[3] The name of Muzri frequently occurs, and in various positions, among the countries mentioned by the Assyrian conquerors (Oppert, *Histoire des Empires de Chaldée et d'Assyrie*, pp. 33, 103; Fr. Lenormant, *Sur une prétendue mention de l'Égypte dans un texte assyrien*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1870, pp. 21–24, 71, 72; Schrader, *Das Bahrische Kanal und das östliche Land Muzri der Keilinschriften*, in the *Zeits. der Deut. Morgenl. Ges.*, vol. xxiv. p. 438, et seq., and *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, pp. 246–282). The frequency of its occurrence is easily explained if, according to Hommel (*Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, p. 538, note 2), we are to regard it as a purely Assyrian term used to designate the military confines or marches of the kingdom at different epochs of its history. The Muzri here in question is the borderland situated in the vicinity of Cilicia (Tiele, *Bab.-Assyrische Gesch.*, p. 201), probably the Sophene and the Gumathene of classical geographers: Winckler appears to me to exaggerate their importance when he says they were spread over the whole of Northern Syria as early as the time of Shalmaneser I. (*Altorientalische Untersuchungen*, p. 172).

[4] Khanigalbat is the name of the province in which Milid was placed (Schrader, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, pp. 151, et seq., 325, 221); for the connection which has been attempted between this name, transcribed Khani-rabbat and translated "Khani the Great," and that of the Khati, cf. what I have already stated, *supra*, p. 352.

[5] In interpreting this passage I have followed the translation of G. Smith (*On Fragments of an Inscription giving part of the Chronology*, etc., in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iii. pp. 363, 367), who appears to have read the text when in a less mutilated state than it is now (cf. Hommel, *Gesch. Bab. und Assyriens*, p. 437, note 2).

[6] This campaign against the people of Lulumê is known to us through the fragmentary inscription discovered by G. Smith at Kaleh-Shergat (*Assyrian Discoveries*, pp. 248, 249; cf. Hommel, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, pp. 504–507).

[7] More than five centuries after the time of Shalmaneser I., Assurnazirpal makes mention in his *Annals* (col. i. ll. 102, 103, col. ii. l. 7, 8) of one of these colonies, established in the country of Diarbekir at Khalzilukha (or Khalukhipkha?), near to the town of Damdamusa, not far from the sources of the Subbeneh-su (Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften am Eingange der Quellgrotte des Sebeneh-Su*, pp. 20–24).

firmness and energy which he displayed in his military expeditions. It was no light matter for the sovereign to decide on a change in the seat of government; he ran the risk of offending, not merely his subjects, but the god who presided over the destinies of the State, and neither his throne nor his life would have been safe had he failed in his attempt. Shalmaneser, however, did not hesitate to make the change, once he was fully convinced of the drawbacks presented by Assur as a capital. True, he beautified the city, restored its temples, and permitted it to retain all its privileges and titles; but having done so, he migrated with his court to the town of Kalakh, where his descendants continued to reside for several centuries. His son Tukulti-ninip made himself master of Babylon, and was the first of his race who was able to claim the title of King of Sumir and Akkad. The Cossæans were still suffering from their defeat at the hands of Rammân-nirâri. Four of their princes had followed Nazimaruttash on the throne in rapid succession—Kadashmanturgu, Kadashmanburiash, who was attacked by Shalmaneser, a certain Isammeti whose name has been mutilated, and lastly, Shagaraktiburiash: Bibeiashu, son of this latter, was in power at the moment when Tukulti-ninip ascended the throne. War broke out between the two monarchs, but dragged on without any marked advantage on one side or the other, till at length the conflict was temporarily suspended by a treaty similar to others which had been signed in the course of the previous two or three centuries.[1] The peace thus concluded might have lasted longer but for an unforeseen catastrophe which placed Babylon almost at the mercy of her rival. The Elamites had never abandoned their efforts to press in every conceivable way their claim to the supremacy, which, prior to Khammurabi,

[1] The passage from the *Synchronous History* (col. ii. ll. 1, 2), republished by Winckler (*Untersuchungen zur Altorientalischen Geschichte*, p. 152, 3rd recto, ll. 9, 10), contains the termination of the mutilated name of a Babylonian king . . . *adin*, which, originally left undecided by Winckler (*Untersuchungen*, p. 32), has been restored "Bibeiashu" by Hilprecht, in the light of monuments discovered at Nipur (*The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, vol. i. p. 31, and *Assyriaca*, vol. i. p. 35, *et seq.*), an emendation which has since then been accepted by Winckler (*Altorientalische Forschungen*, pp. 109, 110, 133). Winckler, on his part, has restored the passage on the assumption that the name of the King of Assyria engaged against Bibeiashu was Tukulti-ninip; then, combining this fragment with that in the *Pinches Chronicle*, which deals with the taking of Babylon, he argues that Bibeiashu was the king dethroned by Tukulti-ninip (*Altorientalische Forschungen*, pp. 122–127, 137). An examination of the dates, in so far as they are at present known to us from the various documents, seems to me to render this arrangement inadmissible. The *Pinches Chronicle* practically tells us that Tukulti-ninip reigned over Babylon for seven years, when the Chaldæans revolted, and named Rammân-shumusur king (col. iii. ll. 7–9). Now, the Babylonian Canon gives us the following reigns for this epoch: Bibeiashu 8 years, Belnadinshumu 1 year 6 months, Kadashmankharbe 1 year 6 months, Rammânshumnadin 6 years, Rammânshumusur 30 years, or 9 years between the end of the reign of Bibeiashu and the beginning of that of Rammânshumusur, instead of the 7 years given us by the *Pinches Chronicle* for the length of the reign of Tukulti-ninip at Babylon. If we reckon, as the only documents known require us to do, seven years from the beginning of the reign of Rammânshumusur to the date of the taking of Babylon, we are forced to admit that this took place in the reign of Kadashmankharbe II., and, consequently, that the passage in the *Synchronous History*, in which mention is made of Bibeiashu, must be interpreted as I have done in the text, by the hypothesis of a war prior to that in which Babylon fell, which was followed by a treaty between this prince and the King of Assyria.

had been exercised by their ancestors over the whole of Mesopotamia, they swooped down on Karduniash with an impetuosity like that of the Assyrians, and probably with the same alternations of success and defeat. Their king, Kidinkhutrutash, unexpectedly attacked Belnadinshumu, son of Bibeiashu, appeared suddenly under the walls of Nipur and forced the defences of Durilu and Étimgarkalamma: Belnadinshumu disappeared in the struggle after a reign of eighteen months. Tukulti-ninip left Belnadinshumu's successor, Kadashmankharbê II., no time to recover from this disaster; he attacked him in turn, carried Babylon by main force, and put a number of the inhabitants to the sword. He looted the palace and the temples, dragged the statue of Merodach from its sanctuary and carried it off into Assyria, together with the badges of supreme power; then, after appointing governors of his own in the various towns, he returned to Kalakh, laden with booty: he led captive with him several members of the royal family—among others, Rammânshumusur, the lawful successor of Bibeiashu.

This first conquest of Chaldæa did not, however, produce any lasting results. The fall of Babylon did not necessarily involve the subjection of the whole country, and the cities of the south showed a bold front to the foreign intruder, and remained faithful to Kadashmankharbê; on the death of the latter, some months after his defeat, they hailed as king a certain Rammânshumnadin, who by some means or other had made his escape from captivity. Rammânshumnadin proved himself a better man than his predecessors; when Kidinkhutrutash, never dreaming, apparently, that he would meet with any serious resistance, came to claim his share of the spoil, he defeated him near Ishin, drove him out of the districts recently occupied by the Elamites, and so effectually retrieved his fortunes in this direction, that he was able to concentrate his whole attention on what was going on in the north. The effects of his victory soon became apparent: the nobles of Akkad and Karduniash declined to pay homage to their Assyrian governors, and, ousting them from the offices to which they had been appointed, restored Babylon to the independence which it had lost seven years previously. Tukulti-ninip paid dearly for his incapacity to retain his conquests: his son Assurnazirpal I. conspired with the principal officers, deposed him from the throne, and confined him in the fortified palace of Kar-Tukulti-ninip, which he had built not far from Kalakh, where he soon after contrived his assassination. About this time Rammânshumnadin disappears, and we can only suppose that the disasters of those last years had practically annihilated the Cossæan dynasty, for Rammânshumusur, who was a prisoner in Assyria, was chosen as his successor. The monuments tell us nothing definite of the troubles which next befell the two kingdoms: we seem to gather, however, that Assyria became the scene of civil wars, and that the

sons of Tukulti-ninip fought for the crown among themselves. Tukultiassurbel, who gained the upper hand at the end of six years, set Rammânshumusur at liberty, probably with the view of purchasing the support of the Chaldæans, but he did not succeed in restoring his country to the position it had held under Shalmaneser and Tukulti-ninip I.[1] The history of Assyria presents a greater number of violent contrasts and extreme vicissitudes than that of any other Eastern people in the earliest times. No sooner had the Assyrians arrived, thanks to the ceaseless efforts of five or six generations, at the very summit of their ambition, than some incompetent, or perhaps merely unfortunate, king appeared on the scene, and lost in a few years all the ground which had been gained at the cost of such tremendous exertions: then the subject races would rebel, the neighbouring peoples would pluck up courage and reconquer the provinces which they had surrendered, till the dismembered empire gradually shrank back to its original dimensions. As the fortunes of Babylon rose, those of Nineveh suffered a corresponding depression: Babylon soon became so powerful that Rammânshumusur was able to adopt a patronising tone in his relations with Assurnirâri I. and Nabodaiâni, the descendants of Tukultiassurbel, who at one time shared the throne together.[2] This period of subjection and humiliation did not last long. Belkudurusur, who appears on the throne not long after Assurnirâri and his partner, resumed military operations against the Cossæans, but cautiously at first; and though he fell in the decisive engagement, yet Rammânshumusur perished with him, and the two states were thus simultaneously left rulerless. Milishikhu succeeded Rammânshumusur, and Ninipabalesharra filled the place of Belkudurusur; the disastrous invasion of Assyria by the Chaldæans, and their subsequent retreat, at length led to an armistice, which, while it afforded

[1] The sole authority for all these events is the *Pinches Chronicle* (col. iii. ll. 3–22). In classifying them, I have accepted, in addition to the hypothesis put forward on p. 609, *supra*, Hommel's conjecture, put forward by WINCKLER, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, pp. 128, 129. The scribe must have divided the events which took place during these years into two series. He first relates those which refer to the relations of Babylon with Assyria (ll. 3–13), then he comes to the events which took place between Babylonia and Elam (ll. 14–22). I have restored them to their proper order. C. Niebuhr regards the name of Tukultiassurbel as being that of the Assyrian *limmu*, under which the events of the sixth year took place; the Babylonian author, unfamiliar with Assyrian usages, misunderstood the text in which this person is mentioned, and takes him to be a king (*Studien und Bemerkungen zur Geschichte des Alten Orients*, pp. 85–87). WINCKLER, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, p. 260, n. 1, accepts Niebuhr's conjecture.

[2] All that we know of these two kings is contained in the copy, executed in the time of Assurbanipal, of a letter addressed to them by Rammânshumusur, fragments of which have been published by RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iii. pl. 4, No. 5. They have been placed, at one time or another, either at the beginning of Assyrian history before Assurbelnishishu (MENANT, *Annales des rois d'Assyrie*, p. 21; WINCKLER, *Gesch. Bab. und Assyr.*, pp. 102, 103, 156, 157, 330, 331), or after Tiglath-pileser I., about the XIth or Xth, or even the VIIIth century before our era (HOMMEL, *Gesch. Bab. und Assyr.*, pp. 136, 422, n. 1, 635, n. 1, 640, 646; TIELE, *Babyl.-Assyrische Gesch.*, pp. 106, 177). It has since been discovered that the Rammânshumusur who wrote this letter was the successor of Tukulti-ninip I. in Chaldæa (BEZOLD, *Kurzgefasster Überblick*, p. 20; SAYCE, *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. ii. p. 207, vol. v. p. 111, note 2; WINCKLER, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, pp. 124, 125, 126, 127).

evidence of the indisputable superiority of Milishikhu, proved no less plainly the independence of his rival.[1] Merodachabaliddina I. replaced Milishikhu, Zamâmashumiddin followed Merodachabaliddina: Assurdân I., son of Ninipalesharra, broke the treaty, captured the towns of Zabân, Irria, and Akarsallu, and succeeded in retaining them. The advantage thus gained was but a slight one, for these provinces lying between the two Zabs had long been subject to Assyria, and had been wrested from her since the days of Tukultininip: however, it broke the run of ill luck which seemed to have pursued her so relentlessly, and opened the way for more important victories.[2] This was the last Cossæan war; at any rate, the last of which we find any mention in history. Belnadinshumu II. reigned three years after Zamâmashumiddin, but when he died there was no man of his family whom the priests could invite to lay hold of the hand of Merodach, and his dynasty ended with him. It included thirty-six kings, and had lasted five hundred and seventy-six years and six months.[3] It had enjoyed its moments of triumph, and at one time had almost seemed destined to conquer the whole of Asia; but it appears to have invariably failed just as it was on the point of reaching the goal, and it became completely exhausted by its victories at the end of every two or three generations. It had triumphed over Elam, and yet Elam remained a constant peril on its right. It had triumphed over Assyria, yet Assyria, after driving it back to the regions of the Upper Tigris, threatened to bar the road to the Mediterranean by means of its Masian colonies: were they once to succeed in this attempt, what hope would there be left to those who ruled in Babylon of ever after re-establishing the traditional empire of the ancient Sargon and Khammurabi?

The new dynasty sprang from a town in Pashê, the geographical position

[1] *The Synchronous History*, col. ii. ll. 3–8; cf. Sayce, *The Synchronous History of Assyria and Babylonia*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. iv. p. 28, and Peiser-Winckler, *Die sogenannte synchronistische Geschichte*, in Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. i. pp. 196, 197, and Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, pp. 134, 135, whose interpretation I have here adopted.

[2] *The Synchronous History*, col. ii. ll. 9–12; cf. Peiser-Winckler, *Die sogenannte synchronistische Geschichte*, pp. 196, 197.

[3] The following is a list of some of the kings of this dynasty according to the canon discovered by Pinches (*The Babylonian Kings of the Second Period*, in the *Proceedings of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, 1883–84, vol. vi. p. 196; cf. Fr. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Miscellen*, in the *Berichte* of the Academy of Sciences of Saxony, 1893, p. 186, and Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, vol. i. p. 60):—

Kadashmanburiash	2 years	Rammânnadinshumu	6 years
[illegible]	6 years	Rammânshumusur	30 years
Shagarakhtishuriash	13 years	Milishikhu	15 years
Bibeiashu	8 years	Merodachabaliddina I.	13 years
Belnadinshumu I.	1 year 6 months	Zamâmashumiddin	1 year
Kadashmankharbe II.	1 year 6 months	Belnadinshumu II.	3 years

Hilprecht (*The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, vol. i. pp. 37, 38) and Winckler (*Altorientalische Forschungen*, p. 133) agree entirely in the restorations of this list. For the earlier part of it, see the incomplete tables given on pp. 119 and 304, *supra*. Belnadinshumu must have died about 1150 B.C., within twenty years or so.

of which is not known.[1] It was of Babylonian origin, and its members placed, at the beginning of their protocols, formulæ which were intended to indicate, in the clearest possible manner, the source from which they sprang: they declared themselves to be scions of Babylon, its vicegerents, and supreme masters.[2] The names of the first two we do not know; the third, Nebuchadrezzar, shows himself to have been one of the most remarkable men of all those who flourished during this troubled era.[3] At no time, perhaps, had Chaldæa been in a more abject state, or assailed by more active foes. The Elamite had just succeeded in wresting from her Namar, the region from whence the bulk of her chariot-horses were obtained,[4] and this success had laid the provinces on the left bank of the Tigris[5] open to their attacks. They had even crossed the river, pillaged Babylon, and carried away the statue of Bel and that of a goddess named Eria, the patroness of Khussi:[6] "Merodach,

[1] The term *Dynasty of Pashê* occurs in the *Royal Canon* (PINCHES, *Babylonian Kings of the Second Period*, in the *Proceedings* of Bibl. Arch. Soc., 1883-84, vol. vi. p. 196). From a passage in the list published by RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. ii. pl. 38, l. 12 a, Sayce is led to think that Pashê was one of the names of Isin (*The Dynastic Tablets and Chronicles of the Babylonians*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. i. p. 17).

[2] HOMMEL, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 451.

[3] The names of the first eight kings have disappeared from the only copy we possess of the Royal Canon (PINCHES, *Babylonian Kings of the Second Period*, p. 196). Nebuchadrezzar I.'s place in the series has, therefore, been the subject of much controversy. Several Assyriologists were from the first inclined to place him in the first or second rank, some being in favour of the first (HOMMEL, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 448, 451; M. JASTROW, *A Cylinder of Marduktabikzirim*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. iv. pp. 317, 318), others preferring the second (OPPERT, *La Non-identité de Phul et de Téglathphalasar, prouvée par les textes cunéiformes*, in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. i. pp. 169, 170); Delitzsch put him into the fifth place (DELITZSCH-MÜRDTER, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, 2nd edit., *Tabelle*), and Winckler, without pronouncing definitely on the position to be assigned him, thought he must come in about half-way down the dynasty (*Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte*, pp. 28, 29, and *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 94). Hilprecht, on taking up the question, adduced reasons for supposing him to have been the founder of the dynasty (*The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, vol. i. pp. 39-44, and *Assyriaca*, vol. i. pp. 20-[illegible]), and his conclusions have been adopted by Oppert (*La Fondation consacrée à la déesse Nanâ*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. vii. pp. 351-366); they have been disputed by Tiele (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. x. pp. 107-110), who wishes to put the king back to fourth or fifth in order, and by Winckler, who places him fourth or fifth (*Altorientalische Forschungen*, pp. 130, 131, 133, 266-268; cf. ROGERS, *Outlines of the History of Early Babylonia*, p. 63). It is difficult, however, to accept Hilprecht's hypothesis, plausible though it is, as long as Assyriologists who have seen the original tablet (PINCHES, *Babylonian Kings of the Second Period*, p. 196; SCHRADER, *Die Keilinschriftliche Babylonische Königsliste*, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, 1887, vol. xxxi.; BEZOLD, in the *Zeitschr. für Ass.*, vol. iv. p. 217, note 1; FR. DELITZSCH, *Assyriologische Miscellen*, in the *Berichte* of the Leipzig Academy of Sciences, 1893, p. 186; KNUDTZON, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, vol. i. p. 60) agree in declaring that the name of the first king began with the sign of *Merodach* and not with that of *Nebo*, as it ought to do, were this prince really our Nebuchadrezzar.

[4] As to the breed of horses referred to, cf. BOSCAWEN, *The Horses of Namar*, in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. vi. pp. 139, 140.

[5] These facts are manifest from the events recorded in the *Donation to Rittimarduk*, published by H. RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. v. pls. 55-57, translated and annotated by HILPRECHT, *Freibrief Nebukadnezar's I.*, 1883; by PINCHES-BUDGE, *On an Edict of Nebuchadrezzar I., about B.C. 1150*, in the *Proceedings* of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., 1883-84, vol. vi. pp. 144-170; and by PEISER, *Inschriften Nebukadnezar's I.*, in SCHRADER, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. pt. 1, pp. 164-171.

[6] All this seems to be deducible from the facts mentioned in the *Donation to Shamua and Shamai*, published by ALDEN-SMITH, *Assyrian Letters*, iii. pls. viii., ix., translated and annotated by MEISSNER,

sore angered, held himself aloof from the country of Akkad;" the kings could no longer "take his hands" on their coming to the throne, and were obliged to reign without proper investiture in consequence of their failure to fulfil the rite required by religious laws.[1] Nebuchadrezzar arose "in Babylon, —roaring like a lion, even as Rammân roareth,—and his chosen nobles roared like lions with him.—To Merodach, lord of Babylon, rose his prayer:—'How long, for me, shall there be sighing and groaning?—How long, for my land, weeping and mourning?—How long, for my countries, cries of grief and tears? Till what time, O lord of Babylon, wilt thou remain in hostile regions?—Let thy heart be softened, and make Babylon joyful,—and let thy face be turned toward Esaggil which thou lovest!'" Merodach gave ear to the plaint of his servant: he answered him graciously and promised his aid.[2] Namar, united as it had been with Chaldæa for centuries, did not readily become accustomed to its new masters. The greater part of the land belonged to a Semitic and Cossæan feudality, the heads of which, while admitting their suzerain's right to exact military service from them, refused to acknowledge any further duty towards him. The kings of Susa declined to recognise their privileges: they subjected them to a poll-tax, levied the usual imposts on their estates, and forced them to maintain at their own expense the troops quartered on them for the purpose of guaranteeing their obedience.[3] Several of the nobles abandoned everything rather than submit to such tyranny, and took refuge with Nebuchadrezzar: others entered into secret negotiations with him, and promised to support him if he came to their help with an armed force.[4] He took them at their word, and invaded Namar without warning in the month of Tammuz, while the summer was at its height, at a season in which the Elamites never even dreamt he would take the field. The heat was intense, water was not to be got, and the army suffered terribly from thirst during its forced march of over a hundred miles across a

Ein Freibrief Nebukadnezar's I., in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. iv. pp. 259-267; afterwards by Peiser, *Inschriften Nebukadnezar's I.*, in Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. pt. 1, pp. 172-177. Hommel had assigned this document to Nebuchadrezzar II.; Winckler restored it to Nebuchadrezzar I. (*Aus einem Briefe C. Bezold*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. iv. pp. 403, 404).

[1] In regard to this ceremony, see what has been said above on p. 91. The *Donation to Shamua and Shamai*, ll. 11, 12, informs us that Nebuchadrezzar "took the hands of Bel" as soon as he regained possession of the statue; cf. Winckler, *Aus einem Briefe an C. Bezold*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. iv. pp. 403, 404, and on p. 613, *supra*.

[2] A. Boissier, *Nebukadrezar I^{er}*, in the *Revue Sémitique*, vol. ii. pp. 76-78. The tablet K 3426, which is given in Boissier's text, is a copy executed in the time of Assurbanipal.

[3] Shamua and Shamai "fled in like manner towards Kerimmash, before the King of Elam" (*Donation to Shamua and Shamai*, ll. 5-10); it would seem that Ritti-marduk had entered into some negotiations with Nebuchadrezzar, though this is nowhere explicitly stated in the text.

[4] *Donation to Ritti-marduk*, col. i. ll. 45-60, and col. ii. ll. 1-5, where the immunities granted to nobles by the Babylonian kings who occupied Namar are enumerated; these most evidently have been withdrawn by the Elamite king, since Nebuchadrezzar found it necessary to restore them.

parched-up country. One of the malcontents, Rittimerodach, lord of Bitkarziabku, joined Nebuchadrezzar with all the men he could assemble, and together they penetrated as far as Ulai. The King of Elam, taken by surprise, made no attempt to check their progress, but collected his vassals and awaited their attack on the banks of the river in front of Susa. Once "the fire" of the combat "had been lighted between the opposing forces, the face of the sun grew dark, the tempest broke forth, the whirlwind raged, and in this whirlwind of the struggle none of the characters could distinguish the face of his neighbour." Nebuchadrezzar, cut off from his own men, was about to surrender or be killed, when Rittimerodach flew to his rescue and brought him off safely. In the end the Chaldæans gained the upper hand.[1] The Elamites renounced their claims to the possession of Namar, and restored the statues of the gods; Nebuchadrezzar "at once laid hold of the hands of Bel," and thus legalised his accession to the throne.[2] Other expeditions against the peoples of Lulumê and against the Cossæans restored his supremacy in the regions of the north-east, and a campaign along the banks of the Euphrates opened out the road to Syria.[3] He rewarded generously those who had accompanied him on his raid against Elam. After issuing regulations intended to maintain the purity of the breed of horses for which Namar was celebrated,[4] he reinstated in their possessions Shamuâ and his son Shamaî, the descendants of one of the priestly families of the province, granting them in addition certain domains near Upî, at the mouth of the Turnât. He confirmed Rittimerodach in possession of all his property, and reinvested him with all the privileges of which the King of Elam had deprived him. From that time forward the domain of Bitkarziabku was free of the tithe on corn, oxen, and sheep; it was no longer liable to provide horses and mares for the exchequer, or to afford free passage to troops in time of peace; the royal jurisdiction ceased on the boundary of the fief, the seignorial jurisdiction alone extended over the inhabitants and their property. Chaldæan prefects ruled in Namar, at Khalmân,[5]

[1] *Donation to Rittimerodach*, col. i. ll. 12–43. The description of the battle as given in this document is generally taken to be merely symbolical, and I have followed the current usage. But if we bear in mind that the text lays emphasis on the drought and severity of the season, we are tempted to agree with Pinches and Budge (*On an Edict of Nebuchadnezzar I.*, in the *Proceedings*, 1883–84, vol. vii. p. 146) that its statements should be taken literally. The affair may have been begun in a cloud of dust, and have ended in a downpour of rain so heavy as to partly blind the combatants. The king was probably drawn away from his men in the confusion; it was probably then that he was in danger of being made prisoner, and that Rittimerodach, suddenly coming up, delivered him from the foes who surrounded him.

[2] *Donation to Shamua and Shamaî*, ll. 7–14; cf. p. 611, note 4, *supra*.

[3] *Donation to Rittimerodach*, col. i. ll. 9, 10; cf. Hommel's remarks on this passage in the Chaldæan text (*Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 451, 452).

[4] Boscawen, *The Horses of Namar*, in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. vi. pp. 139, 140.

[5] The Chaldæan prefect of Namar and the prefect of Khalmân are mentioned in the *Donation to Rittimerodach*, col. i. ll. 52–58, and col. ii. ll. 10, 22, 25, 28.

and at the foot of the Zagros, and Nebuchadrezzar no longer found any to oppose him save the King of Assyria.

The long reign of Assurdân in Assyria does not seem to have been distinguished by any event of importance either good or bad: it is true he won several towns on the south-east from the Babylonians, but then he lost several others on the north-west to the Mushku,[1] and the loss on the one side fully balanced the advantage gained on the other. His son Mutakkilnusku lived in Assur at peace,[2] but his grandson, Assurishishi, was a mighty king, conqueror of a score of countries, and the terror of all rebels: he scattered the hordes of the Akhlamê and broke up their forces; then Ninip, the champion of the gods, permitted him to crush the Lulumê and the Guti in their valleys and on their mountains covered with forests.[3] He made his way up to the frontiers of Elam,[4] and his encroachments on territories claimed by Babylon stirred up the anger of the Chaldæans against him: Nebuchadrezzar made ready to dispute their ownership with him. The earlier engagements went against the Assyrians; they were driven back in disorder, but the victor lost time before one of their strongholds, and, winter coming on before he could take it, he burnt his engines of war, set fire to his camp, and returned home. Next year, a rapid march carried him right under the walls of Assur; then Assurishishi came to the rescue, totally routed his opponent,[5] captured forty of his chariots, and drove him flying across the frontier. The war died out of itself, its end being marked by no treaty: each side kept its traditional position and supremacy over the tribes inhabiting the basins of the Turnât and Radanu.

[1] Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 510, has proved, by a very simple calculation, that Assurdân must have been the king in whose reign the Mushku made the inroad into the basin of the Upper Tigris and of the Balikh, which is mentioned in the *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. i. ll. 62–69; cf. what is said on this point on p. 591, *supra*. These *Annals*, col. vii. ll. 49–54, are our authority for stating that Assurdân was on the throne for a long period, though the exact length of his reign is not known.

[2] *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. vii. ll. 45–48. Mutakkilnusku himself has only left us one inscription, in which he declares that he had built a palace in the city of Assyria (G. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, pp. 142, 251).

[3] *Votive Inscription of Assurishishi*, ll. 6, 7; cf. H. Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iii. pl. 3, No. 6, and Schrader, *Inschrift Asshur-rish-ishi's*, in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. i. pp. 12, 13.

[4] Smith discovered certain fragments of Annals (afterwards published by Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iii. pl. 5, Nos. 1–3), which he attributed to Assurishishi (*Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 252); his view has been adopted by Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 511–513; cf. *Assyriological Notes*, in the *Proceedings* of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., 1893–94, vol. xvi. p. 211. The longest of these tell, as we shall see, later on, of a campaign against Elam. Lotz attributed them to Tiglath-pileser I. (*Inschr. Tiglath-pileser's I.*, 193, 194), and is supported in this by most Assyriologists of the day (Winckler, *Die Inschriften Tiglath-pileser's I.*, vol. i. pp. 38–39; Meissner, *Die Elamitische Feldzug Tiglatpileser's I.*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. ix. pp. 101–104).

[5] *Synchronous History*, col. ii. ll. 1–13 of the principal tablet; cf. Peiser-Winckler, *Die sogenannte synchronistische Geschichte*, in Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. i. pp. 198, 199, and Sayce, *The Synchronous History of Assyria and Babylonia*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. iv. p. 30.

The same names reappear in line after line of these mutilated Annals, and the same definite enumerations of rebellious tribes who have been humbled or punished. These kings of the plain, both Ninevite and Babylonian, were continually raiding the country up and down for centuries without ever arriving at any decisive result, and a detailed account of their various campaigns would be as tedious reading as that of the ceaseless struggle between the Latins and Sabines which fills the opening pages of Roman history. Posterity soon grew weary of them, and, misled by the splendid position which Assyria attained when at the zenith of its glory, set itself to fabricate splendid antecedents for the majestic empire established by the later dynasties. The legend ran that, at the dawn of time, a chief named Ninos had reduced to subjection one after the other — Babylonia, Media, Armenia, and all the provinces between the Indies and the Mediterranean. He built a capital for himself on the banks of the Tigris, in the form of a parallelogram, measuring a hundred and fifty stadia in length, ninety stadia in width; altogether, the walls were four hundred and eighty stadia in circumference. In addition to the Assyrians who formed the bulk of the population, he attracted many foreigners to Nineveh, so that in a few years it became the most flourishing town in the whole world. An inroad of the tribes of the Oxus interrupted his labours: Ninos repulsed the invasion, and, driving the barbarians back into Bactria, laid siege to it; here, in the tent of one of his captains, he came upon Semiramis, a woman whose past was shrouded in mystery. She was said to be the daughter of an ordinary mortal by a goddess, the Ascalonian Derketô. Exposed immediately after her birth, she was found and adopted by a shepherd named Simas, and later on her beauty aroused the passion of Oannes, governor of Syria. Ninos, amazed at the courage displayed by her on more than one occasion, carried her off, made her his favourite wife, and finally met his death at her hands. No sooner did she become queen, than she founded Babylon on a far more extensive scale than that of Nineveh. Its walls were three hundred and sixty stadia in length, with two hundred and fifty lofty towers, placed here and there on its circuit, the roadway round the top of the ramparts being wide enough for six chariots to drive abreast. She made a kind of harbour in the Euphrates, threw a bridge across it, and built quays one hundred and sixty stadia in length along its course; in the midst of the town she raised a temple to Bel. This great work was scarcely finished when disturbances broke out in Media; these she promptly repressed, and set out on a tour of inspection through the whole of her provinces, with a view to preventing the recurrence of similar outbreaks by her presence. Wherever she went she left records of her passage behind her, cutting her way through mountains, quarrying a pathway through the solid



THE DOVE-GODDESS.[1]

rock, making broad highways for herself, bringing rebellious tribes beneath her yoke, and raising tumuli to mark the tombs of such of her satraps as fell beneath the blows of the enemy. She built Ecbatana in Media, Semiramocerta on Lake Van in Armenia, and Tarsus in Cilicia; then, having reached the confines of Syria, she crossed the isthmus, and conquered Egypt and Ethiopia. The far-famed wealth of India recalled her from the banks of the Nile to those of the Euphrates, *en route* for the remote east, but at this point her good fortune forsook her: she was defeated by King Stratobates, and returned to her own dominions, never again to leave them. She had set up triumphal stelæ on the boundaries of the habitable globe, in the very midst of Scythia, not far from the Iaxartes, where, centuries afterwards, Alexander of Macedon read the panegyric of herself which she had caused to be engraved there. "Nature," she writes, "gave me the body of a woman, but my deeds have put me on a level with the greatest of men. I ruled over the dominion of Ninos, which extends eastwards to the river Hinaman, southwards to the countries of Incense and Myrrh, and northwards as far as the Sacæ and Sogdiani. Before my time no Assyrian had ever set eyes on the sea. I have seen four oceans to which no mariner has ever sailed, so far remote are they. I have made rivers to flow where I would have them, in the places where they were needed; thus did I render fertile the barren soil by watering it with my rivers. I raised up impregnable fortresses, and cut roadways through the solid rock with the pick. I opened a way for the wheels of my chariots in places to which even the feet of wild beasts had never penetrated. And, amidst all these labours, I yet found time for my pleasures and for the society of my friends." On discovering that her son Ninyas was plotting her assassination, she at once abdicated in his favour, in order to save him from committing a crime, and then transformed herself into a dove; this last incident betrays the goddess to us. Ninos and Semiramis are purely mythical, and their mighty deeds, like those ascribed to Ishtar and Gilgames, must be placed in the same category as those other fables with which the Babylonian legends strive to fill up the blank of the prehistoric period.[2]

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from the sketch published in Longpérier, *Œuvres*, vol. i. p. 270, Schlumberger's edition; cf. Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. ii. p. 581.

[2] The legend of Ninos and Semiramis is taken from Diodorus Siculus, ii. 1-20, who reproduces often word for word, the version of Ctesias (*Ctesiæ Cnidii Fragmenta*, ed. Müller-Didot, pp. 12-32). As to the relation of Semiramis to the Babylonian legend, cf. the antiquated work by Fr. Lenormant, *La Légende de Sémiramis*, 1873; this ought to be now brought up to date by the addition of what we know concerning the adventures of Ishtar with Gilgames and other Chaldæan demigods (cf. what is said on this point by Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, 2nd edit., pp. 580-582).

The real facts were, as we know, far less brilliant and less extravagant than those supplied by popular imagination. It would be a mistake, however, to neglect or despise them on account of their tedious monotony and the insignificance of the characters who appear on the stage. It was by dint of fighting her neighbours again and again, without a single day's respite, that Rome succeeded in forging the weapons with which she was to conquer the world; and any one who, repelled by their tedious sameness, neglected to follow the history of her early struggles, would find great difficulty in understanding how it came about that a city which had taken centuries to subjugate her immediate neighbours should afterwards overcome all the states on the Mediterranean seaboard with such magnificent ease. In much the same way the ceaseless struggles of Assyria with the Chaldæans, and with the mountain tribes of the Zagros Chain, were unconsciously preparing her for those lightning-like campaigns in which she afterwards overthrew all the civilized nations of the East one after another. It was only at the cost of unparalleled exertions that she succeeded in solidly welding together the various provinces within her borders, and in kneading (so to speak) the many and diverse elements of her vast population into one compact mass, containing in itself all that was needful for its support, and able to bear the strain of war for several years at a time without giving way, and rich enough in men and horses to provide the material for an effective army without excessive impoverishment of her trade or agriculture. The race came of an old Semitic strain, somewhat crude as yet, and almost entirely free from that repeated admixture of foreign elements which had marred the purity of the Babylonian stock. The monuments show us a type similar in many respects to that which we find to-day on the slopes of Singar, or in the valleys to the east of Mossul.[2] The figures on the monuments are tall and straight, broad-shouldered and wide in the hips, the arms well developed, the legs robust, with good substantial feet. The swell of the muscles on the naked limbs is perhaps exaggerated, but this very exaggeration of the modelling suggests the vigour of the model; it is a heavier, more rustic type than the



AN ASSYRIAN.[1]

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a painted bas-relief given in LAYARD, *Monuments of Nineveh*, vol. i. pl. 92.

[2] As to these modern Chaldæans and the type which they now represent, cf. what is said by one of the first travellers to come in contact with them during the present century, A. RICH, *Residence in Kurdistan*, vol. i. p. 278.

Egyptian, promising greater strength and power of resistance, and in so far an indisputable superiority in the great game of war. The head is somewhat small, the forehead low and flat, the eyebrows heavy, the eye of a bold almond shape, with heavy lids, the nose aquiline, and full at the tip, with wide nostrils terminating in a hard well-defined curve; the lips are thick and full, the chin bony, while the face is framed by the coarse dark wavy hair and beard, which fell in curly masses over the nape of the neck and the breast. The expression of the face is rarely of an amiable and smiling type, such as we find in the statues of the Theban period or in those of the Memphite empire, nor, as a matter of fact, did the Assyrian pride himself on the gentleness of his manners: he did not overflow with love for his fellow-man, as the Egyptian made a pretence of doing; on the contrary, he was stiff-necked and proud, without pity for others or for himself, hot-tempered and quarrelsome like his cousins of Chaldæa, but less turbulent and more capable of strict discipline. It mattered not whether he had come into the world in one of the wretched cabins of a fellah village, or in the palace of one of the great nobles; he was a born soldier, and his whole education tended to develop in him the first qualities of the soldier—temperance, patience, energy, and unquestioning obedience; he was enrolled in an army which was always on a war footing, commanded by the god Assur, and under Assur, by the king, the vicegerent and representative of the god. His life was shut in by the same network of legal restrictions which confined that of the Babylonians, and all its more important events had to be recorded on tablets of clay; the wording of contracts, the formalities of marriage or adoption, the status of bond and free, the rites of the dead and funeral ceremonies, had either remained identical with those in use during the earliest years of the cities of the Lower Euphrates, or differed from them only in their less important details.[1] The royal and municipal governments levied the same taxes, used the same procedure, employed the same magistrates, and the grades of their hierarchy were the same, with one exception. After the king, the highest office was filled by a soldier, the *tartan* who saw to the recruiting of the troops, and led them in time of war, or took command of the staff-corps whenever the sovereign himself deigned to appear on the scene of action.[2] The more influential of these functionaries bore, in addition to their other titles, one of a special nature, which, for the space of one year, made its holder the most conspicuous man in the country; they became *limmu*, and throughout

[1] In regard to all these points, cf. what is said in MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 748, *et seq.*, 2nd edit.

[2] We can determine the rank occupied by the *tartanu* at court by the positions they occupy in the lists of eponymous *limmu*: they invariably come next after the king—a fact which was noticed many years ago (G. SMITH, *The Assyrian Eponym Canon*, pp. 24-26; cf. TIELE, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, pp. 495, 496).

their term of office their names appeared on all official documents. The Chaldæans distinguished the various years of each reign by a reference to some event which had taken place in each; the Assyrians named them after the *limmu*.[1] The king was the *ex-officio limmu* for the year following that of



A LION-HUNT.[2]

his accession, then after him the *tartan*, then the ministers and governors of provinces and cities in an order which varied little from reign to reign. The names of the *limmu*, entered in registers and tabulated—just as, later on, were those of the Greek archons and Roman consuls—furnished the annalists with a rigid chronological system, under which the facts of history might be arranged with certainty.[3]

[1] As to the system adopted by the Chaldæan kings in naming the years, cf. what is said in MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 700, 701. According to Delitzsch, the term *limu* or *limmu* (*Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 379, *s. v.*) meant at first any given period, then later more especially the year during which a magistrate filled his office; in the opinion of most other Assyriologists it referred to the magistrate himself as eponymous archon.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a bas-relief in the British Museum; cf. LAYARD, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, vol. i. pl. 31.

[3] The first list of *limmu* was discovered by H. RAWLINSON (*The Athenæum*, 1862, p. 724; cf. OPPERT, *Les Inscriptions assyriennes des Sargonides et les Fastes de Ninive*, pp. 4-7, 15-18). The cuneiform originals are given by H. RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. ii. pls. 68, 69, vol. iii. pl. 1, and in FR. DELITZSCH, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 2nd edit., pp. 87-94; the translation of the whole, as far as it was known twenty years ago, has been given by G. SMITH, *The Assyrian Eponym Canon*, pp. 29-71, and more recently by SCHRADER, *Die Assyrische Eponymenliste*, in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. i. pp. 204-215, and vol. iii. pt. 2, pp. 142-147. The portions which have been preserved extend from the year 893 to the year 666 B.C. without a break. In the periods previous and subsequent to this we have only names scattered here and there which it has not been possible to classify; the earliest *limmu* known at present flourished under Rammân-nirâri I., and was named Makhimilâni

The king still retained the sacerdotal attributes with which Chaldæan monarchs had been invested from the earliest times, but contact with the Egyptians had modified the popular conception of his personality. His subjects were no longer satisfied to regard him merely as a man superior to his fellow-men; they had come to discover something of the divine nature in him, and sometimes identified him—not with Assur, the master of all things, who occupied a position too high above the pale of ordinary humanity—but with one of the demi-gods of the second rank, Shamash, the Sun, the deity whom the Pharaohs pretended to represent in flesh and blood here below. His courtiers, therefore, went as far as to call him "Sun" when they addressed him, and he himself adopted this title in his inscriptions.[3] Formerly he had only attained this apotheosis after death, later on he was permitted to aspire to it during his lifetime.[4] The Chaldæans adopted the same attitude, and in both countries the royal authority shone with the



LION TRANSFIXED BY AN ARROW.[2]

(PEISER, Die Steinplatteninschrift Rammân-nirâri's I., in the Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, vol. i. pp. 8, 9). Three different versions of this canon have come down to us. In the most important one the names of the eponymous officials are written one after another without titles or any mention of important events; in the other two, the titles of each personage, and any important occurrences which took place during his year of office, are entered after the name.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a bas-relief in the British Museum; cf. LAYARD, The Monuments of Nineveh, vol. i. pl. 10.

[3] Nabûkudurussur I. of Babylon assumes the title of Shamshu mâti-shu, the "Sun of his country" (Inscription of Rittimerdah, col. i. l. 4), and Hilprecht rightly sees in this expression a trace of Egyptian influence (The Babylonian Exp. of the Univ. of Penn., vol. i. p. 42); later on, Assurnazirpal, King of Assyria, similarly describes himself as Shamshu kishshat nishi, the "Sun of all mankind" (Annals, col. i. l. 10; cf. PEISER, Inschriften Asurnasir-abal's, in SCHRADER, Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, vol. i. pp. 54, 55). Tiele is of opinion that these expressions do not necessarily point to any theory of the actual incarnation of the god, as was the case in Egypt, but that they may be mere rhetorical figures (Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte, p. 492).

[4] In regard to the apotheosis of the Chaldæan kings after their death, cf. SCHEIL, Le Culte de Gudea, in the Recueil de Travaux, vol. xviii. pp. 64-74, where evidence of the worship of Gudea and Dungi is put forward.

borrowed lustre of divine omnipotence. With these exceptions life at court remained very much the same as it had been; at Nineveh, as at Babylon, we find harems filled with foreign princesses, who had either been carried off as hostages from the country of a defeated enemy, or amicably obtained from their parents. In time of war, the command of the troops and the dangers of the battle-field; in time of peace, a host of religious ceremonies



A LION-HUNT.[1]

and judicial or administrative duties, left but little leisure to the sovereign who desired to perform conscientiously all that was required of him.[2] His chief amusement lay in the hunting of wild beasts: the majority of the princes who reigned over Assyria had a better right than even Amenôthes III. himself to boast of the hundreds of lions which they had slain.[3] They set out on these hunting expeditions with quite a small army of charioteers and infantry, and were often away several days at a time, provided urgent business did not require their presence in the palace. They started their quarry with the help of large dogs,[4] and followed it over hill and dale till they got within bowshot: if it was but slightly wounded and turned on them, they gave it the finishing stroke with their lances without dismounting. Occasionally, however, they were obliged to follow their prey into places where

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a bas-relief in the British Museum; cf. LAYARD, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, vol. i. pl. 11.

[2] As to the private and public life of Chaldæan monarchs of the First Empire, cf. what is said in MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, 2nd edit., p. 703, et seq.

[3] Cf. what is written on p. 298, *supra*, in regard to the lion-hunts of Amenôthes III. The facts connected with the hunting expeditions of the Assyrian kings have been collected by G. RAWLINSON, *The Five Great Monarchies*, 2nd edit., vol. i. pp. 344, 345, 354–361, 505–523.

[4] PLACE, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, vol. iii. pls. 50bis, 51, 52bis, where the kind of dog used is clearly shown; cf. HOUGHTON, *On the Mammalia of the Assyrian Sculptures*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. v. pp. 52–53.

horses could not easily penetrate; then a hand-to-hand conflict was inevitable. The lion would rise on its hind quarters and endeavour to lay its pursuer low with a stroke of its mighty paw, but only to fall pierced to the heart by his lance or sword.[1] This kind of encounter demanded great presence of mind and steadiness of hand: the Assyrians were, therefore, trained to it from their



LIBATION POURED OVER THE LIONS ON THE RETURN FROM THE CHASE.[2]

youth up, and no hunter was permitted to engage in these terrible encounters without long preliminary practice. Seeing the lion as they did so frequently, and at such close quarters, they came to know it quite as well as the Egyptians, and their sculptors reproduce it with a realism and technical skill which have been rarely equalled in modern times. But while the Theban artist generally represents it in an attitude of repose, the Assyrians prefer to show it in violent action in all the various attitudes which it assumes during a struggle, either crouching as it prepares to spring, or fully extended in the act of leaping; sometimes it rears into an upright position, with arched back, gaping jaws, and claws protruded, ready to bite or strike its foe; at others it writhes under a spear-thrust, or rolls over and over in its dying agonies. In one instance, an arrow has pierced the skull of a male lion, crashing through the frontal bone a little above the left eyebrow, and protrudes obliquely to the right between his teeth: under the shock of the blow he has risen on his hind legs, with contorted spine, and beats the air with his fore paws, his head thrown back as

[1] LAYARD, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, vol. i. pl. 11, and PLACE, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, vol. iii. pls. 50, 50bis, 51, 52bis, 55, 57, 62; cf. HOUGHTON, *On the Mammalia of the Assyrian Sculptures*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. v. pp. 323–336.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by HOMMEL, *Zwei Jagdinschriften Asurbanipals*; cf. PLACE, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, vol. iii. pl. 57. The pouring out of the libation on the lions is also shown in LAYARD, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, vol. i. pl. 12.

though to free himself of the fatal shaft. Not far from him the lioness lies stretched out upon its bank in the rigidity of death.[1]

The "rimu," or urus, was, perhaps, even a more formidable animal to encounter than any of the *felidæ*, owing to the irresistible fury of his attack. No one would dare, except in a case of dire necessity, to meet him on foot. The loose flowing robes which the king and the nobles never put aside—not even in such perilous pastimes as these—were ill fitted for the quick movements required to avoid the attack of such an animal, and those who were unlucky enough to quit their chariot ran a terrible risk of being gored or trodden underfoot in the encounter. It was the custom, therefore, to attack the beast by arrows, and to keep it at a distance. If the animal were able to come up with its pursuer, the latter endeavoured to seize it by the horn at the moment when it lowered its head, and to drive his dagger into its neck. If the blow were adroitly given it severed the spinal cord, and the beast fell in a heap as if struck by lightning.[3] A victory over such animals was an occasion for rejoicing, and solemn thanks were offered to Assur and Ishtar, the patrons of the chase, at the usual evening sacrifice. The slain beasts, whether lion or urus, were arranged in a row before the altar, while the king, accompanied by his flabella- and umbrella-bearers, stood alongside them, holding his bow in his left hand. While the singers intoned the hymn of thanksgiving to the accompaniment of the harp, the monarch took the bowl of sacred wine, touched his lips with it, and then poured a portion of the contents on the heads of the victims. A detailed account of each hunting exploit was preserved for posterity either in inscriptions or on bas-reliefs.[4]



TWO ASSYRIAN ARCHERS.[2]

[1] See the cut of a lion vomiting blood on p. 558 of the *Dawn of Civilization*.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin; see the initial letter at the beginning of chap. vi., on p. 565, *supra*.

[3] As to the "rimu," see *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 559, 560.

[4] *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. vi. ll. 58–84, where the king counts the number of his victims: 4 urus, 10 male elephants, 120 lions slain in single combat on foot, 800 lions killed by arrows let fly from his chariot; cf. *The Broken Obelisk*, col. i. ll. 1–12 (Lotz, *Die Inschriften Tiglath-pileser's I.*, pp. 54–57, 196, 197); *Annals of Assur-nazirpal*. Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character*, pl. 43, ll. 12–21, in which the king boasts of having slain 30 elephants, 250 urus, and 370 lions.

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The chase was in those days of great service to the rural population; the kings also considered it to be one of the duties attached to their office, and on a level with their obligation to make war on neighbouring nations devoted by the will of Assur to defeat and destruction.

The army charged to carry out the will of the god had not yet acquired



AN ASSYRIAN WAR-CHARIOT CHARGING THE FOE.[1]

the homogeneity and efficiency which it afterwards attained, yet it had been for some time one of the most formidable in the world, and even the Egyptians themselves, in spite of their long experience in military matters, could not put into the field such a proud array of effective troops. We do not know how this army was recruited, but the bulk of it was made up of native levies, to which foreign auxiliaries were added in numbers varying with the times.[2] A permanent nucleus of troops was always in garrison in the capital under the "tartan," or placed in the principal towns at the disposal of the governors.[3] The contingents which came to be enrolled at these centres on the first rumour

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Mansell, taken in the British Museum.

[2] Everything bearing on the military affairs of the country is dealt with in detail in G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies*, 2nd edit., vol. i. pp. 406-484; cf. Tiele, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, pp. 501-503; Delitzsch-Mürdter, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, 2nd edit., pp. 113-118; Winckler, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 219, 220. We have no bas-relief representing the armies of Tiglath-pileser I. Everything in the description which follows is taken from the monuments of Assurnazirpal and Shalmaneser II., revised as far as possible by the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser; the armament of both infantry and chariotry must have been practically the same in the two periods.

[3] This is based on the account given in the *Obelisk of Shalmaneser*, where the king, for example, after having gathered his soldiers together at Kalakh (Calah), put at their head Daianassur the tartan, "the master of his innumerable troops" (ll. 146-149); cf. ll. 141, 142, 175, 176).

of war may have been taken from among the feudal militia, as was the custom in the Nile valley, or the whole population may have had to render personal military service, each receiving while with the colours a certain daily pay. The nobles and feudal lords were accustomed to call their own people together, and either placed themselves at their head or commissioned an officer to act in their behalf.[1] These recruits were subjected to the training necessary for their calling by exercises similar to those of the Egyptians, but of a rougher sort and better adapted to the cumbrous character of their equipment. The blacksmith's art had made such progress among the Assyrians since the times of Thûtmosis III. and Ramses II., that both the character and the materials of the armour were entirely changed. While the Egyptian of old entered into the contest almost naked, and without other defence than a padded cap, a light shield, and a leather apron, the Assyrian of the new age set out for war almost cased in metal.[3] The pikemen and archers of whom the infantry of the line was composed wore a copper or iron helmet, conical in form, and having cheek-pieces covering the ears; they were clad in a sort of leathern shirt covered with plates or imbricated scales of metal, which protected the body and the upper part of the arm; a quilted and padded loin-cloth came over the haunches, while close-fitting trousers, and buskins laced up in the front, completed their attire. The pikemen were armed with a lance six feet long, a cutlass or



A PIKEMAN.[2]



HARNESS OF THE HORSES.[4]

[1] The assembling of foot-soldiers and chariots is often described at the beginning of each campaign (*Obelisk of Shalmaneser II.*, ll. 22-25, 141, 156, 157); the *Donation of* [illegible] brings before us a great feudal lord, who leads his contingent to the King of Chaldæa (cf. pp. 614, 615, *supra*), and anything which took place among the Babylonians had its counterpart among the Assyrians. Sometimes the king had need of all the contingents, and then it was said he "assembled the country" (*Obelisk of Shalmaneser II.*, l. 91). Auxiliaries are mentioned, for example, in the *Annals of Assurnazirpal*, col. iii. ll. 58-77, where the king, in his passage, rallies one after the other the troops of Bît-Bakhiâni, of Azalli, of Bît-Adini, of Gargamish, and of the Patinâ.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from G. Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. i. p. 458.

[3] For the armament of the armies of the Thûtmosis and Ramses, see *supra*, pp. 211-214, 218-220; for that of the Assyrians, see the careful examination of the subject in G. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, 2nd edit., pp. 423-462.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from G. Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. i. p. 250.

short sword passed through the girdle, and an enormous shield, sometimes round and convex, sometimes arched at the top and square at the bottom. The bowmen did not encumber themselves with a buckler, but carried, in addition to the bow and quiver, a poignard or mace. The light infantry consisted of pikemen and archers—each of whom wore a crested helmet and a round shield of wicker-work—of slingers and club-bearers, as well as of men armed with the two-bladed battle-axe. The chariots were heavier and larger than those of the Egyptians. They had high, strongly made wheels with



CROSSING A RIVER IN BOATS AND ON INFLATED SKINS.[1]

eight spokes, and the body of the vehicle rested directly on the axle; the panels were of solid wood, sometimes covered with embossed or carved metal, but frequently painted; they were further decorated sometimes with gold, silver, or ivory mountings, and with precious stones. The pole, which was long and heavy, ended in a boss of carved wood or incised metal, representing a flower, a rosette, the muzzle of a lion, or a horse's head. It was attached to the axle under the floor of the vehicle, and as it had to bear a great strain, it was not only fixed to this point by leather thongs such as were employed in Egypt, but also bound to the front of the chariot by a crossbar shaped like a spindle, and covered with embroidered stuff—an arrangement which prevented its becoming detached when driving at full speed. A pair of horses were harnessed to it, and a third was attached to them on the right side for the use of a supplementary warrior, who could take the place of his comrade in case of accident, or if he were wounded. The trappings were very simple; but sometimes there was added to these a thickly padded caparison, of which the various parts were fitted to the horse by tags so as to cover the upper part of his head, his neck, back, and breast. The usual complement of charioteers was two to each vehicle, as in Egypt, but sometimes, as among the

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from Layard's *Monuments of Nineveh*, vol. i. pls. 15, 16.

Khâti, there were three—one on the left to direct the horses, a warrior, and an attendant who protected the other two with his shield; on some occasions a fourth was added as an extra assistant. The equipment of the charioteers was like that of the infantry, and consisted of a jacket with imbricated scales of



MAKING A BRIDGE FOR THE PASSAGE OF THE CHARIOTS.[1]

metal, bow and arrows, and a lance or javelin.[2] A standard which served as a rallying-point for the chariots in the battle was set up on the front part of each vehicle, between the driver and the warrior; it bore at the top a disk supported on the heads of two bulls, or by two complete representations of these animals, and a standing figure of Assur letting fly his arrows.[3] The chariotry formed, as in most countries of that time, the picked troops of the service, in which the princes and great lords were proud to be enrolled. Upon it depended for the most part the issue of the conflict, and the position assigned to it was in the van, the king or commander-in-chief reserving to himself the privilege of conducting the charge in person. It was already, however, in a state of decadence, both as regards the number of units composing it[4] and its

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a bas-relief on the bronze gates of Balawât.

[2] G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies*, 2nd edit., vol. i. pp. 408–422, where the details of construction and the armament of the chariot are fully described.

[3] Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, vol. i. pls. 11, 27; cf. the gem engraved on the title of the present work.

[4] Tiglath-pileser is seen, for instance, setting out on a campaign in a mountainous country with only thirty chariots (*Annals*, col. ii. ll. 65–69).

methods of manœuvring: the infantry, on the other hand, had increased in numbers, and under the guidance of abler generals tended to become the most trustworthy force in Assyrian campaigns.

Notwithstanding the weight of his equipment, the Assyrian foot-soldier was as agile as the Egyptian, but he had to fight usually in a much more



THE KING'S CHARIOT CROSSING A BRIDGE.[1]

difficult region than that in which the Pharaoh's troops were accustomed to manœuvre. The theatre of war was not like Syria, with its fertile and almost unbroken plains furrowed by streams which offered little obstruction to troops throughout the year, but a land of marshes, arid and rocky deserts, mighty rivers, capable, in one of their sudden floods, of arresting progress for days, and of jeopardising the success of a campaign;[2] violent and ice-cold torrents, rugged mountains whose summits rose into "points like daggers," and whose passes could be held against a host of invaders by a handful of resolute men.[3] Bands of daring skirmishers, consisting of archers, slingers, and pikemen,

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from one of the bas-reliefs on the bronze gates of Balawat.

[2] Sennacherib was obliged to arrest his march against Elam, owing to his inability to cross the torrents swollen by the rain (*Taylor Prism*, col. iv. ll. 74–79); a similar *contretemps* must have met Assurbanipal on the banks of the Idid (*Annals*, col. v. ll. 95–103).

[3] The Assyrian monarchs dwell with pleasure on the difficulties of the country which they have to overcome; see, for instance, what Tiglath-pileser I. says in his *Annals* col. ii. ll. 8–10, 69–77, col. iii. ll. 31–35, 41–49, col. iv. ll. 12–17, 50–70.

cleared the way for the mass of infantry marching in columns, and for the chariots, in the midst of which the king and his household took up their station: the baggage followed, together with the prisoners and their escorts.[1] If they came to a river where there was neither ford nor bridge, they were not long in effecting a passage. Each soldier was provided with a skin, which, having inflated it by the strength of his lungs and closed the aperture, he embraced in his arms and cast himself into the stream. Partly by floating and partly by swimming, a whole regiment could soon reach the other side. The chariots could not be carried over so easily. If the bed of the river was not very wide, and the current not too violent, a narrow bridge was constructed, or rather an improvised dyke of large stones and rude gabions filled with clay, over which was spread a layer of branches and earth, supplying a sufficiently broad passage for a single chariot, of which the horses were led across at walking pace.[3] But when the distance between the banks was too great, and the stream too violent to allow of this mode of procedure, boats were requisitioned from the neighbourhood, on which men and chariots were embarked, while the horses, attended by grooms, or attached by their bridles to the flotilla, swam across the river.[4] If the troops had to pass through a mountainous district intersected by ravines and covered by forests, and thus impracticable on ordinary occasions for a large body of men, the advance-guard were employed in cutting a passage through the trees with the axe, and, if necessary, in making with the pick pathways or rough-hewn steps similar to those met with in the



THE ASSYRIAN INFANTRY CROSSING THE MOUNTAINS.[2]

[1] Assurbanipal relates, for instance, that he put under his escort a tribe which had surrendered themselves as prisoners (*Rassam Cylinder*, col. vii. ll. 77–81).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a bas-relief on the bronze gates of Balawât.

[3] Flying bridges, *titurâti*, were mentioned as far back as the time of Tiglath-pileser I. (*Annals*, col. iv. ll. 68, 70; cf. Lotz, *Die Inschriften Tiglath-pileser's I.*, p. 144). Those represented on pp. 629, 630 belong to the time of Shalmaneser II.

[4] It was in this manner that Tiglath-pileser I. crossed the Euphrates on his way to the [illegible] of Carchemish (*Annals*, col. v. ll. 57, 58).

Lebanon on the Phœnician coast.[1] The troops advanced in narrow columns, sometimes even in single file, along these improvised roads, always on the alert lest they should be taken at a disadvantage by an enemy concealed in the thickets. In case of attack, the foot-soldiers had each to think of himself, and endeavour to give as many blows as he received; but the charioteers, encumbered by their vehicles and the horses, found it no easy matter to extricate themselves from the danger. Once the chariots had entered into the forest region, the driver descended from his vehicle, and led the horses by the head, while the warrior and his assistant were not slow to follow his example, in order to give some relief to the animals by tugging at the wheels. The king alone did not dismount,



THE KING CROSSING A MOUNTAIN IN HIS CHARIOT.[2]

more out of respect for his dignity than from indifference to the strain upon the animals; for, in spite of careful leading, he had to submit to a rough shaking from the inequalities of this rugged soil; sometimes he had too much of this, and it is related of him in his annals that he had crossed the mountains on foot like an ordinary mortal.[3] A halt was made every evening, either at some village, whose inhabitants were obliged to provide food and lodging, or, in default of this, on some site which they could fortify by a hastily thrown up rampart of earth. If they were obliged to remain in any place for a length of time, a regular encircling wall was constructed, not square or rectangular like those

[1] See the account of the Tyrian Ladder at p. 183, *supra*. Tiglath-pileser I. speaks on several occasions, and not without pride, of the roads that he had made for himself with bronze hatchets through the forests and over the mountains (*Annals*, col. ii. ll. 7–10, col. iv. ll. 66, 67).

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Mansell, taken in the British Museum.

[3] *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. ii. ll. 68–77, col. iii. ll. 45–47, col. vi. ll. 51, 52. The same fact is found in the accounts of every expedition, but more importance is attached to it as we approach the end of the Ninevite empire, when the kings were not so well able to endure hardship. Sennacherib mentions it on several occasions, with a certain amount of self-pity for the fatigue he had undergone, but with a real pride in his own endurance (*Taylor Prism*, col. i. ll. 66–69, col. iv. ll. 71–82).

of the Egyptians, but round or oval.[1] It was made of dried brick, and provided with towers like an ancient city; indeed, many of these entrenched camps survived the occasion of their formation, and became small fortified towns or castles, whence a permanent garrison could command the neighbouring country. The interior was divided into four equal parts by two roads, intersecting each other at right angles. The royal tents, with their walls of



AN ASSYRIAN CAMP.[2]

felt or brown linen, resembled an actual palace, which could be moved from place to place; they were surrounded with less pretentious buildings reserved for the king's household, and the stables. The tent-poles at the angles of these habitations were plated with metal, and terminated at their upper extremities in figures of goats and other animals made of the same material. The tents of the soldiers were conical in form, and each was maintained in its position by a forked pole placed inside. They contained the ordinary requirements of the peasant—bed and head-rest, table with legs like those of a gazelle, stools and folding-chairs; the household utensils and the provisions hung from the forks of the support. The monuments, which usually give few details of humble life, are remarkable for their complete reproductions of the daily scenes in the camp. We see on them the soldier making his bed, grinding corn, dressing the carcase of a sheep which he has just killed, or pouring out wine; the pot boiling on the fire is watched by the vigilant eye of a trooper or of a woman, while those not actively employed are grouped

[1] The oval inclines towards a square form, with rounded corners, on the bas-reliefs of the bronze gates of Shalmaneser II. at Balawât.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from Layard's *Monuments of Nineveh*, vol. i. pl. 30; cf. vol. i. pls. 63, 77, and vol. ii. pp. 24, 36, 50, where the usual scene of the sacrifice before the two royal standards is depicted.

together in twos and threes, eating, drinking, and chatting. A certain number of priests and soothsayers accompanied the army, but they did not bring the statues of their gods with them, the only emblems of the divinities seen in battle being the two royal ensigns, one representing Assur as lord of the territory, borne on a single bull and bending his bow, while the other depicted him standing on two bulls as King of Assyria.[1] An altar smoked before the



A FORTIFIED TOWN.[2]

chariot on which these two standards were planted, and every night and morning the prince and his nobles laid offerings upon it, and recited prayers before it for the well-being of the army.

Military tactics had not made much progress since the time of the great Egyptian invasions.[3] The Assyrian generals set out in haste from Nineveh or Assur in the hope of surprising their enemy, and they often succeeded in penetrating into the very heart of his country before he had time to mobilise or concentrate his forces. The work of subduing him was performed piecemeal; they devastated his fields, robbed his orchards, and, marching all through the night,[4] they would arrive with such suddenness before one or other of his towns, that he would have no time to organise a defence. Most of their campaigns were mere forced marches across plains and mountains, without regular sieges or pitched battles. Should the enemy, however, seek an engagement, and the

[1] It is possible that each of these standards corresponded to some dignity of the sovereign; the first belonged to him, inasmuch as he was *shar kishshati*, "king of the regions," and the other, by virtue of his office, of *shar Ashshur*, "King of Assyria" (Billerbeck-Jeremias, *Der Untergang Nineveh's*, in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. iii. p. 187).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Mansell, taken in the British Museum. The inhabitants of the town who have been taken prisoners, are leaving it with their cattle under the conduct of Assyrian soldiers; cf. what is said on this subject on pp. 639, 640 of the present work.

[3] For Egyptian military tactics of the time of Thûtmosis III., see *supra*, pp. 226-228, and pp. 458, 459, for those of the time of Ramses III.

[4] Assurnazirpal mentions several night marches, which enabled him to reach the heart of the enemy's country (*Annals*, col. ii. ll. 48, 49, 59-65).

men be drawn up in line to meet him, the action would be opened by archers and light troops armed with slings, who would be followed by the chariotry and heavy infantry for close attack; a reserve of veterans would await around the commanding-general the crucial moment of the engagement, when they would charge in a body among the combatants, and decide the victory by sheer strength of arm.[1] The pursuit of the enemy was never carried to any considerable distance, for the men were needed to collect the spoil, despatch the wounded, and carry off the trophies of war. Such of the prisoners as it was deemed useful or politic to spare were stationed in a safe place under a guard of sentries. The



THE BRINGING OF HEADS AFTER A BATTLE.[2]

remainder were condemned to death as they were brought in, and their execution took place without delay; they were made to kneel down, with their backs to the soldiery, their heads bowed, and their hands resting on a flat stone or a billet of wood, in which position they were despatched with clubs. The scribes, standing before their tent doors, registered the number of heads cut off; each soldier, bringing his quota and throwing it upon the heap, gave in his name and the number of his company, and then withdrew in the hope of receiving a reward proportionate to the number of his

[1] Cf. *supra*, pp. 614, 615, for the account of the battle in which Nebuchadrezzar I. vanquished the Elamites. Tiglath-pileser I. mentions a pitched battle against the Mushku, who numbered 20,000 men (*Annals*, col. i. ll. 62-82); and another against Kili-teshub, King of Kummukh (col. ii. ll. 16-28), in his first campaign. In one of the following campaigns he overcame the people of Saraush (col. iii. ll. 80-84) and those of Muratash (col. iii. ll. 102, 103), and also 6000 Sugi (col. iv. ll. 9-21); later on he defeated 23 allied kings of Nairi, and took from them 120 chariots (col. iv. ll. 71-96) and 20,000 people of Kumani (col. v. ll. 82-96). The other wars are little more than raids, during which he encountered merely those who were incapable of offering him any resistance.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, vol. i. pl. 22; cf. vol. ii. pls. 19, 29, 27, 45. On p. 227 of the present work will be found a corresponding scene after an Egyptian battle, with the collection of *phalli* and hands cut from the dead bodies of the enemy; this episode is taken from one of the bas-reliefs representing the victories of Ramses III. at Medinet-Habu.

victims.[1] When the king happened to accompany the army, he always presided at this scene, and distributed largesse to those who had shown most bravery; in his absence he required that the heads of the enemy's chiefs should be sent to him, in order that they might be exposed to his subjects on the gates of his capital. Sieges were lengthy and arduous undertakings. In the case of towns situated on the plain, the site was usually chosen so as to be protected by canals, or an arm of a river on two or three sides, thus leaving one side only without a natural defence, which the inhabitants endeavoured to make up for by means of double or treble ramparts.[2] These fortifications must have resembled those of the Syrian towns; the walls were broad at the base, and, to prevent scaling, rose to a height of some thirty or forty feet: there were towers at intervals of a bowshot, from which the archers could seriously disconcert parties making attacks against any intervening points in the curtain wall; the massive gates were covered with raw hides, or were plated with metal to resist assaults by fire and axe,[4] while, as soon as hostilities commenced, the defence was further completed by wooden scaffolding. Places thus fortified, however, at times fell almost without an attempt at resistance; the inhabitants, having descended into the lowlands to rescue their crops from the Assyrians, would be disbanded, and, while endeavouring to take refuge within their ramparts, would be pursued by the enemy, who would gain admittance with them in the general disorder.[5] If the town did not fall into



THE KING LETS FLY ARROWS AT A BESIEGED TOWN.[3]

[1] The details of this bringing of heads are known to us by representations of a later period; one of them is reproduced on p. 635. The allusions contained in the *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. i. ll. 81, 82, col. vi. ll. 4–6, shows that the custom was in full force under the early Assyrian conquerors.

[2] The town of Tela had three containing walls (*Annals of Assur-nazir-pal*, col. i. ll. 113, 114), that of Shingisha had four (*ibid.*, col. ii. ll. 99, 101), and that of Pitura two (*ibid.*, col. ii. ll. 104, 105).

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from LAYARD, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, vol. i. pl. 17; scenes of attack are also to be found in the same work in vol. i. pls. 29, 65, 66, and vol. ii. pl. 21.

[4] For the system of fortification employed in the towns of the Tigris and the Euphrates, cf. DIEULAFOY, *L'Acropole de Suse*, pp. 140, et seq., 171, et seq., and BILLERBECK-JEREMIAS, *Der Untergang Nineveh's*, in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. iii. pp. 153–166.

[5] As, for example, the town of Murattash in the *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. iv. ll. 102–105.

their hands by some stroke of good fortune, they would at once attempt, by an immediate assault, to terrify the garrison into laying down their arms.[1] The archers and slingers led the attack by advancing in couples till they were within the prescribed distance from the walls, one of the two taking careful aim, while the other sheltered his comrade behind his round-topped shield. The king himself would sometimes alight from his chariot and let fly his arrows in the front rank of the archers, while a handful of resolute men would rush against the gates of the town and attempt either to break them down or set them alight with torches. Another party, armed with stout helmets and quilted jerkins, which rendered them almost invulnerable to the shower of arrows or stones poured on them by the besieged, would attempt to undermine the walls by means of levers and pick-axes, and while thus engaged would be protected by mantelets fixed to the face of the walls, resembling in shape the shields of the archers. Often bodies of men would approach the suburbs of the city and endeavour to obtain access to the ramparts from the roofs of the houses in close proximity to the walls. If, however, they could gain admittance by none of these means, and time was of no consideration, they would resign themselves to a lengthy siege, and the blockade would commence by a systematic desolation of the surrounding country, in which the villages scattered over the plain would be burnt, the vines torn up, and all trees cut down. The Assyrians waged war with a brutality which the Egyptians would never have tolerated. Unlike the Pharaohs, their kings were not content to imprison or put to death the principal instigators of a revolt, but their wrath would fall upon the entire population. As long as a town resisted the efforts of their besieging force, all its inhabitants bearing arms who fell into their hands were subjected to the most cruel tortures; they were cut to pieces



ASSYRIAN SAPPERS.[2]

[1] Assurnazirpal, in this fashion, took the town of Pitura in two days, in spite of its strong double ramparts (*Annals of Assurnazirpal*, col. ii. ll. 104–107).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from LAYARD, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, vol. i. pl. 19; for other scenes representing the sapping of walls, cf. LAYARD, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, vol. i. pls. 20, 29, 66, and vol. ii. pl. 43.

or impaled alive on stakes, which were planted in the ground just in front of the lines, so that the besieged should enjoy a full view of the sufferings of their comrades. Even during the course of a short siege this line of stakes would be prolonged till it formed a bloody pale between the two contending armies.[1] This horrible spectacle had at least the effect of shaking the courage of the besieged, and of hastening the end of hostilities. When at length the town yielded to the enemy, it was often razed to the ground,[2] and salt was strewn upon its ruins,[3] while the unfortunate inhabitants



A TOWN TAKEN BY SCALING.[4]

were either massacred or transplanted *en masse* elsewhere.[5] If the bulk of the population were spared and condemned to exile, the wealthy and noble were shown no clemency; they were thrown from the top of the city towers, their ears and noses were cut off, their hands and feet were amputated, or they and their children were roasted over a slow fire, or flayed alive, or decapitated, and their heads piled up in a heap. The victorious sovereigns appear to have taken a pride in the ingenuity with which they varied these means of torture, and dwell with complacency on the recital of their cruelties. "I constructed a pillar at the gate of the city," is the boast of one of them; "I then flayed the chief men, and covered the post with their skins; I suspended their dead bodies

[1] For these lines of men impaled, see the representations of sieges in LAYARD, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, vol. ii. pl. 21.

[2] *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. ii. ll. 24, 25; col. iii. ll. 67-80; col. iv. ll. 3-4; col. v. ll. 2-4, 85-90; col. vi. ll. 27-30.

[3] This is what we seem to gather from a passage in the *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. vi. ll. 13, 14, in which Peiser sees in the ideogram *Zêpa*, though not without hesitation, the word for rock-salt.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from one of the bas-reliefs of the bronze gate of Balawat. The two soldiers who represent the Assyrian army carry their shields before them; flames appear above the ramparts, showing that the conquerors have burnt the town.

[5] *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. iii. ll. 62-68, 84-85; col. iv. ll. 2, 3; col. v. ll. 1, 2, 38-42.

from this same pillar, I impaled others on the summit of the pillar, and I ranged others on stakes around the pillar."[1]

Two or three executions of this kind usually sufficed to demoralise the enemy. The remaining inhabitants assembled: terrified by the majesty of Assur, and as it were blinded by the brightness of his countenance, they sunk down at the knees of the victor and embraced his feet.[2] The peace



TORTURES INFLICTED ON PRISONERS AFTER THE TAKING OF A TOWN.[3]

secured at the price of their freedom left them merely with their lives and such of their goods as could not be removed from the soil. The scribes thereupon surrounded the spoil seized by the soldiery, and drew up a detailed inventory of the prisoners and their property: everything worth carrying away to Assyria was promptly registered, and despatched to the capital. The contents of the royal palace led the way; it comprised the silver, gold, and copper of the vanquished prince, his caldrons, dishes and cups of brass, the women of his harem, the maidens of his household, his furniture and stuffs, horses and chariots, together with his men and women servants.[4] The enemy's gods,

[1] *Annals of Assur-nazir-pal*, col. i. ll. 89-91; cf. PEISER, *Inschriften Aschur-nazir-abal's*, in SCHRADER, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. i. pp. 66, 67. Other similar examples of cruelty are found in the same *Annals*, col. i. ll. 107-121, col. iii. ll. 107-109, 111-113, etc. The inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser mention but few of these wholesale executions, and rarely allude to the barbarous scenes which accompanied them; the conqueror, however, speaks of the heaps of heads which he had collected near the towns of Kummukh (*Annals*, col. i. ll. 81, 82).

[2] These are the very expressions used in the Assyrian texts: "The terror of my strength overthrew them, they feared the combat and they embraced my feet" (*Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. iii. ll. 4-6); and again: "The brightness of Assur, my lord, overturned them" (*Ibid.*, col. iv. ll. 73, 74). This latter image is explained by the presence over the king of the winged figure of Assur directing the battle; cf. the subject reproduced above the table of contents on p. 267 of the present work.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from one of the bas-reliefs of the bronze gates of Balawât; on the right the town is seen in flames, and on the walls on either side hangs a row of heads, one above another.

[4] *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. ii. ll. 25-33, 44-58, col. iii. l. 106, col. iv. l. 6; *Annals of Assur-nazir-pal*, col. i. ll. 85-88, col. ii. ll. 66-68, 119-125, col. iii. ll. 21-23, 72-76, etc.

like his kings, were despoiled of their possessions, and poor and rich suffered alike. The choicest of their troops were incorporated into the Assyrian regiments, and helped to fill the gaps which war had made in the ranks;[1] the peasantry and townsfolk were sold as slaves, or were despatched with their families to till the domains of the king in some Assyrian village.[2] The monuments often depict the exodus of these unfortunate wretches. They are represented as proceeding on their way in the charge of a few foot-soldiers—each of the men carrying, without any sign of labour, a bag of provisions, while the women bear their young children on their shoulders or in their arms: herds of cows and flocks of goats and sheep follow, chariots drawn by mules bringing up the rear with the baggage. While the crowd of non-combatants were conducted in irregular columns without manacles or chains,



A CONVOY OF PRISONERS AND CAPTIVES AFTER THE TAKING OF A TOWN.[3]

the veteran troops and the young men capable of bearing arms were usually bound together, and sometimes were further secured by a wooden collar placed on their necks. Many perished on the way from want or fatigue, but such as were fortunate enough to reach the end of the journey were rewarded with a small portion of land and a dwelling, becoming henceforward identified with the indigenous inhabitants of the country. Assyrians were planted as colonists in the subjugated towns, and served to maintain there the authority of the conqueror.[4] The condition of the latter resembled to a great extent that of the old Egyptian vassals in Phœnicia or Southern Syria. They were allowed to retain their national constitution, rites, and even their

[1] Tiglath-pileser I. in this manner incorporated 120 chariots of the Kashki and the Urumi into the Assyrian chariotry (*Annals*, col. iii. ll. 7-9).

[2] *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. i. ll. 84-88 (where the number transported is given as 6000), col. iii. ll. 7-10.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from LAYARD, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, vol. ii. pl. 35; cf. the representation of other convoys of prisoners in the same work, vol. i. pls. 58, 60, 74, and vol. ii. pls. 20, 29-31, 34, 37, 45.

[4] Cf. what is said of these Assyrian colonies on pp. 608, 609, 626-628 of the present work.

sovereigns;[1] when, for instance, after some rebellion, one of these princes had been impaled or decapitated, his successor was always chosen from among the members of his own family, usually one of his sons, who was enthroned almost before his father had ceased to breathe. He was obliged to humiliate his own gods before Assur, to pay a yearly tribute,[2] to render succour in case of necessity to the commanders of neighbouring garrisons, to



CONVOY OF PRISONERS BOUND IN VARIOUS WAYS.[3]

send his troops when required to swell the royal army,[4] to give his sons or brothers as hostages,[5] and to deliver up his own sisters and daughters, or those of his nobles, for the harem or the domestic service of the conqueror.[6] The unfortunate prince soon resigned himself to this state of servitude; he would collect around him and reorganise his scattered subjects, restore them to their cities, rebuild their walls, replant the wasted orchards, and sow the devastated fields. A few years of relative peace and tranquillity, during which he strove to be forgotten by his conqueror, restored prosperity to his country; the population increased with extraordinary rapidity, and new generations arose who, unconscious of the disasters suffered by their predecessors, had but one aim, that of recovering their independence.

[1] Cf. what is said upon the condition of the princes and peoples subject to the Pharaohs on p. 271 of the present work. For those who placed themselves at the mercy of the Assyrians and submitted to pay tribute, cf. the *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. ii. ll. 53–55, 84–89, col. iii. ll. 78, 88, 91, col. iv. ll. 27–34; col. v. ll. 8–21, 26–29, 37–41, 78–81.

[2] *Annals, etc.*, col. ii. ll. 83, 84, 90–96, col. iii. ll. 7, 92–95, col. iv. ll. 29–31, col. v. ll. 19, 20, 39–41, 80, 81.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a bas-relief of one of the gates of Balawât.

[4] *Annals of Assurnazirpal*, col. iii. ll. 69, 77.

[5] *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. ii. ll. 47, 48, col. v. ll. 17, 18; *Annals of Assurnazirpal*, col. i. ll. 100, 101, col. ii. ll. 11, 12.

[6] *Annals of Assurnazirpal*, col. ii. ll. 124, 125, col. iii. l. 76.

We must, however, beware of thinking that the defeat of these tribes was as crushing or their desolation as terrible as the testimony of the inscriptions would lead us to suppose. The rulers of Nineveh were but too apt to relate that this or that country had been conquered and its people destroyed, when the Assyrian army had remained merely a week or a fortnight within its territory, had burnt some half-dozen fortified towns, and taken two or three thousand prisoners.[1] If we were to accept implicitly all that is recorded of the Assyrian exploits in Nairi or the Taurus, we should be led to believe that for at least half a century the valleys of the Upper Tigris and Middle Euphrates were transformed into a desert; each time, however, that they are subsequently mentioned on the occasion of some fresh expedition, they appear once more covered with thriving cities and a vigorous population, whose generals offer an obstinate resistance to the invaders. We are, therefore, forced to admit that the majority of these expeditions must be regarded as mere raids. The population, disconcerted by a sudden attack, would take refuge in the woods or on the mountains, carrying with them their gods, whom they thus preserved from captivity, together with a portion of their treasures and cattle;[2] but no sooner had the invader retired, than they descended once more into the plain and returned to their usual occupations. The Assyrian victories thus rarely produced the decisive results which are claimed for them; they almost always left the conquered people with sufficient energy and resources to enable them to resume the conflict after a brief interval, and the supremacy which the suzerain claimed as a result of his conquests was of the most ephemeral nature. A revolt would suffice to shake it, while a victory would be almost certain to destroy it, and once more reduce the empire to the limits of Assyria proper.

Tukultiabalesharra, familiar to us under the name of Tiglath-pileser,[3] is the first of the great warrior-kings of Assyria to stand out before us with any definite individuality. We find him, in the interval between two skirmishes, engaged in hunting lions or in the pursuit of other wild beasts, and we see him lavishing offerings on the gods and enriching their temples with the spoils of his victories; these, however, were not the normal occupations of this sovereign, for peace with him was merely an interlude in a reign of conflict. He led all

[1] For example, Tiglath-pileser I. conquers the Kummukh in the first year of his reign, burning, destroying, and depopulating the towns, and massacring "the remainder of the Kummukh" who had taken refuge in the mountains (Annals, col. i. l. 89, col. ii. ll. 16, 36–62); after which, in his second campaign, he again pillages, burns, destroys, and depopulates the towns, and again massacres the remainder of the inhabitants hiding in the mountains (Annals, col. iii. ll. 11–25). He makes the same statements with regard to most of the other countries and peoples conquered by him, but we find them reappearing with renewed vigour on the scene, soon after their supposed destruction.

[2] *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. ii. ll. 39–42, col. iii. ll. 16–25, 72–75.

[3] Tiglath-pileser is one of the transcriptions given in the LXX. for the Hebrew version of the name: it signifies, "The child of Esharra is my strength." By "the child of Esharra" the Assyrians, like the Chaldæans, understood the child of Ninib (Lotz, *Die Inschriften Tiglath-pileser's I.*, pp. 1–2).

his expeditions in person, undeterred by any consideration of fatigue or danger, and scarcely had he returned from one arduous campaign, than he proceeded to sketch the plan of that for the following year; in short, he reigned only to wage war.[1] His father, Assurishishi, had bequeathed him not only a prosperous kingdom, but a well-organised army, which he placed in the field without delay. During the fifty years since the Mushku, descending through the gorges of the Taurus, had invaded the Alzi and the Purukuzzi,[2] Assyria had not only lost possession of all the countries bordering the left bank of the Euphrates, but the whole of Kummukh had withdrawn its allegiance from her, and had ceased to pay tribute. Tiglath-pileser had ascended the throne only a few weeks ere he quitted Assur, marched rapidly across Eastern Mesopotamia by the usual route, through Singar and Nisib, and climbing the chain of the Kashiari, near Mardin, bore down into the very heart of Kummukh, where twenty thousand Mushku, under the command of five kings, resolutely awaited him. He repulsed them in the very first engagement, and pursued them hotly over hill and vale, pillaging the fields, and encircling the towns with trophies of human heads taken from the prisoners who had fallen into his hands; the survivors, to the number of six thousand, laid down their arms, and were despatched to Assyria.[3] The Kummukh contingents, however, had been separated in the rout from the Mushku, and had taken refuge beyond the Euphrates, near to the fortress of Shirisha, where they imagined themselves in safety behind a rampart of mountains and forests. Tiglath-pileser managed, by cutting a road for his foot-soldiers and chariots, to reach their retreat: he stormed the place without apparent difficulty, massacred the defenders, and then turning upon the inhabitants of Kurkhi,[4] who were on

[1] We possess two different documents as materials for a study of the reign of Tiglath-pileser: 1st. The Annals of his first five years, of which there are four copies published in RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pls. 9-16, and also in WINCKLER, *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten I.*, pp. 1-25, translated in 1857 by four Assyriologists under the title of *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I., King of Assyria, B.C. 1150, as translated by Sir H. Rawlinson, Fox Talbot, Dr. Hincks and Dr. Oppert*, and also in 1865 by OPPERT alone, *Histoire des Empires de Chaldée et d'Assyrie*, etc., pp. 44-59, transcribed, translated, and commented on by LOTZ, *Die Inschr. Tiglath-pileser's I.*, pp. 12-188, and finally transcribed and translated by WINCKLER, *Inschr. Tiglath-Pileser's I.*, in SCHRADER, *Keil. Bibliothek*, vol. i. pp. 14-47. 2ndly. The Annals of his first ten years, at first attributed to Assurishishi (cf. *supra*, p. 610, n. 1), published by H. RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iii. pl. 5, Nos. 1-2, and again by WINCKLER, *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten I.*, pp. 26, 27, annotated by LOTZ, *Die Inschr. Tiglath-pileser's I.*, pp. 193, 194, and more completely by MEISSNER, *Der Elamit. Feldzug Tiglath-pileser's I.* in *Zeits. für Assyr.*, vol. ix. pp. 101-104.

[2] Cf. *supra*, pp. 591, 616.

[3] *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. i. ll. 62-88; cf. LOTZ, *Die Inschriften Tiglath-pileser's I.*, pp. 16-19. The king, starting from Assur, must have followed the route through Sindjar, Nisib, Mardin, and Diarbekir—a road used later by the Romans, and still in existence at the present day. As he did not penetrate that year as far as the provinces of Alzi and Purukuzzi, he must have halted at the commencement of the mountain district, and have beaten the allies in the plain of Kara-tchai, before Diarbekir, in the neighbourhood of the Tigris.

[4] The country of the Kurkhi appears to have included at this period the provinces lying between the Sebbeneh-Su and the mountains of Djudi, probably a portion of the Sophene, the Arzanene and the Gordyene of classical authors (SCHRADER, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, pp. 143-147, note, 188, 189); for the reading Kurti of this name, cf. HOMMEL, *Gesch. Bab. und Assyr.*, p. 522, note 2, 524.

their way to reinforce the besieged, drove their soldiers into the Nâmi, whose waters carried the corpses down to the Tigris. One of their princes, Kiliteshub, son of Kaliteshub-Sarupi,[1] had been made prisoner during the action. Tiglath-pileser sent him, together with his wives, children, treasures, and gods,[2] to share the captivity of the Mushku; then retracing his steps, he crossed over to the right bank of the Tigris, and attacked the stronghold of Urrakhinas which crowned the summit of Panâri. The people, terror-stricken by the fate of their neighbours, seized their idols and hid themselves within the thickets like a flock of birds. Their chief, Shaditeshub, son of Khâtusaru,[3] ventured from out of his hiding-place to meet the Assyrian conqueror, and prostrated himself at his feet. He delivered over his sons and the males of his family as hostages, and yielded up all his possessions in gold and copper, together with a hundred and twenty slaves and cattle of all kinds; Tiglath-pileser thereupon permitted him to keep his principality under the suzerainty of Assyria, and such of his allies as followed his example obtained a similar concession. The king consecrated the tenth of the spoil thus received to the use of his god Assur and also to Rammân;[4] but before returning to his capital, he suddenly resolved to make an expedition into the almost impenetrable regions which separated him from Lake Van. This district was, even more than at the present day, a confused labyrinth of wooded mountain ranges, through which the Eastern Tigris and its affluents poured their rapid waters in tortuous curves. As hitherto no army had succeeded in making its way through this territory with sufficient speed to surprise the fortified villages and scattered clans inhabiting the valleys and mountain slopes, Tiglath-pileser selected from his force a small troop of light infantry and thirty chariots, with which he struck into the forests; but, on reaching

[1] The names of these princes have been read Kilianteru, Kalianteru, and lower down Shadianteru. Fr. Lenormant connected them with the Asiatic names ending in -andros,—Maiandros, Scamandros; he identified in the same way the first element of the Lydian name *Sadyattes* with Sadiandros (*Les antiquités de la Troade*, etc., i. pp. 62, 66, and *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. iii. p. 76; cf. Sayce, *The Monuments of the Hittites*, in the *Transactions* of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. vii. p. 294). Jensen has shown that we ought to recognise in the second element the name of the god Teshub, Teshupas, Tesub, Teshupa (cf. *supra*, p. 355, note 1), and read Kilitteshub, Kaliteshub, Shaditeshub (Jensen, *Grundlagen für eine Entzifferung der Hatischen oder Cilicischen Inschriften*, p. 163).

[2] *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. i. ll. 89-94, col. ii. ll. 1-35; cf. Lotz, *Die Inschriften Tiglath-pileser's I.*, pp. 18-21. According to what is said on p. 634, note 3, the vanquished must have crossed the Tigris below Bunduhhi and have taken refuge beyond [illegible], so that Sirrishu must be sought for between the [illegible] and the Ak-dagh, in the basin of the Batman-tchai, the present Nâmi.

[3] The name of this chief's father has always been read Khatukhi; it is a form of the name Khâtusaru borne by the Hittite king in the time of Ramses II. Cf. *supra*, p. 389, note 2.

[4] *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. ii. ll. 36-62; cf. Lotz, *Die Inschriften Tiglath-pileser's I.*, pp. 20-23. The site of Urrakhinas—read by Winckler Urratinas (*Inschr. Tiglath-pileser's I.*, in Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. i. pp. 20, 21)—is very uncertain; the town was situated in a territory which could belong equally well to the Kummukh or to the Kurkhi, and the mention of the crossing of the Tigris seems to indicate that it was on the right bank of the river, probably in the mountain group of Tur-Abdin.

the Aruma, he was forced to abandon his chariotry and proceed with the foot-soldiers only. The Mildish, terrified by his sudden appearance, fell an easy prey to the invader; the king scattered the troops hastily collected to oppose him, set fire to a few fortresses, seized the peasantry and their flocks, and demanded hostages and the usual tribute as a condition of peace.[1] In his first campaign he thus reduced the upper and eastern half of Kummukh, namely, the part extending to the north of the Tigris, while in the following campaign he turned his attention to the regions bounded by the Euphrates and by the western spurs of the Kashiari. The Alzi and the Purukuzzi had been disconcerted by his victories, and had yielded him their allegiance almost without a struggle.[2] To the southward, the Kashku and the Urumi, who had, to the number of four thousand, migrated from among the Khâti and compelled the towns of the Shubarti to break their alliance with the Ninevite kings, now made no attempt at resistance; they laid down their arms and yielded at discretion, giving up their goods and their hundred and twenty war-chariots, and resigning themselves to the task of colonising a distant corner of Assyria.[3] Other provinces, however, were not so easily dealt with; the inhabitants entrenched themselves within their wild valleys, from whence they had to be ousted by sheer force; in the end they always had to yield, and to undertake to pay an annual tribute. The Assyrian empire thus regained on this side the countries which Shalmaneser I. had lost, owing to the absorption of his energies and interests in the events which were taking place in Chaldæa.[4]

In his third campaign Tiglath-pileser succeeded in bringing about the pacification of the border provinces which shut in the basin of the Tigris to the north and east. The Kurkhi did not consider themselves conquered by the check they had received at the Nâmi; several of their tribes were stirring in Kharia, on the highlands above the Arzanîu, and their restlessness threatened to infect such of their neighbours as had already submitted themselves to the Assyrian yoke. "My master Assur commanded me to attack their proud summits, which no king has ever visited. I assembled my chariots and my foot-soldiers, and I passed between the Idni and the Aia, by a difficult country, across cloud-capped mountains whose peaks were as the point of a dagger, and unfavourable to the progress of

[1] *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. ii. ll. 63–84; cf. Lotz, *Die Inschriften Tiglathpileser's I.*, pp. 22–25. The Mildish of our inscription is to be identified with the country of Mount Umildish, mentioned by Sargon of Assyria (*Great Inscription*, l. 37). Hommel appears to me to place it too far north: if, as he says (*Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, p. 528, note 2), the troops had marched as far as Armenia and Lake Van, I think the king would not have omitted to mention the fact.

[2] *Annals*, col. ii. ll. 89–96; cf. Lotz, *Die Inschriften Tiglathpileser's I.*, pp. 24, 25.

[3] *Annals*, etc., col. ii. ll. 96–101, col. iii. ll. 1–6; cf. Lotz, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–27. See what is said, *supra*, p. 591, upon this invasion of the Kashku and the Urumi into the country of Shubarti.

[4] *Annals*, etc., col. iii. ll. 7–31; cf. Lotz, *op. cit.*, pp. 26–29.

my chariots; I therefore left my chariots in reserve, and I climbed these steep mountains. The community of the Kurkhi assembled its numerous troops, and in order to give me battle they entrenched themselves upon the Azubtagish; on the slopes of the mountain, an incommodious position, I came into conflict with them, and I vanquished them." This lesson cost them twenty-five towns, situated at the feet of the Aia, the Shuira, the Idni, the Shizu, the Silgu, and the Arzanabiu[1]—all twenty-five being burnt to the ground. The dread of a similar fate impelled the neighbouring inhabitants of Adaush to beg for a truce, which was granted to them:[2] but the people of Saraush and of Ammaush, who "from all time had never known what it was to obey," were cut to pieces, and their survivors incorporated into the empire—a like fate overtaking the Isua and the Daria, who inhabited Khoatras.[3] Beyond this, again, on the banks of the Lesser Zab and the confines of Lulumê, the principalities of Muraddash and of Saradaush *refused to come to terms.* Tiglath-pileser broke their lines within sight of Muraddash, and entered the town with the fugitives in the confusion which ensued; this took place about the fourth hour of the day. The success was so prompt and complete, that the king was inclined to attribute it to the help of Rammân, and he made an offering to the temple of this god at Assur of all the copper, whether wrought or in ore, which was found among the spoil of the vanquished.[3] He was recalled almost immediately after this victory by a sedition among the Kurkhi near the sources of the Tigris. One of their tribes, known as the Sugi, who had not as yet suffered from the invaders, had concentrated round their standards contingents from some half-dozen cities, and the united force was, to the number of six thousand, drawn up on Mount Khirikhâ. Tiglath-pileser was again victorious, and took from them twenty-five statues of their gods, which he despatched to Assyria to be distributed among the sanctuaries of Belit at Assur, of Anu, Rammân, and of Ishtar.[4] Winter obliged him to suspend operations. When he again resumed them at the beginning

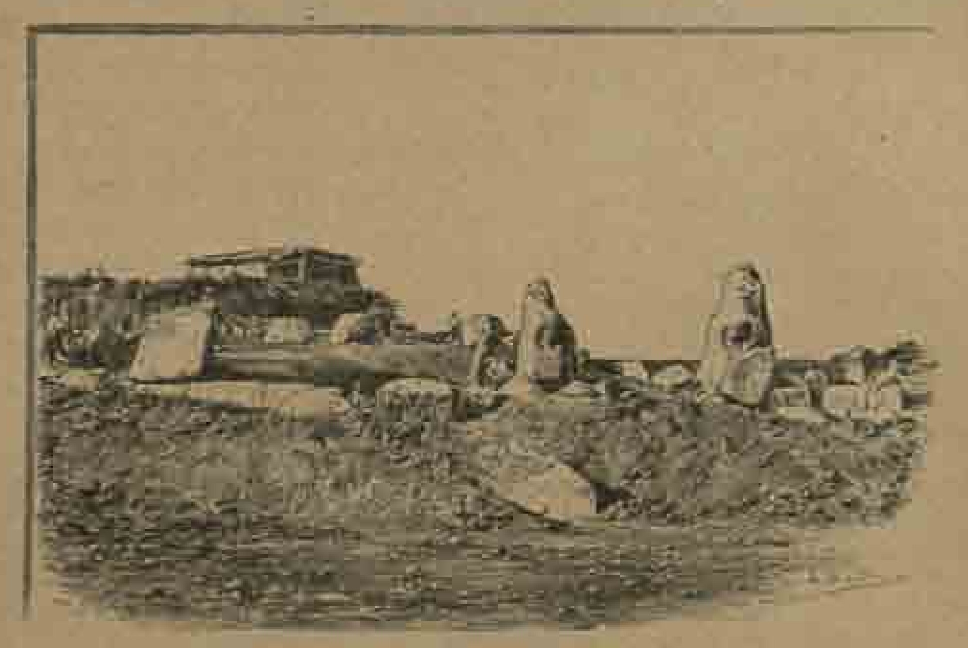
[1] *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. iii. ll. 35-65; cf. Lotz, *Die Inschriften Tiglathpileser's I.*, pp. 20-23. For the site of Kharria, cf. Hommel, *Geschichte Bab. und Ass.*, p. 524; it must be sought for probably between the sources of the Tigris and the Batman-tchai.

[2] *Annals*, etc., col. iii. ll. 70-76; cf. Lotz, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23. According to the context, the Adaush ought to be between the Kharia and the Saraush, possibly between the Batman-tchai and the Bohtan-tchai, in the neighbourhood of Mildish.

[3] *Annals*, etc., col. iii. ll. 77-106, col. iv. ll. 1-6; cf. Lotz, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-23. As Tiglath-pileser was forced to cross Mount Aruma (see *supra*, p. 644) in order to reach the Ammaush and the Saraush, these two countries, together with Isua and Daria, cannot be far from Mildish; Isua is, indeed, mentioned as near to Ammaush in an inscription of Shalmaneser II., which obliges us to place it somewhere near the sources of the Bahmadi-tchai (Sayce, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van*, in the *J. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xiv. p. [illegible]). The position of Muraddash and Saradaush is indirectly pointed out by the mention of the Lower Zab and the Lulumê. The name of Saradaush is perhaps preserved in that of Surtash, borne by the valley through which runs one of the tributaries of the Lower Zab.

[4] *Annals*, etc., col. iv. ll. 7-39; cf. Lotz, *Die Inschriften Tiglathpileser's I.*, pp. 24-27. For the site of the Sugi, cf. Hommel, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, p. 529.

of his third year, both the Kummukh and the Kurkhi were so peaceably settled that he was able to carry his expeditions without fear of danger further north, into the regions of the Upper Euphrates between the Halys and Lake Van, a district then known as Nairi. He marched diagonally across the plain of Diarbekir, penetrated through dense forests, climbed sixteen mountain ridges one after the other by paths hitherto considered impracticable, and finally crossed the Euphrates by improvised bridges, this being, as far as we know, the first time that an Assyrian monarch had



GENERAL VIEW OF THE RUINS OF EUYUK.[1]

ventured into the very heart of those countries which had formerly constituted the Hittite empire.

He found them occupied by rude and warlike tribes, who derived considerable wealth from working the mines, and possessed each their own special sanctuary, the ruins of which still appear above ground, and invite the attention of the explorer. Their fortresses must have all more or less resembled that city of the Pterians which flourished for so many ages just at the bend of the Halys;[2] its site is still marked by a mound rising to some thirty feet above the plain, resembling the platforms on which the Chaldæan temples were always built—a few walls of burnt brick and within

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph; cf. Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. iv. p. 661.

[2] For the city of the Pterians, the present Euyuk, cf. Perrot-Chipiez, *op. cit.*, vol. iv. pp. 656-680. The remains of the palace of Euyuk are probably later than the reign of Tiglath-pileser, and may be attributed to the Xth or IXth century before our era; they, however, probably give a very fair idea of what the towns of the Cappadocian region were like at the time of the first Assyrian invasions.

an enclosure, among the débris of rudely built houses, the ruins of some temples and palaces consisting of large irregular blocks of stone. Two colossal sphinxes guard the gateway of the principal edifice, and their presence proves with certainty how predominant was Egyptian influence even at this considerable distance from the banks of the Nile. They are not the ordinary sphinxes, with a human head surmounting the body of a lion couchant on its stone pedestal; but, like the Assyrian bulls, they are standing, and, to judge from the Hathorian locks which fall on each side of their countenances, they must have been intended to represent a protecting goddess rather than a male deity.[2] A remarkable emblem is carved on the side of the upright to which their bodies are attached: it is none other than the double-headed eagle, the prototype of which is not infrequently found at Telloh in Lower Chaldæa, among remains dating from the time of the kings and vicegerents of Lagash.[3] The court or hall to which this gate gave access was decorated with bas-reliefs, which exhibit a glaring imitation of Babylonian art; we can still see on these the king, vested in his long flowing robes, praying before an altar, while further on is a procession of dignitaries following a troop of rams led by a priest to be sacrificed; another scene represents two individuals in the attitude of worship, wearing short loin-cloths, and climbing a ladder whose upper end has an uncertain termination, while a third person applies his hands to his mouth in the performance of some mysterious



THE SPHINX ON THE RIGHT OF EUYUK.[1]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph. This is the sphinx seen on the right of the illustration on p. 647; the sphinx to the left is reproduced in Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. iv. p. 665.

[2] Perrot-Chipiez, *op. cit.*, vol. iv. pp. 667, 668.

[3] For the Chaldæan emblem of the double-headed eagle, cf. the illustration on pp. 603, 604 of the *Dawn of Civilization*.

ceremony; beyond these are priests and priestesses moving in solemn file as if in the measured tread of some sacred dance,[1] while in one corner we find the figure of a woman, probably a goddess, seated, holding in one hand a flower, perhaps the full-blown lotus, and in the other a cup from which she is about to drink. The costume of all these figures is that which Chaldæan fashion had imposed upon the whole of Western Asia, and consisted of the long



TWO BLOCKS COVERED WITH BAS-RELIEFS AT THE EUYUK PALACE.[2]

heavy robe, falling from the shoulders to the feet, drawn in at the waist by a girdle; but it is to be noted that both sexes are shod with the turned-up shoes of the Hittites, and that the women wear high peaked caps. The composition of the scenes is rude, the drawing incorrect, and the general technique reminds us rather of the low reliefs of the Memphite or Theban sculptors than of the high projection characteristic of the artists of the Lower Euphrates. These slabs of sculptured stone formed a facing at the base of the now crumbling brick walls, the upper surface of which was covered with rough plastering.[3] Here and there a few inscriptions reveal the name, titles, and parentage of some once celebrated personage, and mention the god in whose honour he had achieved the work. The characters in which these inscriptions are written are not, as a rule, incised in the stone, but are cut in relief upon its surface, and if some few of them may remind us of the

[1] Perrot, *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie*, pls. lxi., lxiii., lxiv., and *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. iv. pp. 670, 675, 679.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph; cf. Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. iv. pp. 672, 673.

[3] Perrot-Chipiez, *op. cit.*, vol. iv. p. 686.



HITTITE GODS AT EUYUK.[1]

Egyptian hieroglyphs, the majority are totally unlike them, both in form and execution. A careful examination of them reveals a medley of human and animal outlines, geometrical figures, and objects of daily use, which all doubtless corresponded to some letter or syllable, but to which we have as yet no trustworthy key. This system of writing is one of a whole group of Asiatic scripts, specimens of which are common in this part of the world from Crete to the banks of the Euphrates and Orontes.[2] It is thought that the Khâti must have already adopted it before their advent to power, and that it was they who propagated it in Northern Syria. It did not take the place of the cuneiform syllabary for ordinary purposes of daily life owing to its clumsiness and complex character, but its use was reserved for monumental inscriptions of a royal or religious kind, where it could be suitably employed as a framework to scenes or single figures. It, however, never presented the same graceful appearance and arrangement as was exhibited in the Egyptian hieroglyphs, the signs placed side by side being out of proportion with each other so as to destroy the general harmony of the lines, and it must be regarded as a script still in process of



AN ASIATIC GODDESS.[3]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph; cf. Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. iv. p. 671.
[2] For the Cretan inscriptions, see above, p. [illegible].
[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph; cf. Perrot-Chipiez, *op. cit.*, vol. iv. p. 678.

formation and not yet emerged from infancy.[1] Every square yard of soil turned up among the ruins of the houses of Euyuk yields vestiges of tools, coarse pottery, terra-cotta and bronze statuettes of men and animals, and other objects of a not very high civilization. The few articles of luxury discovered, whether in furniture or utensils, were not indigenous products, but were imported for the most



THE ASIATIC INSCRIPTION OF KOLITOLU-YAÏLA.[2]

part from Chaldæa, Syria, Phœnicia, and perhaps from Egypt; some objects, indeed, came from the coast-towns of the Ægean, thus showing that Western influence was already in contact with the traditions of the East. All the various races settled between the Halys and the Orontes were more or less imbued with this foreign civilization, and their monuments, though not nearly

[1] Sayce, who was the first to attempt to decipher it, was struck by certain resemblances in its signs with those of the Cypriote syllabary (*The Monuments of the Hittites*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. vii. p. 248, et seq.); Conder, on the other hand, claimed to have discovered certain analogies with the hieroglyphs (*Hamath Inscriptions*, in the *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statements*, 1883, pp. 133, 134, 189–192). Since these first attempts, many tentative efforts have been made to understand the texts written in this script: Halévy was opposed to the usual theory that they were Hittite, and proposed to call them Anatolian (*Introduction au déchiffrement des inscriptions pseudo-hittites ou anatoliennes*, in the *Revue sémitique*, vol. i. pp. 55–62, 126–137). Jensen, following Halévy's theory, proposed to regard both the writing and the language as those of Cilician tribes (*Grundlagen für eine Entzifferung der Hatischen oder Cilicischen Inschriften*, in the *Z. der D. Morgenl. Ges.*, vol. xlviii.). The Cappadocian tablets studied by Fr. Delitzsch, *Beiträge zur Entzifferung und Erklärung der Kappadokischen Keilschrifttafeln* (in the *Abhandlungen* of the Saxon Academy of Sciences, Philology and Hist. Section, vol. xiv., No. 4, pp. 207–270), probably belong to the period before or after Tiglath-pileser I.; Jensen, however, believes that they should be attributed to the earliest times of Assyrian history, before the XXth century B.C. (*Die Kappadokischen Keilschrifttäfelchen*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. x. pp. 79–81).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Hogarth; cf. Ramsay and Hogarth, *Prehellenic Monuments of Cappadocia*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiv., pl. v.

so numerous as those of the Pharaohs and Ninevite kings, bear, nevertheless, an equally striking evidence of its power. Examples of it have been pointed out in a score of different places in the valleys of the Taurus and on the plains of Cappadocia, in bas-reliefs, stelæ, seals, and intaglios, several of which must be nearly contemporaneous with the first Assyrian conquest. One instance of



DOUBLE SCENE OF OFFERINGS AT FRAKHTIN.[1]

it appears on the rocks at Ibriz, where a king stands in a devout attitude before a jovial giant whose hands are full of grapes and wheat-ears, while in another bas-relief near Frakhtin we have a double scene of sacrifice. The rock-carving at Ibriz is, perhaps, of all the relics of a forgotten world, that which impresses the spectator most favourably. The concept of the scene is peculiarly naïve; indeed, the two figures are clumsily brought together, though each of them, when examined separately, is remarkable for its style and execution. The king has a dignified bearing in spite of his large head, round eyes, and the unskilful way in which his arms are set on his body. The figure of the god is not standing firmly on both feet, but the sculptor has managed to invest him with an air of grandeur and an expression of vigour and *bonhomie*, which reminds us of certain types of the Greek Hercules.

Tiglath-pileser was probably attracted to Asia Minor as much by considerations of mercantile interest as by the love of conquest or desire for spoil. It would, indeed, have been an incomparable gain for him had he been able, if not to seize the mines themselves, at least to come into such close proximity to them that he would be able to monopolise their entire output, and at

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Hogarth; cf. Ramsay and Hogarth, *Pre-hellenic Monuments of Cappadocia*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiv. pl. vi. It will be remarked that both altars are in the form of a female without a head, but draped in the Assyrian robe.

the same time to lay hands on the great commercial highway to the trade centres of the west.[1] The eastern terminus of this route lay already within his domains, namely, that which led to Assur by way of Amid, Nisibe, Singar, and the valley of the Upper Tigris; he was now desirous of acquiring that portion of it which wound its way from the fords of the Euphrates at Malatiyeh to the crossing of the Halys. The changes which had just taken place in Kummukh and Nairi had fully aroused the numerous petty sovereigns of the neighbourhood. The bonds which kept them together had not been completely severed at the downfall of the Hittite empire, and a certain sense of unity still lingered among them in spite of their continual feuds; they constituted, in fact, a sort of loose confederation, whose members never failed to help one another when they were threatened by a common enemy.[3] As soon as the news of an Assyrian invasion reached them, they at once put aside their mutual quarrels and combined to oppose the invader with their united forces. Tiglath-pileser had, therefore, scarcely crossed the Euphrates before he was attacked on his right flank by twenty-three petty kings of Nairi,[4] while sixty other chiefs from the same neighbourhood bore down upon him in front. He overcame the first detachment of the confederates, though not without a sharp struggle; he carried carnage



THE BAS-RELIEF OF IBRIZ.[2]

[1] For this commercial highway, cf. *supra*, pp. 354–357.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Hogarth; cf. RAMSAY and HOGARTH, *Prehellenic Monuments*, etc., in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiv. pls. iii., iv., No. 2.

[3] This is to be gathered from a careful examination of the passages relating to these people in the *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.* I have followed the interpretation given by DELATTRE, *Encore un Mot sur la Géographie Assyrienne*, pp. 4–15.

[4] The text of the Annals of the Vth year give thirty instead of twenty-three (WINCKLER, *Inschriften Tiglath-Pileser's I.*, p. 28, l. 10); in the course of five or six years the numbers have already become exaggerated.

into their ranks, "as it were the whirlwind of Rammân," and seized a hundred and twenty of the enemy's chariots.[1] The sixty chiefs, whose domains extended as far as the "Upper Sea,"[2] were disconcerted by the news of the disaster, and of their own accord laid down their arms, or offered but a feeble resistance. Tiglath-pileser presented some of them in chains to the god Shamash; he extorted an oath of vassalage from them, forced them to give up their children as hostages, and laid a tax upon them *en masse* of 1200 stallions and 2000 bulls, after which he permitted them to return to their respective towns. He had, however, singled out from among them to grace his own triumph, Sini of Dayaîni, the only chief among them who had offered him an obstinate resistance; but even he was granted his liberty after he had been carried captive to Assur, and made to kneel before the gods of Assyria.[3] Before returning to the capital, Tiglath-pileser attacked Khanigalbat, and appeared before Milidia: as the town attempted no defence, he spared it, and contented himself with levying a small contribution upon its inhabitants.[4] This expedition was rather of the nature of a reconnaissance than a conquest, but it helped to convince the king of the difficulty of establishing any permanent suzerainty over the country. The Asiatic peoples were quick to bow before a sudden attack: but no sooner had the conqueror departed, than those who had sworn him eternal fealty sought only how best to break their oaths. The tribes in immediate proximity to those provinces which had been long subject to the Assyrian rule, were intimidated into showing some respect for a power which existed so close to their own borders. But those further removed from the seat of government felt a certain security in their distance from it, and were tempted to revert to the state of independence they had enjoyed before the conquest; so that unless the sovereign, by a fresh campaign, promptly made them realise that their disaffection would not remain unpunished, they soon forgot their feudatory condition and the duties which it entailed.

[1] *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. iv. ll. 43-96; cf. LOTZ, *Die Inschr. Tiglath-pileser's I.*, pp. 36-41.

[2] The site of the "Upper Sea" has furnished material for much discussion. Some believe it to be the Caspian Sea (MÉNANT, *Annales des rois d'Assyrie*, p. 53) or the Black Sea (ED. MEYER, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, vol. i. p. 331), others take it to be Lake Van (SCHRADER, *Die Namen der Meere in den Assyrischen Inschr.*, p. 184, et seq.; TIELE, *Bab.-Ass. Gesch.*, pp. 162, 163), while some think it to be the Mediterranean, and more particularly the Gulf of Issus between Syria and Cilicia (G. RAWLINSON, *The Five Great Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. 66; DELATTRE, *Esquisse de Géographie assyrienne*, pp. 10-12; HOMMEL, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, pp. 528, 529). At the present day several scholars have returned to the theory which makes it the Black Sea (TIELE, *Bab.-Ass. Gesch.*, p. 614; DELATTRE, *Encore un Mot sur la Géog. Assyrienne*, pp. 5-15).

[3] *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. iv. ll. 96-101, col. v. ll. 1-32; cf. LOTZ, *Die Inschr. Tiglath-pileser's I.*, pp. 38-43. Dayaéni, which is mentioned in the Annals of Shalmaneser II. (*Inscription from Kurkh*, col. ii. ll. 46, 47), has been placed on the banks of the Murad-su by Schrader (*Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, p. 152), and more particularly in the neighbourhood of Melasgerd by Sayce (*Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van*, in *J. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xiv. p. 399); Delattre has shown that it was the last and most westerly of twenty-three kingdoms conquered by Tiglath-pileser I. (*Encore un Mot*, etc., pp. 11, 12), and that it was consequently enclosed between the Murad-su and the Euphrates proper.

[4] *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. v. ll. 33-41; cf. LOTZ, *Die Inschr. Tiglath-pileser's I.*, pp. 42, 43.

Three years of merciless conflict with obstinate and warlike mountain tribes had severely tried the Assyrian army, if it had not worn out the sovereign; the survivors of so many battles were in sore need of a well-merited repose, the gaps left by death had to be filled, and both infantry and chariotry needed the re-modelling of their corps. The fourth year of the king's reign, therefore, was employed almost entirely in this work of reorganisation; we find only the record of a raid of a few weeks against the Akhlamî and other nomadic Aramæans situated beyond the Mesopotamian steppes. The Assyrians spread over the district between the frontiers of Sukhi and the fords of Carchemish for a whole day, killing all who resisted, sacking the villages and laying hands on slaves and cattle. The fugitives escaped over the Euphrates, vainly hoping that they would be secure in the very heart of the Khâti. Tiglath-pileser, however, crossed the river on rafts supported on skins, and gave the provinces of Mount Bishri over to fire and sword:[1] six walled towns opened their gates to him without having ventured to strike a blow, and he quitted the country laden with spoil before the kings of the surrounding cities had had time to recover from their alarm.[2] This expedition was for Tiglath-pileser merely an interlude between two more serious campaigns; and with the beginning of his fifth year he reappeared in the provinces of the Upper Euphrates to complete his conquest of them. He began by attacking and devastating Musri, which lay close to the territory of Milid. While thus occupied he was harassed by bands of Kumani; he turned upon them, overcame them, and imprisoned the remainder of them in the fortress of Arini, at the foot of Mount Aisa, where he forced them to kiss his feet. His victory over them, however, did not disconcert their neighbours. The bulk of the Kumani, whose troops had scarcely suffered in the engagement, fortified themselves on Mount Tala, to the number of twenty thousand; the king carried the heights by assault, and hotly pursued the fugitives as far as the range of Kharusa before Musri, where the fortress of Khunusa afforded them a retreat behind its triple walls of brick. The king, nothing daunted, broke his way through them one after another, demolished the ramparts, razed the houses, and strewed the ruins with salt; he then constructed a chapel of

[1] The country of Bishri was situated, as the *Annals* point out, in the immediate neighbourhood of Carchemish. The name is preserved in that of Tell Basher still borne by the ruins, and a modern village on the banks of the Sajur (Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 268; Schrader, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, p. 220, note 1; Winckler, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, p. 337). The Gebel Bishri, to which Hommel alludes (*Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, p. 165, note 1) is too far to the south to correspond to the description given in the inscription of Tiglath-pileser.

[2] *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. v. ll. 44-63; cf. Lotz, *Die Inschriften Tiglath-pileser's I.*, pp. 44, 45. Hommel (*Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, pp. 163, 164) has brought to bear on this campaign the information furnished by the *Synchronous History*, col. iii. ll. 14-24 (cf. Peiser-Winckler, *Die sogenannte synchronistische Gesch.*, in Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. i. pp. 198, 199), and which refers to a second expedition undertaken in these regions probably in the year preceding the taking of Babylon (cf. pp. 626-628 of the present work).

brick as a sort of trophy, and dedicated within it what was known as a copper thunderbolt, being an image of the missile which Rammân, the god of thunder, brandished in the face of his enemies. An inscription engraved on the object recorded the destruction of Khunusa, and threatened with every divine malediction the individual, whether an Assyrian or a stranger, who should dare to rebuild the city. This victory terrified the Kumani, and their capital, Kibshuna, opened its gates to the royal troops at the first summons. Tiglath-pileser completely destroyed the town, but granted the inhabitants their lives on condition of their paying tribute; he chose from among them, however, three hundred families who had shown him the most inveterate hostility, and sent them as exiles into Assyria.[1] With this victory the first half of his reign drew to its close; in five years Tiglath-pileser had subjugated forty-two peoples and their princes within an area extending from the banks of the Lower Zab to the plains of the Khâti, and as far as the shores of the Western Seas.[2] He revisited more than once these western and northern regions in which he had gained his early triumphs. The reconnaissance which he had made around Carchemish had revealed to him the great wealth of the Syrian table-land, and that a second raid in that direction could be made more profitable than ten successful campaigns in Nairi or upon the banks of the Zab. He therefore marched his battalions thither, this time to remain for more than a few days. He made his way through the whole breadth of the country, pushed forward up the valley of the Orontes, crossed the Lebanon, and emerged above the coast of the Mediterranean in the vicinity of Arvad. This is the first time for many centuries that an Oriental sovereign had penetrated so far west; and his contemporaries must have been obliged to look back to the almost fabulous ages of Sargon of Agadé or of Khammurabi,[3] to find in the long lists of the dynasties of the Euphrates any record of a sovereign who had planted his standards on the shores of the Sea of the Setting Sun.[4] Tiglath-pileser

[1] *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. v. ll. 67–100, col. vi. ll. 1–38; cf. Lotz, *Die Inschriften Tiglath-pileser's I.*, pp. 44–51. The country of the Kumani or Kummani is really the district of Comana in Cataonia (Delattre, *L'Asie occidentale dans les Inscriptions Assyriennes*, pp. 65, 66, and *Encore un Mot sur la Géographie Assyrienne*, pp. 31–33), and not the Comana Pontica on the banks of the Halys (Schrader, *Keilinschriften*, etc., p. 153). Delattre thinks that Tiglath-pileser penetrated into this region by the Jihun, and consequently seeks to identify the names of towns and mountains, e.g. Mount Hamaru with Jaur-dagh, the Kharusa with Shamil-dagh, and the Tala with the Kermes-dagh (*Encore un Mot*, etc., pp. 43, 46); but it is difficult to believe that, if the king took this route, he would not mention the town of Marqasi-Marash, which lay at the very foot of the Jaur-dagh, and would have stopped his passage. It is more probable that the Assyrians, starting from Melitene, which they had just subdued, would have followed the route which skirts the northern slope of the Taurus by Albistan; the scene of the conflict in this case would probably have been the mountainous district of Zeitun.

[2] *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. vi. ll. 39–48; cf. Lotz, *Die Inschr. Tiglath-pileser's I.*, pp. 50, 51.

[3] For the campaigns of Sargon on the shores of the Mediterranean and his conquest of Cyprus, see *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 598; for the presence of Khammurabi and his successors in Syria and Phœnicia, cf. *supra*, pp. 47–50.

[4] This is the name given by the Assyrians to the Mediterranean; cf. Schrader, *Die Namen der Meere in den Assyrischen Inschriften*, p. 171, *et seq.*

embarked on its waters, made a cruise into the open, and killed a porpoise, but we have no record of any battles fought, nor do we know how he was received by the Phœnician towns.[1] He pushed on, it is thought, as far as the Nahr el-Kelb, and the sight of the hieroglyphic inscriptions which Ramses had caused to be cut there three centuries previously aroused his emulation.[2] Assyrian conquerors rarely quitted the scene of their exploits without leaving behind them some permanent memorial of their presence. A sculptor having hastily smoothed the surface of a rock cut out on it a figure of the king, to which was usually added a commemorative inscription. In front of this stele was erected an altar, upon which sacrifices were made, and if the



SACRIFICE OFFERED BEFORE THE ROYAL STELE.[3]

monument was placed near a stream or the seashore, the soldiers were accustomed to cast portions of the victims into the water in order to propitiate the river-deities. One of the half-effaced Assyrian stelæ adjoining those of the Egyptian conqueror is attributed to Tiglath-pileser.[4] It was on his return, perhaps, from this campaign that he planted colonies at Pitru on the right, and at Mutkinu on the left bank of the Euphrates, in order to maintain a watch over Carchemish, and the more important fords connecting Mesopotamia with the plains of the Aprîe and the Orontes.[5] The news of Tiglath-pileser's expedition was not long in reaching the Delta, and the Egyptian monarch then reigning at Tanis was thus made acquainted with the fact that there had arisen in Syria a new power before which his own was not unlikely to give way. In former times such news would have led to a war between the two states, but the time had gone

[1] All we know of this campaign is from a mention of it on the *Broken Obelisk*, col. i. ll. 1–5; cf. RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. of Western Asia*, vol. i. pl. 28; LOTZ, *Die Inschriften Tiglath-pileser's I.*, pp. 196, 197, and PEISER, *Inschriften Ashur-nazir-abal's*, in SCHRADER, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. i. pp. 122–125.

[2] Cf. pp. 389, 427, *supra*, for those stelæ of Ramses II. at Nahr el-Kelb.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from one of the bas-reliefs on the bronze gates of Balawât.

[4] BOSCAWEN (*The Monuments, etc., on the Rock at Nahr el-Kelb*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. vi. pp. 336, 337) thinks that we may attribute to Tiglath-pileser I. the oldest of the Assyrian stelæ at Nahr el-Kelb; no positive information has *as yet* confirmed this hypothesis, which is in other respects very probable.

[5] The existence of these colonies is known only from an inscription of Shalmaneser II. (*Monolith of Kurkh*, col. i. ll. 35–38, in RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. of W. Asia*, vol. iii. pl. 7); for the fords of the Euphrates, see *supra*, pp. 143, 148.

by when Egypt was prompt to take up arms at the slightest encroachment on her Asiatic provinces. Her influence at this time was owing merely to her former renown, and her authority beyond the isthmus was purely traditional.[1] The Tanite Pharaoh had come to accept with resignation the change in the fortunes of Egypt, and he therefore contented himself with forwarding to the



PORTIONS OF THE SACRIFICIAL VICTIMS THROWN INTO THE WATER.[2]

Assyrian conqueror,[3] by one of the Syrian coasting vessels,[4] a present of some rare wild beasts and a few crocodiles. In olden times Assyria had welcomed the arrival of Thûtmosis III. on the Euphrates by making him presents, which the Theban monarch regarded in the light of tribute: the case was now reversed, the Egyptian Pharaoh taking the position formerly occupied by the Assyrian monarch. Tiglath-pileser graciously accepted this unexpected homage, but the turbulent condition of the northern tribes prevented his improving the occasion by an advance into Phœnicia and the land of Canaan. Nairi occupied his attention on two separate occasions at least; on the second of these he encamped in the neighbourhood of the source of the river Subnat. This stream had for a long period issued from a deep grotto, where in ancient times a god was supposed to dwell. The conqueror was lavish in religious offerings here, and caused a bas-relief to be engraved on the entrance in remembrance of his victories. He is here represented as standing upright, the tiara on his brow, and his right arm extended as if in the act of worship, while

[1] Cf. pp. 483, 564, 565, 582, 583, *supra*, for further details on this subject.
[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from one of the bas-reliefs on the bronze gates of Balawât.
[3] *Inscription on the Broken Obelisk*, col. i. ll. 29, 30; cf. Lotz, *Die Inschriften Tiglath-pileser's I.*, p. 197.
[4] *See* pp. 582, 583, *supra*, for an account of the voyage undertaken by command of Hatshopsîtû, which shows how these presents could reach the Assyrians without going through many hands.

his left, the elbow brought up to his side, holds a club. The inscription appended to the figure tells, with an eloquence all the more effective from its brevity, how, "with the aid of Assur, Shamash, and Rammân, the great gods, my lords, I, Tiglath-pileser, King of Assyria, son of Assurishishi, King of Assyria, son of Mutakkilnusku, King of Assyria, conqueror from the great sea, the Mediterranean, to the great sea of Nairi, I went for the third time to Nairi."[1]



THE STELE AT SEBENEH-SU.[4]

The gods who had so signally favoured the monarch received the greater part of the spoils which he had secured in his campaigns. The majority of the temples of Assyria, which were founded at a time when its city was nothing more than a provincial capital owing allegiance to Babylon, were either, it would appear, falling to ruins from age, or presented a sorry exterior, utterly out of keeping with the magnitude of its recent wealth. The king set to work to enlarge or restore the temples of Ishtar, Martu, and the ancient Bel;[2] he then proceeded to rebuild, from the foundations to the summit, that of Anu and Rammân, which the vicegerent Samsirammân, son of Ismidagan, had constructed seven hundred and one years previously.[3] This temple was the principal sanctuary of the city, because it was the residence of the chief of the gods, Assur, under his appellation of Anu.[5] The soil was cleared away down to the bed-rock, upon which an enormous substructure, consisting of fifty courses of bricks, was laid, and above this were erected two lofty ziggurâts, whose tile-covered surfaces shone like the rising sun in their brightness; the completion of the whole

[1] Inscription discovered by Taylor in 1862, and published by H. RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. Asia*, vol. iii. pl. 4, No. vi., translated in the first place by SCHRADER, *Die Keilinschriften am Eingange der Quellgrotte des Sebeneh-Su*, pp. 1-8, 27; cf. LOTZ, *Die Inschriften Tiglath-pileser's I.*, pp. 190, 191, and WINCKLER, *Inschr. Tiglath-Pileser's I.*, in SCHRADER, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. i. pp. 48, 49.

[2] *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. vi. ll. 85-93; cf. LOTZ, *Die Inschr. Tiglath-pileser's I.*, pp. 54, 55. "Bel the ancient," or possibly "the ancient master," appears to have been one of the names of Anu (HOMMEL, *Gesch. Bab. und Assyr.*, p. 518, n. 2), who is naturally in this connexion the same as Assur.

[3] See, for what little we know of this first Samsirammân, p. 112, n. 2, *supra*.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a sketch by F. Taylor, in G. RAWLINSON, *The Five Great Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. 79. A squeeze of this stele, reproduced in SCHRADER, *Die Inschriften am Eingange der Quellgrotte des Sebeneh-Su*, shows, above the arm, the inscription translated above.

[5] *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. vii. ll. 71-114; cf. LOTZ, *Die Inschriften Tiglath-pileser's I.*, pp. 60-65. This was the great temple of which the ruins still exist (cf. p. 601, *supra*).

was commemorated by a magnificent festival. The special chapel of Rammân and his treasury, dating from the time of the same Samsirammân who had raised the temple of Anu, were also rebuilt on a more important scale.[1] These works were actively carried on notwithstanding the fact that war was raging on the frontier; however preoccupied he might be with



TRANSPORT OF BUILDING MATERIALS BY WATER.[2]

warlike projects, Tiglath-pileser never neglected the temples, and set to work to collect from every side materials for their completion and adornment. He brought, for example, from Nairi such marble and hard stone as might be needed for sculptural purposes, together with the beams of cedar and cypress required by his carpenters. The mountains of Singar and of the Zab furnished the royal architects with building stone for ordinary uses, and for those facing slabs of bluish gypsum on which the bas-reliefs of the king's exploits were carved; the blocks ready squared were brought down the affluents of the Tigris on rafts or in boats, and thus arrived at their destination without land transport.

The kings of Assyria, like the Pharaohs, had always had a passion for rare trees and strange animals;[3] as soon as they entered a country, they inquired what natural curiosities it contained, and they would send back to

[1] *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. viii. ll. 1-10; cf. LOTZ, *Die Inschriften Tiglath-pileser's I.*, pp. 64, 65. The British Museum possesses bricks bearing the name of Tiglath-pileser I., brought from this temple, as is shown by the inscription on their sides (RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pl. 6, No. v.; cf. MENANT, *Annales des rois d'Assyrie*, p. 53; LOTZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-193). For the meaning "treasure" here attributed to the word *bît-khamri*, cf. WINCKLER, *Keilschriftliches zur Prisma-Inschrift*, etc., in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. v. p. 34.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a bas-relief on the bronze doors at Balawât.

[3] Cf. for information as to this love of rarities in the Pharaohs, pp. 260, 261, 265, of the *Dawn of Civilization*.

their own land whatever specimens of them could be procured. The triumphal *cortège* which accompanied the monarch on his return after each campaign comprised not only prisoners and spoil of a useful sort, but curiosities from all the conquered districts, as, for instance, animals of unusual form or habits, rhinoceroses and crocodiles,[1] and if some monkey of a rare species had been



RARE ANIMALS BROUGHT BACK AS TROPHIES BY THE KING.[2]

taken in the sack of a town, it also would find a place in the procession, either held in a leash or perched on the shoulders of its keeper. The campaigns of the monarch were thus almost always of a double nature, comprising not merely a conflict with men, but a continual pursuit of wild beasts. Tiglath-pileser, "in the service of Ninib, had killed four great specimens of the male urus in the desert of Mitanni, near to the town of Araziki, opposite to the countries of the Khâti;[3] he killed them with his powerful bow, his dagger of iron, his pointed lance, and he brought back their skins and horns to his city of Assur. He secured ten strong male elephants, in the territory of Harrân and upon the

[1] A crocodile sent as a present by the King of Egypt is mentioned in the *Inscription of the Broken Obelisk*, col. i. l. 29; cf. Lotz, *Die Inschriften Tiglath-pileser's I.*, pp. 198, 199, and also p. 658 of the present work. The animal is called namsukhu, which is the Egyptian emsuhu with the plural article na, and the origin of the word has been pointed out by Fox Talbot in the *J. As. Soc.*, vol. xix. p. 188.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the cast in the Louvre. The original is in the British Museum, forming part of the scenes reproduced in Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, vol. i. pl. 54. It is from the famous *Black Obelisk* of Shalmaneser II., of which mention will be made later on.

[3] The town of Araziki has been identified with the Eragiza (Eraziga) of Ptolemy (v. 15, 14) by Schrader, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, p. 228, and by Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 270; the Eraziga of Ptolemy was on the right bank of the Euphrates, while the text of Tiglath-pileser appears to place Araziki on the left bank.

banks of the Khabur, and he took four of them alive: he brought back their skins and their tusks, together with the living elephants, to his city of Assur." He killed moreover, doubtless also in the service of Ninib, a hundred and twenty lions, which he attacked on foot, despatching eight hundred more with arrows from his chariot,[1] all within the short space of five years, and we may well ask what must have been the sum total, if the complete record for his whole reign were extant. We possess, unfortunately, no annals of the later years of this monarch; we have reason to believe that he undertook several fresh expeditions into Nairi,[2] and a mutilated tablet records some details of troubles with Elam in the Xth year of his reign.[3] We gather that he attacked a whole series of strongholds, some of whose names have a Cossæan ring about them, such as Madkiu, Sudrun, Ubrukhundu, Sakama, Shuria, Khirishtu,



MONKEYS BROUGHT BACK AS TRIBUTE.[4]

[1] *Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. vi. ll. 58-61; cf. Lotz, *Die Inschriften Tiglath-pileser's I.*, pp. 52, 53. The account of the hunts in the *Annals* is supplemented by the information furnished in the first column of the "Broken Obelisk" (H. Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pl. 28; cf. Lotz, *Inschriften Tiglath-pileser's I.*, pp. 196-199, and Peiser, *Inschriften Asshur-nazir-abal's*, in Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. i. pp. 122-127). The monument is of the time of Assur-nazir-pal, but the first column contains an abstract from an account of an anonymous hunt, which a comparison of numbers and names leads us to attribute to Tiglath-pileser I. (Hommel, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, pp. 521-531; Tiele, *Bab.-Ass. Geschichte*, p. 160); some Assyriologists, however, attribute it to Assur-nazir-pal (Oppert, *Hist. des Empires de Chaldée et d'Assyrie*, p. 135).

[2] The inscription of Sebbeneh-Su (cf. *supra*, p. 659) was erected at the time of the third expedition into Nairi, and the *Annals* give only one (cf. *supra*, p. 655); the other two expeditions must, therefore, be subsequent to the Vth year of his reign.

[3] H. Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iii. pl. 5, No. 4; Winckler, *Die Inschriften Tiglath-Pileser's I.*, p. 28. The remains of this text have been translated by Hommel, who attributes it to Assur-rish-ishi (*Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, pp. 511, 512); for its supposed reference to the campaigns of Tiglath-pileser I., cf. Meissner, *Der elamitische Feldzug Tiglatpileser's I.*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. ix. pp. 101-105, and also *supra*, p. 616, note 4, and 648, note 1.

[4] Drawn by Boudier, from the bas-relief in Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, vol. i. pl. 40.

and Andaria. His advance in this direction must have considerably provoked the Chaldæans, and, indeed, it was not long before actual hostilities broke out between the two nations. The first engagement took place in the valley of the Lower Zab, in the province of Arzukhina, without any decisive result, but in the following year fortune favoured the Assyrians, for Dur-kurigalzu, both Sipparas, Babylon, and Upi opened their gates to them, while Akarsallu, the Akhlamê, and the whole of Sukhi as far as Rapiki tendered their submission to Tiglath-pileser.[1] Merodach-nadin-akhi, who was at this time reigning in Chaldæa, was, like his ancestor Nebuchadrezzar I., a brave and warlike sovereign: he appears at first to have given way under the blow thus dealt him, and to have acknowledged the suzerainty of his rival, who thereupon assumed the title of Lord of the four Houses of the World, and united under a single empire the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates. But this state of things lasted for a few years only; Merodach-nadin-akhi once more took courage, and, supported by the Chaldæan nobility, succeeded in expelling the intruders from Sumir and Akkad. The Assyrians, however, did not allow themselves to be driven out without a struggle, but fortune turned against them; they were beaten, and the conqueror inflicted on the Assyrian gods the humiliation to which they had so often subjected those of other nations. He took the statues of Rammân and Shala from Ekallati, carried them to Babylon, and triumphantly set them up within the temple of Bel. There they remained in captivity for 418 years.[3]



MERODACH-NADIN-AKHI.[2]

[1] *Synch. Hist.*, col. ii. ll. 14–24; cf. PEISER-WINCKLER, *Die sogenannte synchronistische Gesch.*, in SCHRADER, *Keilinschr. Bibliothek*, vol. i. pp. 198, 199, and SAYCE, *The Synchronous Hist. of Ass. and Bab.*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. iv. pp. 30, 31.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the heliogravure in FR. LENORMANT, *La Langue primitive de la Chaldée*, pl. i. p. 382. The original is in the British Museum. It is one of the boundary stones which were set up in a corner of a field to mark its legal limits; the text of it has been translated by OPPERT-MÉNANT, *Les Documents juridiques*, p. 81, et seq.

[3] We know this fact from the inscription of Bavian, in which Sennacherib boasts of having brought back these statues to Assyria after they had been 418 years in the possession of the enemy (H. RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iii. pl. xiv., ll. 48–50; cf. POGNON, *L'Inscription de Bavian*, pp. 18, 19, 89, 90). I have followed the commonly received opinion (HOMMEL, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, pp. 161–163, 531), which places the defeat of Tiglath-pileser after the taking of Babylon; others think that it preceded the decisive victory of the Assyrians (DELITZSCH-MÜRDTER, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, 2nd edit., pp. 135, 136; WINCKLER, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, p. 97). It is improbable that, if the loss of the statues preceded the decisive victory, the Assyrian conquerors should have left their gods prisoners in a Babylonian temple, and should not have brought them back immediately to Ekallati.

Tiglath-pileser did not long survive this disaster, for he died about the year 1100 B.C.,[1] and two of his sons succeeded him on the throne. The elder, Assur-belkala,[2] had neither sufficient energy nor resources to resume the offensive, and remained a passive spectator of the revolutions which distracted Babylon. Merodach-nadin-akhi had been followed by his son Merodach-shapik-zirim,[3] but this prince was soon dethroned by the people, and Rammân-abaliddin, a man of base extraction, seized the crown. Assur-belkala not only extended to this usurper the friendly relations he had kept up with the legitimate sovereign, but he asked for the hand of his daughter in marriage, and the rich dowry which she brought her husband no doubt contributed to the continuation of his pacific policy.[4] He appears also to have kept possession of all the parts of Mesopotamia and Kummukh conquered by his father, and it is possible that he may have penetrated beyond the Euphrates.[5] His brother, Samsi-rammân III., does not appear to have left any more definite mark upon history than Assur-belkala;[6] he decorated the temples built by his predecessors,[7] but beyond this we have no certain record of his achievements. We know nothing of the kings who followed him, their names even having been lost, but about a century and a half after Tiglath-pileser,[8] a certain

[1] The death of Tiglath-pileser must have followed quickly on the victory of Babylon; the contents of the inscription of Bavian permit us to fix the taking of Ekallati by the Chaldæans about the year 1108-1106 B.C. (HOMMEL, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, pp. 482, 531; DELITZSCH-MÜRDTER, 2nd edit., *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, p. 150). We shall not be far wrong in supposing Tiglath-pileser to have reigned six or eight years after his defeat.

[2] I follow the usually received classification (TIELE, *Bab.-ass. Gesch.*, pp. 158, 165; HOMMEL, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, p. 531). It is, however, possible that we must reverse the order of the sovereigns (SAYCE, *Synch. Hist. of Ass. and Bab.*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. ii. p. 192, note 2; DELITZSCH-MÜRDTER, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, 2nd edit. p. 158; WINCKLER, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, p. 180).

[3] The name of the Babylonian king has been variously read Merodach-shapik-zirat (G. SMITH, *Early Hist. of Babylonia*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. i. p. 74), Merodach-shapik-kullat (SAYCE, *Synch. Hist. of Ass. and Bab.*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. ii. p. 193; WINCKLER, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, pp. 98, 100), Merodach-shapik-zirmati (TIELE, *Bab.-ass. Gesch.*, pp. 152, 156, 165; DELITZSCH-MÜRDTER, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, 2nd edit., p. 156). Hilprecht's reading of it is Merodach-shapik-zirim (*The Bab. Expedition*, vol. i. p. 44, note 4; cf. ROGERS, *Outlines of the Hist. of Early Babylonia*, p. 98).

[4] *Synchronous Hist.*, col. ii. ll. 25-37; cf. PEISER-WINCKLER, *Die sogenannte Synchr. Gesch.*, in SCHRADER, *Keilinsch. Bibliothek*, vol. i. pp. 198, 199, and SAYCE, *Synchronous Hist. of Ass. and Bab.*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. iv. p. 31.

[5] This appears to be the case from a passage in the inscription published by H. RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pl. 6, No. vi., where he invokes the gods of Martu; this is at least the meaning given to it by SAYCE, *Synchr. Hist. of Ass. and Bab.*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. ii. p. 122, note 2, and HOMMEL, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, p. 533. BOSCAWEN supposes that one of the very mutilated inscriptions of the Nahr el-Kelb may belong to this prince, but the facts he alleges are too vague to permit of us adopting his hypothesis with any security (*The Monuments and Inscriptions on the Nahr-el-Kelb*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. vii. p. 338).

[6] The proof that he was the brother of Assur-belkala is furnished by the preamble of his votive inscriptions (RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. 3, Nos. 9, 11), where he calls himself son of Tiglath-pileser, grandson of Assurrishishi, and great-grandson of Mutakkilnusku.

[7] He restored the palace and temple of Ishtar at Nineveh (RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pl. 3, Nos. 9, 11; cf. G. SMITH, *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 252, and HOMMEL, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, p. 537).

[8] For this period, cf. HOMMEL, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, pp. 538-540, who collected and annotated with the utmost care all the documents that remain. The King Assurrabi (DELITZSCH-MÜRDTER, *Geschichte*

Assurirba seems to have crossed Northern Syria, and following in the footsteps of his great ancestor, to have penetrated as far as the Mediterranean: on the rocks of Mount Amanus, facing the sea, he left a triumphal inscription in which he set forth the mighty deeds he had accomplished.[1] This is merely a gleam out of the murky night which envelops his history, and the testimony of one of his descendants informs us that his good fortune soon forsook him; the Aramæans wrested from him the fortresses of Pitru and Mutkinu, which commanded both banks of the Euphrates near Carchemish.[2] Nor did the retrograde movement slacken after his time: Assyria slowly wasted away down to the end of the X[th] century, and but for the simultaneous decadence of the Chaldæans, its downfall would have been complete. But neither Rammân-abaliddin nor his successor was able to take advantage of its weakness; discord and want of energy soon brought about their own ruin. The dynasty of Pashê disappeared towards the middle of the X[th] century,[3] and a family belonging to the "Countries of the Sea" took its place: it had continued for about one hundred and thirty-two years, and had produced eleven kings.[4]

Babylonians, p. 137; Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 539; Winckler, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 181–332) has been erroneously called Assurmazur (Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies*, vol. ii. pp. 49, 81, n. 12), Assurrabamar (G. Smith, *Egyptian Campaigns of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1868, p. 116; Fr. Lenormant, *Lettres Assyriologiques*, vol. i. p. 233), and Assurrabburi (Tiele, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, pp. 157, 177, 178).

[1] We learn this from the fact that Shalmaneser II. mentions the stele of his predecessor (*Inscription of Balawat*, col. ii. ll. 3, 4, and *Inscription on the Monolith at Kurkh*, col. ii. l. 5, et seq.; cf. Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 540).

[2] In regard to the occupation of these two towns, see what is said on p. 637, *supra*.

[3] The list of the early Assyrian dynasties, starting from Shamshirammân I. (cf., for the earlier kings, what is said on p. 112, *supra*), may be given pretty much as follows:—

Shamshirammân I.	Rammânnirâri I.	Ninipabaliésharra.
Igurkapkapu.	Shalmaneser I.	Ashurdân I.
Shamshirammân II.	Tukultininip I.	Mutakkilnusku.
. . . .	Ashurnazirpal I.	Ashurishishi.
Ashurnadinakhê.	Tukultiashshurbel.	Tiglathpileser I.
Buzurashshur.	. . . .	Ashurbelkala.
Ashuruballit.	Ashurnirâri I. and Nabudayan.	Shamshirammân III.
Belnirari.	. . . .	. . . .
Pudilu.	Belkudurusur.	Ashurirba.

[4] It is no easy matter to draw up an exact list of this dynasty, and Hilprecht's attempt to do so (*The Babylonian Exp. of the Univ. of Penna.*, vol. i. p. 44) contains more than one doubtful name (see what is said on this point on p. 613, note 3, *supra*). The following list is very imperfect and doubtful, but the best that our present knowledge enables us to put forward:—

I. Mardukahi[ ]	17 years	VII. Mardukshapikzirim.
II.	6 years	VIII. Rammânabaliddin . . . . 22 years
III. Nebuchadrezzar I.	13 years	IX. Mardukahi-erba[ ] 1 year 6 months
IV.		X. Mardukzir[ ] . . . . 13 years
V. Belnadinabal		XI. Nabushum[ ] . . . . . . 9 years
VI. Marduknadinakhê		

The total duration of the dynasty was, according to the Royal Canon, 72 years 6 months. Peiser has shown that this is a mistake, and he proposes to correct it to 132 years 6 months (*Zur Babylonischen Chronologie*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. vi. pp. 268, 269), and this is accepted by most Assyriologists (Winckler, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 329, and *Altorientalische Forschungen*, p. 131; Hilprecht, *The Babylonian Exp. of the Univ. of Penna.*, vol. i. p. 43).

What were the causes of this depression, from which Babylon suffered at almost regular intervals, as though stricken with some periodic malady? The main reason soon becomes apparent if we consider the nature of the country and the material conditions of its existence. Chaldæa was neither extensive enough nor sufficiently populous to afford a solid basis for the ambition of her princes. Since nearly every man capable of bearing arms was enrolled in the army, the Chaldæan kings had no difficulty in raising, at a moment's notice, a force which could be employed to repel an invasion, or make a sudden attack on some distant territory; it was in schemes which required prolonged and sustained effort that they felt the drawbacks of their position. In that age of hand-to-hand combats, the mortality in battle was very high, forced marches through forests and across mountains entailed a heavy loss of men, and three or four consecutive campaigns against a stubborn foe soon reduced an army to a condition of dangerous weakness. Recruits might be obtained to fill the earlier vacancies in the ranks, but they soon grew fewer and fewer if time was not given for recovery after the opening victories in the struggle, and the supply eventually ceased if operations were carried on beyond a certain period. A reign which began brilliantly often came to an impotent conclusion, owing to the king having failed to economise his reserves; and the generations which followed, compelled to adopt a strictly defensive attitude, vegetated in a sort of anæmic condition, until the birth-rate had brought the proportion of males up to a figure sufficiently high to provide the material for a fresh army. When Nebuchadrezzar made war upon Assurishishi, he was still weak from the losses he had incurred during the campaign against Elam, and could not conduct his attack with the same vigour as had gained him victory on the banks of the Ulai; in the first year he only secured a few indecisive advantages, and in the second he succumbed. Merodach-nadin-akhi was suffering from the reverses sustained by his predecessors when Tiglath-pileser provoked him to war, and though he succeeded in giving a good account of an adversary who was himself exhausted by dearly bought successes, he left to his descendants a kingdom which had been drained of its last drop of blood. The same reason which explains the decadence of Babylon shows us the cause of the periodic eclipses undergone by Assyria after each outburst of her warlike spirit. She, too, had to pay the penalty of an ambition which was out of all proportion to her resources. The mighty deeds of Shalmaneser and Tukulti-ninip were, as a natural consequence, followed by a state of complete prostration under Tukultiassurbel and Assurnirari: the country was now forced to pay for the glories of Assurishishi and of Tiglath-pileser by falling into an inglorious state of languor and depression. Its kings, conscious that their rule must be

necessarily precarious as long as they did not possess a larger stock of recruits to fall back on, set their wits to work to provide by various methods a more adequate reserve. While on one hand they installed native Assyrians in the more suitable towns of conquered countries, on the other they imported whole hordes of alien prisoners chosen for their strength and courage, and settled them down in districts by the banks of the Tigris and the Zab. We do not know what Rammânirâri and Shalmaneser may have done in this way, but Tiglath-pileser undoubtedly introduced thousands of the Mushku, the Urummans, the people of Kummukh and Nairi, and his example was followed by all those of his successors whose history has come down to us. One might have expected that such an invasion of foreigners, still smarting under the sense of defeat, might have brought with it an element of discontent or rebellion; far from it, they accepted their exile as a judgment of the gods, which the gods alone had a right to reverse, and did their best to mitigate the hardness of their lot by rendering unhesitating obedience to their masters. Their grandchildren, born in the midst of Assyrians, became Assyrians themselves, and if they did not entirely divest themselves of every trace of their origin, at any rate became so closely identified with the country of their adoption, that it was difficult to distinguish them from the native race. The Assyrians who were sent out to colonise recently acquired provinces were at times exposed to serious risks. Now and then, instead of absorbing the natives among whom they lived, they were absorbed by them, which meant a loss of so much fighting strength to the mother country; even under the most favourable conditions a considerable time must have passed before they could succeed in assimilating to themselves the races amongst whom they lived. At last, however, a day would dawn when the process of incorporation was accomplished, and Assyria, having increased her area and resources twofold, found herself ready to endure to the end the strain of conquest. In the interval, she suffered from a scarcity of fighting men, due to the losses incurred in her victories, and must have congratulated herself that her traditional foe was not in a position to take advantage of this fact.

The first wave of the Assyrian invasion had barely touched Syria; it had swept hurriedly over the regions in the north, and then flowed southwards to return no more, so that the northern races were able to resume the wonted tenor of their lives. For centuries after this their condition underwent no change; there was the same repetition of dissension and intrigue, the same endless succession of alliances and battles without any signal advantage on either side. The Hittites still held Northern Syria: Carchemish was their capital, and more than one town in its vicinity preserved the tradition of their

dress, their language, their arts, and their culture in full vigour. The Greek legends tell us vaguely of some sort of Cilician empire which is said to have brought the eastern and central provinces of Asia Minor into subjection about ten centuries before our era.[1] Is there any serious foundation for such a belief, and must we assume that there existed at this time and in this part of the world a kingdom similar to that of Sapalulu? Assyria was recruiting its forces, Chaldæa was kept inactive by its helplessness, Egypt slumbered by the banks of its river, there was no actor of the first rank to fill the stage; now was the opportunity for a second-rate performer to come on the scene and play such a part as his abilities permitted. The Cilician conquest, if this be indeed the date at which it took place, had the boards to itself for a hundred years after the defeat of Assuritila. The time was too short to admit of its striking deep root in the country. Its leaders and men were, moreover, closely related to the Syrian Hittites; the language they spoke was, if not precisely the Hittite, at any rate a dialect of it; their customs were similar, if, perhaps, somewhat less refined, as is often the case with mountain races, when compared with the peoples of the plain. We are tempted to conclude that some of the monuments found south of the Taurus were their handiwork, or, at any rate, date from their time. For instance, the ruined palace at Sinjirli, the lower portions of which are ornamented with pictures similar to those at Pteria,[2] representing processions of animals, some real, others fantastic, men armed with lances or bending the bow, and processions of priests or officials. Then there is the great lion at Marash, which stands erect, with menacing head, its snarling lips exposing the teeth; its body is seamed with the long lines of an inscription in the Asiatic character, in imitation of those with which the bulls in the Assyrian palaces are covered. These Cilicians gave an impulse to the civilization of the Khâti which they sorely needed, for the Semitic races, whom they had kept in subjection for centuries, now pressed them hard on all the territory over which they had formerly reigned, and were striving to drive them back into the hills. The Aramæans in particular gave them a great

[1] Solinus, relying on the indirect evidence of Hecatæus of Miletus, tells us that Cilicia extended not only to the countries afterwards known as Cataonia, Commagene, and Syria, but also included Lydia, Media, Armenia, Pamphylia, and Cappadocia; the conquests of the Assyrian kings must have greatly reduced its area (*Polyhistor*, ed. Mommsen, p. 179, c. 38, § 1, et seq.). Mordtmann had already applied this hypothesis to the interpretation of the Asiatic monuments, and consequently regarded them as belonging to this Cilician empire (*Le Sceau de Tarkoudimmé, roi de Tarsous*, in Grote, *Münzstudien*, iii. pp. 130, 131); his theory was taken up by Lehmann (*Wochenschrift für classische Philologie*, 1885, No. 22), and has been worked out by Jensen in his *Grundlagen für eine Entzifferung der Hatischen oder Cilicischen Inschriften*, pp. 17–19. I am of opinion that the tradition preserved by Herodotus referred both to the kingdom of Sapalulu and to that of the monarchs of this second epoch.

[2] In regard to this palace, which is probably later than the Xth century, cf. Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. iv. pp. 323, 324. I shall have occasion to speak at greater length of Sinjirli later on.

deal of trouble. The states on the banks of the Euphrates had found them awkward neighbours; was this the moment chosen by the Pukudu, the Rutu, the Gambulu, and a dozen other Aramæan tribes, for a stealthy march across the frontier of Elam, between Durilu and the coast? The



LION AT MARASH.[1]

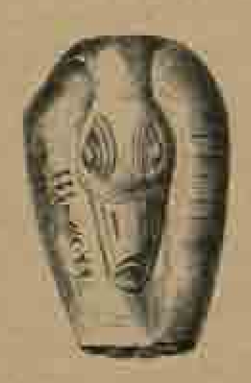
tribes from which, soon after, the Kaldi nation[2] was formed, were marauding round Eridu, Uru, and Larsa, and may have already begun to lay the foundations of their supremacy over Babylon: it is, indeed, an open question whether those princes of the Countries of the Sea who succeeded the Pashê dynasty did not come from the stock of the Kaldi Aramæans.[3] While they were thus consolidating on the south-east, the bulk of the nation continued to ascend northwards, and rejoined its outposts in the central region of the Euphrates, which extends from the Tigris to the Khabur, from the Khabur to the Balikh and the Apriê. They had already come into frequent conflict with most of the victorious Assyrian kings, from Rammânirâri down to Tiglath-pileser; the weakness of Assyria and Chaldæa gave them their opportunity, and they took full advantage of it. They soon became masters of the whole of Mesopotamia; a part of the table-land extending from Carchemish to Mount Amanus fell into

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph of the cast shown at the Paris Exhibition of 1889; cf. Philippe Berger, *Histoire de l'Écriture dans l'Antiquité*, p. 107.

[2] I shall have occasion to return to the question of the origin of the Kaldi; for the present, I must refer the reader to Delattre, *Les Chaldéens jusqu'à la formation de l'empire de Nabuchodonosor*, 2nd edit., pp. 2, 4, who notes the existence of a country of Chaldæa under Assurnazirpal in the first half of the IXth century B.C. In placing the rise of this state at the end of the XIth or beginning of the Xth century, we are merely suggesting a minimum date.

[3] This is the hypothesis suggested by Winckler (*Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte*, pp. 48, 50; cf. *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 177-180).

their hands; their activity was still greater in the basin of the Orontes, and their advanced guard, coming into collision with the Amurites near the sources of the Litâny, began gradually to drive farther and further southwards all that remained of the races which had shown so bold a front to the Egyptian troops. Here was an almost entirely new element, gradually eliminating from the scene of the struggle other elements which had grown old through centuries of war, and while this transformation was taking place in Northern and Central, a similar revolution was effecting a no less surprising metamorphosis in Southern Syria. There, too, newer races had gradually come to displace the nations over which the dynasties of Thûtmosis and Ramses had once held sway. The Hebrews on the east, the Philistines and their allies on the south-west, were about to undertake the conquest of the Kharu and its cities. As yet their strength was inadequate, their temperament undecided, their system of government imperfect; but they brought with them the quality of youth, and energies which, rightly guided, would assure the nation which first found out how to take advantage of them, supremacy over all its rivals, and the strength necessary for consolidating the whole country into a single kingdom.





THE HEBREWS AND THE PHILISTINES—DAMASCUS.

THE ISRAELITES IN THE LAND OF CANAAN: THE JUDGES—THE PHILISTINES AND THE HEBREW KINGDOM—SAUL, DAVID, SOLOMON, THE DEFECTION OF THE TEN TRIBES—THE XXIST EGYPTIAN DYNASTY—SHESHONQ OR SHISHAK—DAMASCUS.

The Hebrews in the desert: their families, clans, and tribes—The Amorites and the Hebrews on the left bank of the Jordan—The conquest of Canaan and the native reaction against the Hebrews—The judges, Ehud, Deborah, Jerubbaal or Gideon and the Manassite supremacy; Abimelech, Jephthah.

The Philistines, their political organisation, their army and fleet—Judah, Dan, and the story of Samson—Benjamin on the Philistine frontier—Eli and the ark of the covenant—The Philistine dominion over Israel; Samuel, Saul, the Benjamite monarchy—David, his retreat to the desert of Judah and his sojourn at Ziklag—The battle of Gilboa and the death of Saul—The struggle between Ish-bosheth and David—David sole king, and the final defeat of the Philistines—Jerusalem becomes the capital; the removal of the ark—Wars with the peoples of the East—Absalom's rebellion: the coronation of Solomon.

Solomon's government and his buildings—Phœnician colonisation in Spain: Hiram I. and the enlargement of Tyre—The voyages to Ophir and Tarshish—The palace at Jerusalem, the temple and its dedication: the priesthood and prophets—The death of Solomon: the schism of the ten tribes and the division of the Hebrew kingdom.

*The XXI*st *Egyptian dynasty: the Theban high priests and the Tanite Pharaohs—The Libyan mercenaries and their preponderance in the state: the origin of the XXII*nd *(Bubastite) dynasty—Sheshonq I. as king and his son Aûpûti as high priest of Amon; the hiding-place at Deir el-Baharî—Sheshonq's expedition against Jerusalem.*

The two Hebrew kingdoms: the fidelity of Judah to the descendants of Solomon, and the repeated changes of dynasty in Israel—Asa and Baasha—The kingdom of Damascus and its origin—Rezon, Tabrimmon, Benhadad I.—Omri and the foundation of Samaria: Ahab and the Tyrian alliance—The successors of Hiram I. at Tyre: Ithobaal I.—The prophets, their struggle against Phœnician idolatry, the story of Elijah—The wars between Israel and Damascus up to the time of the Assyrian invasion.





NABLUS, THE ANCIENT SHECHEM.[1]

CHAPTER VII.

THE HEBREWS AND THE PHILISTINES—DAMASCUS.

The Israelites in the land of Canaan: the judges—The Philistines and the Hebrew kingdom—Saul, David, Solomon, the defection of the ten tribes—the XXI^st Egyptian dynasty—Sheshonq—Damascus.

AFTER reaching Kadesh-barnea, the Israelites in their wanderings had come into contact with various Bedawin tribes—Kenites, Jerahmeelites, Edomites, and Midianites, with whom they had in turn fought or allied themselves, according to the exigencies of their pastoral life. Continual skirmishes had taught them the art of war, their numbers had rapidly increased, and with this increase came a consciousness of their own strength, so that, after a lapse of two or three generations, they may be said to have constituted a considerable nation. Its component elements were not, however, firmly welded together; they consisted of an indefinite number of clans, which were again subdivided

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph published by the Duc de Luynes, *Voyage d'exploration à la mer Morte*, pl. 22. The initial letter represents an armed Phoenician divinity, probably an equivalent of the Egyptian god Sit; it is drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a bronze statuette now in the Louvre.

into several families.[1] Each of these families had its chief or "ruler," to whom it rendered absolute obedience, while the united chiefs formed an assembly of elders who administered justice when required, and settled any differences which arose among their respective followers.[2] The clans in their turn were grouped into tribes,[3] according to certain affinities which they mutually recognised, or which may have been fostered by daily intercourse on a common soil, but the ties which bound them together at this period were of the most slender character. It needed some special event, such as a projected migration in search of fresh pasturage, or an expedition against a turbulent neighbour, or a threatened invasion by some stranger, to rouse the whole tribe to corporate action; at such times they would elect a "nasi," or ruler, the duration of whose functions ceased with the emergency which had called him into office.[4] Both clans and tribes were designated by the name of some ancestor from whom they claimed to be descended, and who appears in some cases to have been a god for whom they had a special devotion; some writers have believed that this was also the origin of the names given to several of the tribes, such as Gad, "Good Fortune," or of the totems of the hyena and the dog, in Arabic and Hebrew, "Simeon" and "Caleb."[5] Gad, Simeon, and Caleb were severally the ancestors of the families who ranged themselves under their respective names, and the eponymous heroes of all the tribes were held to have been brethren, sons of one father, and under the protection of one God. He was known as the Jahveh with whom Abraham of old had made a solemn covenant;[6] His dwelling-place was Mount Sinai or Mount Seir, and He revealed Himself in the storm;[7] His voice was as the thunder "which shaketh the wilderness," His breath was as "a consuming fire," and He was decked with light "as with a garment." When His anger was aroused, He

[1] The clan was called *mishpakhah* (*Lev.* xxv. 10; *Numb.* iii. 30, 35; *Josh.* xiii. 15); for its constitution, cf. STADE, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. p. 396, et seq.

[2] The elders were called *zakên*, in the plural *zekênim* (*Exod.* iii. 16, xxiv. 14; *Deut.* xxii. 16).

[3] The tribe was designated by two words signifying "staff" or "branch:" the first is *matteh* (*Numb.* i. 49, x. 15, xxxiv. 13, et seq., xxxvi. 3), the second *shebet* (*Exod.* xxiv. 4, xxviii. 21; *Numb.* xxxvi. 3; *Josh.* iv. 5; *Judges* xviii. 1).

[4] The word *nasi*, first applied to the chiefs of the tribes (*Exod.* xxxiv. 31; *Lev.* iv. 22; *Numb.* ii. 3), became, after the captivity, the title of the chiefs of Israel, who could not be called *kings* owing to the foreign suzerainty (*Esdras* i. 8).

[5] For this onomastic procedure, cf. ROBERTSON SMITH, *On Animal Worship and Animal Tribes amongst the Arabs and in the Old Test.*, in the *Journal of Philology*, vol. ix. p. 75, et seq. For its applicability to the clans and tribes of Israel, see STADE, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. p. 408–409. For Gad, see *supra*, pp. 157, 158. Simeon is derived by some from a word which at times denotes a hyena, at others a cross between a dog and a hyena, according to Arab lexicography (ROBERTSON SMITH, *On Animal Worship*, p. 80). With regard to Caleb Renan prefers a different interpretation; it is supposed to be a shortened form of Kalbel (cf. *Kalbelim* in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, vol. i. pp. 70, 71, No. 49, and pp. 92, 93, No. 52), and "Dog of El" is a strong expression to denote the devotion of a tribe to its patron god.

[6] For the covenant made by God with Abraham, see *supra*, pp. 66, 67.

[7] Cf. the graphic description of the signs which accompanied the manifestations of Jahveh in the *Song of Deborah* (*Judges* v. 4, 5), and also in 1 *Kings* xix. 11–12.

withheld the dew and rain from watering the earth; but when His wrath was appeased, the heavens again poured their fruitful showers upon the fields.[1] He is described as being a "jealous God," brooking no rival, and "visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation." We hear of His having been adored under the figure of a "calf,"[2] and of His Spirit inspiring His prophets, as well as of the anointed stones which were dedicated in His honour.[3] The common ancestor of the nation was acknowledged to have been Jacob, who, by his wrestling with God, had obtained the name of Israel; the people were divided theoretically into as many tribes as he had sons, but the number twelve to which they were limited does not entirely correspond with all that we know up to the present time of these "children of Israel."[4] Some of the tribes appear never to have had any political existence, as for example that of Levi,[5] or they were merged at an early date into some fellow-tribe, as in the case of Reuben with Gad;[6] others, such as Ephraim, Manasseh, Benjamin, and Judah, apparently did not attain their normal development until a much later date. The Jewish chroniclers attempted by various combinations to prove that the sacred number of tribes was the correct one. At times they included Levi in the list, in which case Joseph was reckoned as one;[7] while on other occasions Levi or Simeon was omitted, when for Joseph would be substituted his two sons Ephraim and Manasseh.[8] In addition to this, the tribes were very unequal in size; Ephraim, Gad, and Manasseh comprised many powerful and wealthy families; Dan, on the contrary, contained so few, that it was sometimes reckoned as a mere clan.

The tribal organisation had not reached its full development at the

[1] See 1 *Kings* xvii., xviii., where the conflict between Elijah and the prophets of Baal for the obtaining of rain is described.

[2] The most common of these animal forms was that of a calf or bull (*Exod.* xxxii.; *Deut.* ix. 21; and in the kingly period, 1 *Kings* xii. 28–30; 2 *Kings* x. 29); we are not told the form of the image of Micah the Ephraimite (*Judges* xviii. 14, 17, 18, 20, 30, 31). [The ephods mentioned as objects of reverence in *Judges* viii. 27, and 1 *Sam.* xxi. 9, cannot come under this category, as the Hebrew word used implies that there was no figure connected with them.—Ed.]

[3] For the stones which marked the sites of the appearances of Jahveh, cf. *supra*, pp. 66, 68, 69, 162–164.

[4] For *Jacob-Israel* and his twelve sons, and for the division of their descendants into twelve tribes, cf. *supra*, 68–70.

[5] Levi appears to have suffered dispersion after the events of which there are two separate accounts combined in *Gen.* xxxiv. In conjunction with Simeon, he appears to have revenged the violation of his sister Dinah by a massacre of the Shechemites, and the dispersion alluded to in Jacob's blessing (*Gen.* xlix. 5–7) is mentioned as consequent on this act of barbarism. For remarks on this subject, see Stade, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. pp. 152–154.

[6] In the IXth century Mesha of Moab does not mention the Reubenites, and speaks of the Gadites only as inhabiting the territory formerly occupied by them. Tradition attributed the misfortunes of the tribe to the crime of its chief in his seduction of Bilhah, his father's concubine (*Gen.* xlix. 3, 4; cf. xxxv. 22).

[7] As, for instance, in Jacob's blessing (*Gen.* xlix. 2–27) and in the enumeration of the patriarch's sons at the time of his journey to Egypt (*Gen.* xlvi. 8–25).

[8] *Numb.* i. 20, *et seq.*, where the descendants of Levi are not included among the twelve, and *Deut.* xxxiii. 6–25, where Simeon is omitted from among the tribes blessed by Moses before his death.

time of the sojourn in the desert. The tribes of Joseph and Judah, who subsequently played such important parts, were at that period not held in any particular estimation; Reuben, on the other hand, exercised a sort of right of priority over the rest.[1] The territory which they occupied soon became insufficient to support their numbers, and they sought to exchange it for a wider area, such as was offered by the neighbouring provinces of Southern Syria. Pharaoh at this time exercised no authority over this region, and they were, therefore, no longer in fear of opposition from his troops; the latter had been recalled to Egypt, and it is doubtful even whether he retained possession of the Shephelah by means of his Zakkala and Philistine colonies; the Hebrews, at any rate, had nothing to fear from him so long as they respected Gaza and Ascalon. They began by attempting to possess themselves of the provinces around Hebron, in the direction of the Dead Sea, and we read that, before entering them, they sent out spies to reconnoitre and report on the country.[2] Its population had undergone considerable modifications since the Israelites had quitted Goshen. The Amorites, who had seriously suffered from the incursions of Asiatic hordes, and had been constantly harassed by the attacks of the Aramæans, had abandoned the positions they had formerly occupied on the banks of the Orontes and the Litány, and had moved southwards, driving the Canaanites before them; their advance was accelerated as the resistance opposed to their hordes became lessened under the successors of Ramses III., until at length all opposition was withdrawn. They had possessed themselves of the regions about the Lake of Genesareth, the mountain district to the south of Tabor, the middle valley of the Jordan, and, pressing towards the territory east of that river, had attacked the cities scattered over the undulating table-land. This district had not been often subjected to incursions of Egyptian troops, and yet its inhabitants had been more impressed by Egyptian influence than many others. Whereas, in the north and west, cuneiform writing was almost entirely used, attempts had been made here to adapt the hieroglyphs to the native language. The only one of their monuments which has been preserved is a rudely carved bas-relief in black basalt, representing a two-horned Astarte, before whom stands a king in adoration; the sovereign is Ramses II., and the inscriptions accompanying the figures contain a religious formula, together with a name borrowed from one of the local dialects.[3] The Amorites were everywhere

[1] This conclusion is drawn from the position of eldest son given to him in all the genealogies enumerating the children of Jacob. Stade, on the contrary, is inclined to believe that this place of honour was granted to him on account of the smallness of his family, to prevent any jealousy arising between the more powerful tribes, such as Ephraim and Judah (*Gesch. des Volkes Isr.*, vol. i. pp. 151, 152).

[2] *Numb.* xiii.

[3] This is the "*Stone of Job*," discovered by Schumacher (*Zeitschrift des Palästina-Vereins*, 1891, vol. xiv. p. 142, et seq.; cf. Erman, *Der Hiobstein*, *ibid.*, vol. xv. pp. 205–211). The inscription appears to give the name of a goddess, Agana-Zaphon, the second part of which recalls the name of Baal-Zephon.

victorious, but our information is confined to this bare fact; soon after their victory, however, we find the territory they had invaded divided into two kingdoms: in the north that of Bashan, which comprised, besides the Haurân, the plain watered by the Yarmuk; and to the south that of Heshbon, containing the district lying around the Arnon, and the Jabbok to the east of the Dead Sea.[1] They seem to have made the same rapid progress in the country between the Jordan and the Mediterranean as elsewhere. They had subdued some of the small Canaanite states, entered into friendly relations with others, and penetrated gradually as far south as the borders of Sinai, while we find them establishing petty kings among the hill-country of Shechem around Hebron, on the confines of the Negeb, and the Shephelah.[3] When the Hebrew tribes ventured to push forward in a direct line northwards, they came into collision with the advance posts of the Amorite population, and suffered a severe defeat under the walls of Hormah.[4] The check thus received, however, did not discourage them. As a direct course was closed to them, they turned to the right, and followed, first the southern and then the eastern shores of the Red Sea, till they reached the frontier of Gilead.[5] There again they were confronted by the Amorites, but in lesser numbers, and not so securely entrenched within their fortresses as their fellow-countrymen in the


THE AMORITE ASTARTE.[2]

[1] The extension of the Amorite power in this direction is proved by the facts relating to the kingdoms of Sihon and Og (*Deut.* i. 4, ii. 24–37, iii. 1–17). For the whole of this Amorite migration, cf. Winckler, *Gesch. Israels*, vol. i. pp. 51–54.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the squeezes and sketches published in the *Zeitschrift des Palästina-Vereins*, vol. xv. pp. 206, 207; cf. also *supra*, p. 103, note 3.

[3] For the Amorite occupation of the Negeb and the hill-country of Judah, cf. *Numb.* xiii. 29, *Deut.* i. 7, 19–46; *Josh.* x. 5, 6, 12, xi. 3; for their presence in the Shephelah, cf. *Judges* i. 34–36.

[4] See the long account in *Numb.* xiii., xiv., which terminates with the mention of the defeat of the Israelites at Hormah; and cf. *Deut.* i. 19–46.

[5] The itinerary given in *Numb.* xx. 22–29, xxi., xxxiii. 37–49, and repeated in *Deut.* ii., brings the Israelites as far as Ezion-geber, in such a manner as to avoid the Midianites and the Moabites. The friendly welcome accorded to them in the regions situated to the east of the Dead Sea, has been accounted for either by an alliance made with Moab and Ammon against their common enemy, the Amorites (Wellhausen, *Abriss der Gesch. Israels und Judas*, in the *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vol. i. p. 7, and with more reserve by Renan, *Hist. du peuple d'Israel*, vol. i. p. 211, et seq.), or by the fact that Ammon and Moab did not as yet occupy these regions; the inhabitants in that case would have been Edomites and Midianites, who were in continual warfare with each other (Winckler, *Gesch. Israels*, vol. i. pp. 46–51, 205–208).



THE VALLEY OF THE JABBOK, NEAR TO ITS CONFLUENCE WITH THE JORDAN.[1]

Negeb, so that the Israelites were able to overthrow the kingdoms of Heshbon and Bashan.[2] Gad received as its inheritance nearly the whole of the territory lying between the Jabbok and the Yarmuk, in the neighbourhood of the ancient native sanctuaries of Penuel, Mahanaim, and Succoth, associated with the memory of Jacob.[3] Reuben settled in the vicinity, and both tribes remained there isolated from the rest. From this time forward they took but a slight interest in the affairs of their brethren: when the latter demanded their succour, "Gilead abode beyond Jordan," and "by the watercourses of Reuben there were great resolves of heart," but without any consequent action.[4]

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from photograph No. 236 of the *Palestine Exploration Fund*.

[2] War against Sihon, King of Heshbon (*Numb.* xxi. 21–31; *Deut.* ii. 26–37), and against Og, King of Bashan (*Numb.* xxi. 33–35; *Deut.* iii. 1–12). Ed. Meyer thinks that the episode of Sihon was placed by mistake at the time of the conquest (*Der Krieg gegen Sichon und die zugehörigen Abschnitte*, in the *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1885, pp. 36–52, and *Gesch. des Alterthums*, vol. i. pp. 391, 392, 462): according to him, Sihon was King of Moab, father of Mesha, from whom Omri of Israel took Heshbon at the beginning of the IXth century (cf. Stade, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. pp. 116, 118, 521, 522). Kuenen has refuted this hypothesis (*Hist. Kritik Onderzoek*, 2nd edit., vol. i. § 10, note 13), and his opinion is now accepted by most historians.

[3] For these ancient sanctuaries, cf. *supra*, pp. 68, 69, 183. For Gad and Reuben, cf. Stade, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. pp. 148–152; Gad did not possess the districts between the Jabbok and the Arnon till the time of the early kings, and retained them only till about the reign of Jehu, as we gather from the inscription of Mesa.

[4] These are the very expressions used by the author of the *Song of Deborah*, in *Judges* v. 16, 17; cf. pp. 687, 688 of this present volume.



ONE OF THE MOUNDS OF TEL ES-SULTAN, THE ANCIENT JERICHO.[1]

It was not merely due to indifference on their part; their resources were fully taxed in defending themselves against the Aramæans and Bedawins, and from the attacks of Moab and Ammon. Gad, continually threatened, struggled for centuries without being discouraged, but Reuben lost heart,[2] and soon declined in power, till at length he became merely a name in the memory of his brethren.

Two tribes having been thus provided for, the bulk of the Israelites sought to cross the Jordan without further delay, and establish themselves as best they might in the very heart of the Canaanites. The sacred writings speak of their taking possession of the country by a methodic campaign, undertaken by command of and under the visible protection of Jahveh.[3] Moses had led them from Egypt to Kadesh, and from Kadesh to the land of Gilead; he had seen the promised land from the summit of Mount Nebo, but he had not entered it, and after his death, Joshua, son of Nun, became their leader, brought them across Jordan dryshod, not far from its mouth, and laid siege to Jericho. The walls of the city fell of themselves at the blowing of the brazen trumpets,[4] and its capture entailed that of three

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph brought back by Lortet.

[2] The recollection of these raids by Reuben against the Beduin of the Syrian desert is traceable in 1 Chron. v. 10, 18–22; its authenticity is vainly contested by Stade, *Geschichte*, vol. i. p. 152, n. 1.

[3] The history of the conquest is to be found in the *Book of Joshua*. I shall not attempt, either here or in the other passages relating to the people of Israel, to enter into a detailed account of the various critical studies of the Hebrew text, nor to give an exhaustive bibliography of the subject.

[4] Josh. i.–vi.

neighbouring towns, Ai, Bethel, and Shechem. Shechem served as a rallying-place for the conquerors; Joshua took up his residence there, and built on the summit of Mount Ebal an altar of stone, on which he engraved the principal tenets of the divine Law.[1] The sudden intrusion of a new element naturally alarmed the worshippers of the surrounding local deities; they



THE JORDAN IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF JERICHO.[2]

at once put a truce to their petty discords, and united in arms against the strangers. At the instigation of Adoni-zedeck, King of Jerusalem, the Canaanites collected their forces in the south; but they were routed not far from Gibeon, and their chiefs killed or mutilated.[3] The Amorites in the north, who had assembled round Jabin, King of Hazor, met with no better success; they were defeated at the waters of Merom, Hazor was burnt, and Galilee delivered up to fire and sword.[4] The country having been thus to a certain extent cleared, Joshua set about dividing the spoil, and assigned to each tribe his allotted portion of territory.[5] Such, in its main outlines,

[1] *Josh.* vii., viii. Mount Ebal is the present Gebel Sulemiyeh.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph in LORTET, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui*, p. 431.

[3] *Josh.* x. The same war is given rather differently in *Judges* i. 1-8, where the king is called Adoni-bezek; cf. what is said on pp. 702, 703 of the present volume.

[4] *Josh.* xi. As another Jabin appears in the history of Deborah (cf. p. [illegible] of this volume), it has been maintained by some critics that there is a double *rôle* assigned to one and the same person, only that some maintain that the Jabin of *Josh.* xi. has been transferred to the time of the Judges, while *others* make out that the Jabin of Deborah was carried back to the time of the conquest (RENAN, *Hist. du peuple d'Israël*, vol. i. p. 207, note 4).

[5] The lot given to each tribe is described in *Josh.* xiii.–xxi.

is the account given by the Hebrew chroniclers; but, if closely examined, it would appear that the Israelites did not act throughout with that unity of purpose and energy which we might at first sight have attributed to them. They did not gain possession of the land all at once, but established themselves in it gradually by detachments, some settling at the fords of Jericho,[1] others more to the north, and in the central valley of the Jordan as far up as Shechem.[2] The latter at once came into contact with a population having a higher civilization than themselves, and well equipped for a vigorous resistance; the walled towns which had defied the veterans of the Pharaohs had not much to fear from the bands of undisciplined Israelites wandering in their neighbourhood. Properly speaking, there were no pitched battles between them, but rather a succession of raids or skirmishes, in which several citadels would successively fall into the hands of the invaders. Many of these strongholds, harassed by repeated attacks, would prefer to come to terms with the enemy, and would cede or sell them some portion of their territory; others would open their gates freely to the strangers, and their inhabitants would ally themselves by intermarriage with the Hebrews. Judah and the remaining descendants of Simeon and Levi established themselves in the south; Levi comprised but a small number of families, and made no important settlements; whereas Judah took possession of nearly the whole of the mountain district separating the Shephelah from the western shores of the Dead Sea, while Simeon made its abode close by on the borders of the desert around the wells of Beersheba.[4] The descendants of Rachel and her handmaid received as their inheritance the regions situated more to the centre of the country, the house of Joseph taking the best domains



ONE OF THE WELLS OF BEERSHEBA.[3]

[1] Renan, *Hist. du peuple d'Israël*, vol. i. pp. 217–222, thinks that the principal crossing must have taken place opposite Jericho, as is apparent from the account in *Josh.* ii., iii.

[2] Stade, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. pp. 137–140; Carl Niebuhr (*Gesch. des Ebräischen Zeitalters*, vol. i. p. 229, et seq.) believes that he has discovered the exact spot at the ford of Adamah, near Succoth.

[3] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph in Lortet's *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui*, p. 385.

[4] Wellhausen has remarked (Art. Israel, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, p. 400) that the lot of Levi must not be separated from that of Simeon, and, as the remnant of Simeon allied themselves with Judah, that of Levi also must have shared the patrimony of Judah.

for its branches of Ephraim and Manasseh. Ephraim received some of the old Canaanite sanctuaries, such as Ramah, Bethel, and Shiloh, and it was at the latter spot that they deposited the ark of the covenant. Manasseh settled to the north of Ephraim, in the hills and valleys of the Carmel group, and to Benjamin were assigned the heights which overlook the plain of Jericho.[1] Four of the less important tribes, Issachar, Asher, Naphtali, and Zebulon, ventured as far north as the borders of Tyre and Sidon, behind the Phœnician littoral, but were prevented by the Canaanites and Amorites from spreading over the plain, and had to confine themselves to the mountains. All the fortresses commanding the passes of Tabor and Carmel, Megiddo, Taanach, Ibleam, Jezreel,[2] Endor, and Bethshan remained inviolate, and formed as it were an impassable barrier-line between the Hebrews of Galilee and their brethren of Ephraim. The Danites were long before they found a resting-place; they attempted to insert themselves to the north of Judah, between Ajalon and Joppa, but were so harassed by the Amorites, that they had to content themselves with the precarious tenure of a few towns such as Zora, Shaalbin, and Eshdol.[3] The foreign peoples of the Shephelah and the Canaanite cities almost all preserved their autonomy; the Israelites had no chance against them wherever they had sufficient space to put into the field large bodies of infantry or to use their iron-bound chariots. Finding it therefore impossible to overcome them, the tribes were forced to remain cut off from each other in three isolated groups of unequal extent which they were powerless to connect: in the centre were Joseph, Benjamin, and Dan; in the south, Judah, Levi, and Simeon; while Issachar, Asher, Naphtali, and Zebulon lay to the north.

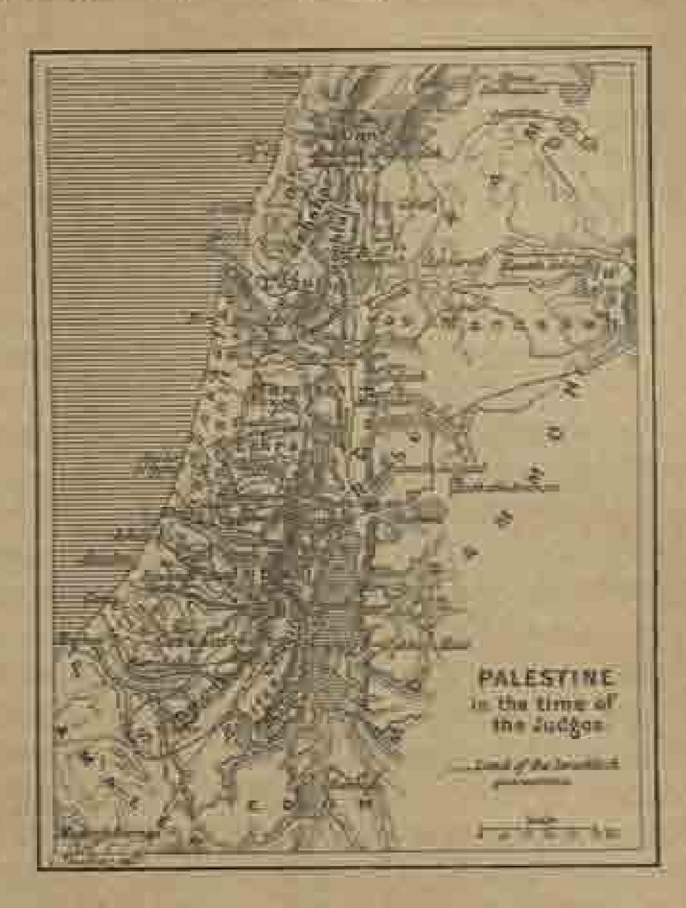
The period following the occupation of Canaan constituted the heroic age of the Hebrews. The sacred writings agree in showing that the ties which bound the twelve tribes together were speedily dissolved, while their fidelity and obedience to God were relaxed with the growth of the young generations to whom Moses or Joshua were merely names. The conquerors "dwelt among the Canaanites; the Hittite, and the Amorite, and the Perizzite, and the

[1] For the territory allotted to the children of Rachel, and the progressive formation of the tribes into which they were divided, cf. Wellhausen, *Abriss der Gesch. Israels und Juda's*, in the *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vol. i. pp. 14, 15; Stade, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. pp. 160–165; Renan, *Hist. du peuple d'Israël*, vol. i. pp. 258–261. Nöldeke is of opinion that the constitution of the tribe of Manasseh is not older than the times of Jerubbaal and Abimelech (in Schenkel, *Bibel-Lexikon*, vol. vi. p. 191, et seq.).

[2] In Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. pp. 168–175, will be found the documents which we possess dealing with the tribes settled in Galilee. Jezreel is not explicitly mentioned as being one of the cities which remained independent; it is, however, probable that for a long time it formed one of the group of autonomous [illegible] (Budde, *Die Bücher Richter und Samuelis*, pp. 45–47).

[3] For Dan and its subsequent history, cf. Stade, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. pp. 165–168.

Hivite, and the Jebusite: and they took their daughters to be their wives, and gave their own daughters to their sons, and served their gods. And the children of Israel did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord their God, and served the Baalim and the Ashteroth."[1] When they had once abandoned their ancient faith, political unity was not long preserved. War broke out between one tribe and another; the stronger allowed the weaker to be oppressed by the heathen, and were themselves often powerless to retain their independence. In spite of the thousands of men among them, all able to bear arms, they fell an easy prey to the first comer; the Amorites, the Ammonites, the Moabites, and the Philistines, all oppressed them in turn, and repaid with usury the ills which Joshua had inflicted on the Canaanites. "Whithersoever they went out, the hand of the Lord was against them for evil, as the Lord had spoken, and as the Lord had sworn unto them: and they were sore distressed. And the Lord raised up judges, which saved them out of the hand of those that spoiled them. And yet they hearkened not unto their judges, for they went a-whoring after other gods, and bowed themselves down unto them: they turned aside quickly out of the way wherein their fathers walked obeying the commandments of the Lord; but they did not so. And when the Lord raised them up judges, then the Lord was with the judge, and saved them out of the hand of their enemies all the days of the judge: for it repented the Lord because of their groaning by reason of them that oppressed them and vexed them. But it came to pass, when the judge was dead, that they



[1] *Judges* iii. 5-7 (R.V.).

turned back, and dealt more corruptly than their fathers, in following other gods to serve them, and to bow down unto them; they ceased not from their doings, nor from their stubborn way."[1] The history of this period lacks the unity and precision with which we are at first tempted to credit it. The Israelites, when transplanted into the promised land, did not immediately lose the nomadic habits they had acquired in the desert. They retained the customs and prejudices they had inherited from their fathers, and for many years treated the peasantry, whose fields they had devastated, with the same disdain that the Bedawin of our own day, living in the saddle, lance in hand, shows towards the fellahin who till the soil and bend patiently over the plough. The clans, as of old, were impatient of all regular authority; each tribe tended towards an isolated autonomy, a state of affairs which merited reprisals from the natives and encouraged hatred of the intruders, and it was only when the Canaanite oppression became unendurable that those who suffered most from it united themselves to make a common effort, and rallied for a moment round the chief who was ready to lead them. Many of these liberators must have acquired an ephemeral popularity, and then have sunk into oblivion together with the two or three generations who had known them; those whose memory remained green among their kinsmen were known by posterity as the judges of Israel.[2] These judges were not magistrates invested with official powers and approved by the whole nation, or rulers of a highly organised republic, chosen directly by God or by those inspired by Him. They were merely local chiefs, heroes to their own immediate tribe, well known in their particular surroundings, but often despised by those only at a short distance from them. Some of them have left only a name behind them, such as Shamgar, Ibzan, Tola, Elon, and Abdon; indeed, some scholars have thrown doubts on the personality of a few of them, as, for instance, Jair, whom they affirm to have personified a Gileadite clan, and Othniel, who is said to represent one of the Kenite families associated with the children of Israel.[3] Others, again, have come down to us through an atmosphere of popular tradition, the elements of which modern criticism has tried in vain to analyse. Of such unsettled and turbulent times we cannot expect an

[1] *Judges* ii. 18–19.

[2] The word "judges," which has been adopted to designate these rulers, is somewhat misleading, as it suggests the idea of an organised civil magistracy. The word "shophet," the same that we meet with in classical times under the form *suffetes*, had indeed that sense, but its primary meaning denotes a man invested with an absolute authority, regular or otherwise; it would be better translated *chief, prince, captain*.

[3] For a general treatment of these lesser judges, cf. Nöldeke, *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des Alten Testaments*, p. 181, et seq. The name Tola occurs as that of one of the clans of Issachar (*Gen.* xlvi. 13; *Numb.* xxvi. 23); Elon was one of the clans of Zebulun (*Gen.* xlvi. 14; *Numb.* xxvi. 26).

uninterrupted history;[1] some salient episodes alone remain, spread over a period of nearly two centuries, and from these we can gather some idea of the progress made by the Israelites, and observe their stages of transition from a cluster of semi-barbarous hordes to a settled nation ripe for monarchy.



MOABITE WARRIOR.[4]

The first of these episodes deals merely with a part, and that the least important, of the tribes settled in Central Canaan.[2] The destruction of the Amorite kingdoms of Heshbon and Bashan had been as profitable to the kinsmen of the Israelites, Ammon and Moab, as it had been to the Israelites themselves. The Moabites had followed in the wake of the Hebrews through all the surrounding regions of the Dead Sea; they had pushed on from the banks of the Arnon to those of the Jabbok, and at the time of the Judges were no longer content with harassing merely Reuben and Gad. They were a fine race of warlike, well-armed Bedawins. Jericho had fallen into their hands, and their King Eglon had successfully secured the entire hill-country of Ephraim,[3] so that those who wished to escape being pillaged had to safeguard themselves by the payment of an annual tribute. Ehud the Left-handed concealed under his garments a keen dagger, and joined himself to the Benjamite deputies who were to carry their dues to the Moabite sovereign. The money having been paid, the deputies turned homewards, but when they reached the cromlech of

[1] RENAN, *Hist. du peuple d'Israël*, vol. i. p. 302, however, believes that the judges "formed an almost continuous line, and that there merely lacks a descent from father to son to make of them an actual dynasty." The chronology of the *Book of Judges* appears to cover more than four centuries, from Othniel to Samson, but this computation cannot be relied on, as "forty years" represents an indefinite space of time. We must probably limit this early period of Hebrew history to about a century and a half, from circ. 1200 to 1050 B.C.

[2] The episode of Othniel and Cushan-rishathaim, placed at the beginning of the history of this period (*Judges* iii. 8-11), is by many critics rejected as spurious.

[3] The text seems to infer (*Judges* iii. 13-15) that, after having taken the *City of Palm Trees*, i.e. Jericho (*Deut.* xxxiv. 3; 2 *Chron.* xxviii. 15), Eglon had made it his residence, which makes the story incomprehensible from a geographical point of view. But all difficulties would disappear if we agreed to admit that in ver. 13 the name of the capital of Eglon has dropped out (BUDDE, *Die Bücher Richter und Samuelis*, p. 99).

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the original brought back by F. de Saulcy, and placed in the Louvre; cf. PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. iv. p. 445.

Gilgal,[1] and were safe beyond the reach of the enemy, Ehud retraced his steps, and presenting himself before the palace of Eglon in the attitude of a prophet, announced that he had a secret errand to the king, who thereupon commanded silence, and ordered his servants to leave him with the divine messenger in his summer parlour. "And Ehud said, I have a message from God unto thee. And he arose out of his seat. And Ehud put forth his left hand, and took the sword from his right thigh, and thrust it into his belly: and the haft also went in after the blade; and the fat closed upon the blade, for he drew not the sword out of his belly; and it came out behind." Then Ehud locked the doors and escaped. "Now when he was gone out, his servants came; and they saw, and, behold, the doors of the parlour were locked; and they said, Surely he covereth his feet in his summer chamber." But by the time they had forced an entrance, Ehud had reached Gilgal and was in safety. He at once assembled the clans of Benjamin, occupied the fords of the Jordan, massacred the bands of Moabites scattered over the plain of Jericho, and blocked the routes by which the invaders attempted to reach the hill-country of Ephraim. Almost at the same time the tribes in Galilee had a narrow escape from a still more formidable enemy.[2] They had for some time been under the Amorite yoke, and the sacred writings represent them at this juncture as oppressed either by Sisera of Harosheth-ha-Goyim or by a second Jabin, who was able to bring nine hundred chariots of iron into the field.[3] At length the prophetess Deborah of Issachar sent to Barak of Kadesh a command to assemble his people, together with those of Zebulon, in the name of the Lord;[4] she herself led the contingents of Issachar, Ephraim, and Machir to meet him at the foot of Tabor, where the united host is stated to have comprised forty thousand men. Sisera,[5]

[1] Cf. supra, p. [illegible]. The cromlech at Gilgal was composed of twelve stones, which, we are told, were erected by Joshua as a remembrance of the crossing of the Jordan (*Josh.* iv. 19–24).

[2] The text tells us that, after the time of Ehud, the land had rest eighty years (*Judges* iii. 30). This, again, is one of those numbers which represent an indefinite space of time.

[3] It has been maintained that two versions are here blended together in the text, one in which the principal part is played by Sisera, the other in which it is attributed to Jabin (Cornill, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 2nd edit., p. 94, et seq.). For the identity of Jabin II. with the Jabin of Joshua, cf. supra, p. 680. The episode of Deborah and Barak (*Judges* iv., v.) comprises a narrative in prose (chap. iv.), and the song (chap. v.) attributed to Deborah (Budde, *Die Bücher Richter und Samuelis*, p. 101, et seq.). Maurice Vernes is the only writer who has contested the authenticity of this song (*Les Débuts de la nation juive*, in the *Revue de l'Hist. des Religions*, vol. vii. pp. 332–338); the prose account probably is derived from the song. According to Wellhausen-Bleek, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 4th edit., p. 187, et seq., the differences in the two accounts arise partly from an imperfect understanding of the poetic text, and partly from one having come down from some other source (Budde, *Die Bücher Richter und Samuelis*, pp. 65–71, 105–107; cf. Wildeboer, *Die Litteratur des Alten Testaments nach der Zeitfolge ihrer Entstehung*, pp. 30, 31).

[4] Some critics suppose that the prose narrative (*Judges* iv. 5) has confounded the prophetess Deborah, wife of Lapidoth, with Deborah, nurse of Rachel, who was buried near Bethel, under the "Oak of Weeping" (*Gen.* xxxv. 8), and consequently place it between Ramah and Bethel, in the hill-country of Ephraim.

[5] In the prose narrative (*Judges* iv. 2–7) Sisera is stated to have been the general of Jabin;



TELL-JILJIL, THE SITE OF THE ANCIENT GILGAL.[1]

who commanded the Canaanite forces, attacked the Israelite army between Taanach and Megiddo in that plain of Kishon which had often served as a battle-field during the Egyptian campaigns.[2] It would appear that heavy rains had swelled the streams, and thus prevented the chariots from rendering their expected service in the engagement; at all events, the Amorites were routed, and Sisera escaped with the survivors towards Hazor. The people of Meroz facilitated his retreat, but a Kenite named Jael, the wife of Heber, traitorously killed him with a blow from a hammer while he was in the act of drinking.[3] This exploit was commemorated in a song, the composition of which is attributed to Deborah and Barak: "For that the leaders took the lead in Israel, for that the people offered themselves willingly, bless ye the Lord. Hear, O ye kings, give ear, O ye princes; I, even I, will sing unto the Lord; I will sing praise to the Lord, the God of Israel."[4] The poet then dwells on the

there is nothing incompatible in this statement with the royal dignity elsewhere attributed to Sisera. Harosheth-ha-Goyim has been identified with the present village of El-Harathiyeh, on the right bank of the Kishon.

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph in Lortet's *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui*, p. 436.

[2] Cf., for the site of Megiddo and the victory gained there by Thûtmosis III., pp. 124-128, 256-259 of the present work.

[3] Meroz is the present Marun, between the Lake of Huleh and Safed. I have followed the account given in the song (*Judges* v. 24-27). According to the prose version (iv. 17-22), Jael slew Sisera while he was asleep with a tent-pin, which she drove into his temple. [The text of Judges v. 24-27 does not seem to warrant the view that he was slain "in the act of drinking," nor does it seem in conflict with Judges iv. 21.—Tr.]

[4] Judges v. 2, 3 (R.V.)

sufferings of the people, but tells how Deborah and Barak were raised up, and enumerates the tribes who took part in the conflict as well as those who turned a deaf ear to the appeal. "Then came down a remnant of the nobles and the people. . . . Out of Ephraim came down they whose root is in Amalek:—out of Machir came down governors,—and out of Zebulon they that handle the marshall's staff.—And the princes of Issachar were with Deborah—as was Issachar so was Barak,—into the valley they rushed forth at his feet.[1]—By the watercourses of Reuben—there were great resolves of heart.—Why satest thou among the sheepfolds,—to hear the pipings for the flocks?—At the watercourses of Reuben—there were great searchings of heart.—Gilead abode beyond Jordan:—and Dan, why did he remain in ships?—Asher sat still at the haven of the sea—and abode by his creeks.—Zebulon was a people that jeoparded their lives unto the death,—and Naphtali upon the high places of the field.—The kings came and fought;—then fought the kings of Canaan—In Taanach by the waters of Megiddo:—they took no gain of money.—They fought from heaven,—the stars in their courses fought against Sisera.—The river of Kishon swept them away,—that ancient river, the river Kishon.—O my soul, march on with strength.—Then did the horsehoofs stamp—by reason of the pransings, the pransings of their strong ones." Sisera flies, and the poet follows him in fancy, as if he feared to see him escape from vengeance. He curses the people of Meroz in passing "because they came not to the help of the Lord." He addresses Jael and blesses her, describing the manner in which the chief fell at her feet, and then proceeds to show how, at the very time of Sisera's death, his people were awaiting the messenger who should bring the news of his victory; "through the window she looked forth and cried—the mother of Sisera cried through the lattice—'Why is his chariot so long in coming?—Why tarry the wheels of his chariot?'—Her wise ladies answered her,—yea, she returned answer to herself,—'Have they not found, have they not divided the spoil?—A damsel, two damsels to every man;—to Sisera a spoil of divers colours,—a spoil of divers colours of embroidery on both sides, on the necks of the spoil?'—So let all Thine enemies perish, O Lord:—but let them that love Him be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might.'"[2]

It was the first time, as far as we know, that several of the Israelite

[1] The text of the song (*Judges* v. 14) contains an allusion to Benjamin, which is considered by many critics to be an interpolation. It gives a mistaken reading, "*Issachar with Barak*;" Issachar having been already mentioned with Deborah, probably *Zebulon* should be inserted in the text.

[2] *Judges* v. 12-21, 28-31.

tribes combined together for common action after their sojourn in the desert of Kadesh-barnea, and the success which followed from their united efforts ought, one would think, to have encouraged them to maintain such a union, but it fell out otherwise; the desire for freedom of action and independence was too strong among them to permit of the continuance of the coalition. Manasseh,



MOUNT TABOR.[1]

restricted in its development by the neighbouring Canaanite tribes, was forced to seek a more congenial neighbourhood to the east of the Jordan—not close to Gad, in the land of Gilead, but to the north of the Yarmuk and its northern affluents in the vast region extending to the mountains of the Haurân. The families of Machir and Jair migrated one after the other to the east of the Lake of Gennesaret, while that of Nobah proceeded as far as the brook of Kanah, and thus formed in this direction the extreme outpost of the children of Israel: these families did not form themselves into new tribes, for they were mindful of their affiliation to Manasseh, and continued beyond the river to regard themselves still as his children.[2] The prosperity of Ephraim and

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by M. C. Allmand of Limoges.

[2] Manasseh was said to have been established beyond the Jordan at the time that Gad and Reuben were in possession of the land of Gilead (*Numb.* xxxii. 33, 39–42, xxxiv. 14, 15; *Deut.* iii. 13–15; *Josh.* xiii. 8, 29–32, xxii.). Earlier traditions, according to Budde, *Die Bücher Richter und Samuelis*,

Manasseh, and the daring nature of their exploits, could not fail to draw upon them the antagonism and jealousy of the people on their borders. The Midianites were accustomed almost every year to pass through the region beyond the Jordan which the house of Joseph had recently colonised. Assembling in the springtime at the junction of the Yarmuk with the Jordan, they crossed the latter river, and, spreading over the plains of Mount Tabor, destroyed the growing crops, raided the villages, and pushed, sometimes, their skirmishing parties over hill and dale as far as Gaza.[1] A perpetual terror reigned wherever they were accustomed to pass: no one dared beat out wheat or barley in the open air, or lead his herds to pasture far from his home, except under dire necessity: and even on such occasions the inhabitants would, on the slightest alarm, abandon their possessions to take refuge in caves or in strongholds on the mountains.[2] During one of these incursions two of their sheikhs encountered some men of noble mien in the vicinity of Tabor, and massacred them without compunction.[3] The latter were people of Ophrah,[4] brethren of a certain Jerubbaal (Gideon) who was head of the powerful family of Abiezer.[5] Assembling all his people at the call of the trumpet, Jerubbaal chose from among them three hundred of the strongest, with whom he came down unexpectedly upon the raiders, put them to flight in the plain of Jezreel, and followed them beyond the Jordan. Having crossed the river, "faint and yet pursuing," he approached the men of Succoth, and asked them for bread for himself and his three

pp. 22–29, 27. 33, placed this event in the period which followed the conquest of Canaan by Joshua. It is not certain that all the families which constituted the half-tribe of Manasseh took their origin from Manasseh: one of them, for example, that of Jair, was regarded as having originated partly from Judah (1 Chron. ii. 21–24).

[1] *Judges* vi. 2–6. The inference that they dare not beat wheat in the open follows from ver. 11, where it is said that "Gideon was beating out wheat in his winepress to hide it from the Midianites."

[2] The history of the Midianite oppression (*Judges* vi.–viii.) seems to be from two different sources: the second (*Judges* viii. 4–21) is considered by some to represent the more ancient tradition. The double name of the hero, Gideon-Jerubbaal, has led some to assign the elements respectively to Gideon, judge of the western portion of Manasseh, and Jerubbaal, judge of the eastern Manasseh (cf. Winckler, *Studien und Bemerkungen zur Geschichte des Alten Orients*, pp. 1–29), and to the consequent fusion of the two men in one.

[3] This is an assumption which follows reasonably from *Judges* viii. 18, 19.

[4] The site of the Ophrah of Abiezer is not known for certain, but it would seem from the narrative that it was in the neighbourhood of Shechem.

[5] The position of Gideon-Jerubbaal as head of the house of Abiezer follows clearly from the narrative; if he is represented in the first part of the account as a man of humble origin (*Judges* vi. 15, 16), it was to exalt the power of Jahveh, who was accustomed to choose His instruments from amongst the lowly. The name Jerubbaal (1 *Sam.* xii. 11; 2 *Sam.* xi. 21, where the name is transformed into Jerubbesheth, as Ishbaal and Meribbaal are into Ishbosheth and Mephibosheth respectively), in which "Baal" seems to some not to represent the Canaanite God, but the title Lord as applied to Jahveh, was supposed to mean "Baal fights against him," and was, therefore, offensive to the orthodox. Kuenen, *De Godsdienst van Israël*, vol. i. p. 408, thought it meant "Lord, fight for him!" Renan read it Yerubaal, from the Vulgate form Jerobaal, and translated "He who fears Baal" (*Hist. du peuple d'Israël*, vol. i. p. 312). Gideon signifies "He who overthrows" in the battle.

hundred followers. Their fear of the marauders however, was so great that the people refused to give him any help, and he had no better success with the people of Penuel whom he encountered a little further on. He did not stop to compel them to accede to his wishes, but swore to inflict an exemplary punishment upon them on his return. The Midianites continued their retreat, in the mean time, "by the way of them that dwelt in tents on the east of Nobah and Jogbehah," but Jerubbaal came up with them near Karkár, and discomfited the host. He took vengeance upon the two peoples who had refused to give him bread, and having thus fulfilled his vow, he began to question his prisoners, the two chiefs: "What manner of men were they whom ye slew at Tabor?" "As thou art, so were they; each one resembled the children of a king." "And he said, They were my brethren, the sons of my mother: as the Lord liveth, if ye had saved them alive, I would not slay you. And he said unto Jether his firstborn, Up, and slay them. But the youth drew not his sword: for he feared, because he was yet a youth." True Bedawins as they were, the chiefs' pride revolted at the idea of their being handed over for execution to a child, and they cried to Jerubbaal: "Rise thou, and fall upon us: for as the man is, so is his strength." From this victory rose the first monarchy among the Israelites. The Midianites, owing to their marauding habits and the amount of tribute which they were accustomed to secure for escorting caravans, were possessed of a considerable quantity of gold, which they lavished on the decoration of their persons: their chiefs were clad in purple mantles, their warriors were loaded with necklaces, bracelets, rings, and ear-rings, and their camels also were not behind their masters in the brilliance of their caparison. The booty which Gideon secured was, therefore, considerable, and, as we learn from the narrative, excited the envy of the Ephraimites, who said: "Why hast thou served us thus, that thou calledst us not, when thou wentest to fight with Midian?"[1] The spoil from the golden ear-rings alone amounted to one thousand seven hundred shekels, as we learn from the narrative, and this treasure in the hands of Jerubbaal was not left unemployed, but was made, doubtless, to contribute something to the prestige he had already acquired: the men of Israel, whom he had just saved from their foes, expressed their gratitude by offering the crown to him and his successors. The mode of life of the Hebrews had been much changed after they had taken up their abode in the mountains of Canaan. The tent had given place to the house, and, like their Canaanite neighbours, they had given themselves up to agricultural pursuits. This change of habits, in bringing about a greater abundance of the necessaries of life than they had been accustomed to, had begotten aspirations which threw

[1] Judges viii. 1-3.

into relief the inadequacy of the social organisation, and of the form of government with which they had previously been content. In the case of a horde of nomads, defeat or exile would be of little moment. Should they be obliged by a turn in their affairs to leave their usual haunts, a few days or often a few hours would suffice to enable them to collect their effects together, and set out without trouble, and almost without regret, in search of a new and more favoured home. But with a cultivator of the ground the case would be different: the farm, clearings, and homestead upon which he had spent such arduous and continued labour; the olive trees and vines which had supplied him with oil and wine—everything, in fact, upon which he depended for a livelihood, or which was dependent upon him, would bind him to the soil, and expose his property to disasters likely to be as keenly felt as wounds inflicted on his person. He would feel the need, therefore, of laws to secure to him in time of peace the quiet possession of his wealth, of an army to protect it in time of war, and of a ruler to cause, on the one hand, the laws to be respected, and to become the leader, on the other, of the military forces. Jerubbaal is said to have, in the first instance, refused the crown, but everything goes to prove that he afterwards virtually accepted it. He became, it is true, only a petty king, whose sovereignty was limited to Manasseh, a part of Ephraim, and a few towns, such as Succoth and Penuel, beyond the Jordan. The Canaanite city of Shechem also paid him homage. Like all great chiefs, he had also numerous wives, and he recognised as the national Deity the God to whom he owed his victories.[1] Out of the spoil taken from the Midianites he formed and set up at Ophrah an ephod, which became, as we learn, "a snare unto him and unto his house," but he had also erected under a terebinth tree a stone altar to Jahveh-Shalom ("Jehovah is peace").[2] This sanctuary, with its altar and ephod, soon acquired great celebrity, and centuries after its foundation it was the object of many pilgrimages from a distance.

Jerubbaal was the father by his Israelite wives of seventy children, and, by a Canaanite woman whom he had taken as a concubine at Shechem, of one son called Abimelech.[3] The succession to the throne would naturally have fallen to one of the seventy, but before this could be arranged, Abimelech "went to Shechem unto his mother's brethren, and spake with them, and with all the

[1] *Judges* viii. 27, 31.

[2] The *Book of Judges* separates the altar from the ephod, placing the erection of the former at the time of the vocation of Gideon (vi. 11-24), and that of the ephod after the victory (viii. 24-27). The sanctuary of Ophrah was possibly in existence before the time of Jerubbaal, and the sanctity of the place may have determined his selection of the spot for placing the altar and ephod there.

[3] *Judges* viii. 30, 31.

family of the house of his mother's father, saying, Speak, I pray you, in the ears of all the men of Shechem, Whether is better for you, that all the sons of Jerubbaal, which are threescore and ten persons, rule over you, or that one rule over you? remember also that I am your bone and your flesh." This advice was well received; it flattered the vanity of the people to think that the new king was to be one of themselves; "their hearts inclined to follow Abimelech; for they said, He is our brother. And they gave him threescore and ten pieces of silver out of the house of Baal-berith (the Lord of the Covenant),[1] wherewith Abimelech hired vain and light fellows, which followed him. . . . He slew his brethren the sons of Jerubbaal, being threescore and ten persons, upon one stone." The massacre having been effected, "all the men of Shechem assembled themselves together, and all the house of Millo,[2] and made Abimelech king, by the oak of the pillar which was in Shechem."[3] He dwelt at Ophrah, in the residence, and near the sanctuary, of his father, and from thence governed the territories constituting the little kingdom of Manasseh, levying tribute upon the vassal villages, and exacting probably tolls from caravans passing through his domain. This condition of things lasted for three years, and then the Shechemites, who had shown themselves so pleased at the idea of having "one of their brethren" as sovereign, found it irksome to pay the taxes levied upon them by him, as if they were in no way related to him. The presence among them of a certain Zebul, the officer and representative of Abimelech, restrained them at first from breaking out into rebellion, but they returned soon to their ancient predatory ways, and demanded ransom for the travellers they might capture even when the latter were in possession of the king's safe conduct. This was not only an insult to their lord, but a serious blow to his treasury: the merchants who found themselves no longer protected by his guarantee employed elsewhere the sums which would have come into his hands. The king concealed his anger, however; he was not inclined to adopt premature measures, for the place was a strong one, and defeat would seriously weaken his prestige. The people of Shechem, on their part, did not risk an open rupture for fear of the consequences.

[1] See p. [illegible], supra, for what is there said on Baal-berith.

[2] The word "Millo" is a generic term, meaning citadel or stronghold of the city; there was a Millo in every important town, Jerusalem included.

[3] The "oak of the pillar" was a sacred tree overshadowing probably a cippus. It may have been the tree mentioned in Gen. xxxv. 4, under which Jacob buried the strange gods; or that referred to in Josh. xxiv. 26, under which Joshua set up a stone commemorative of the establishment of the law. Jotham, the youngest son of Gideon, escaped the massacre. As soon as he heard of the election of Abimelech, he ascended Mount Gerizim, and gave out from there the fable of the trees, applying it to the circumstances of the time, and then fled. Some critics think that this fable—which is confessedly old—was inserted in the text at a time when prophetical ideas prevailed and monarchy was not yet accepted.

Gaal, son of Ebed,[1] a soldier of fortune and of Israelitish blood, arrived upon the scene, attended by his followers: he managed to gain the confidence of the people of Shechem, who celebrated under his protection the feast of the Vintage.[2] On this occasion their merry-making was disturbed by the presence among them of the officer charged with collecting the tithes, and Gaal did not lose the opportunity of stimulating their ire by his ironical speeches: "Who is Abimelech, and who is Shechem, that we should serve him? is not he the son of Jerubbaal? and Zebul his officer? serve ye the men of Hamor the father of Shechem: but why should we serve him? And would to God this people were under my hand! then would I remove Abimelech. And he said to Abimelech, Increase thine army, and come out." Zebul promptly gave information of this to his master, and invited him to come by night and lie in ambush in the vicinity of the town, "that in the morning, as soon as the sun is up, thou shalt rise early, and set upon the city: and, behold, when he and the people that is with him come out against thee, thou mayest do to them as thou shalt find occasion." It turned out as he foresaw: the inhabitants of Shechem went out in order to take part in the gathering in of the vintage, while Gaal posted his men at the entering in of the gate of the city. As he looked towards the hills he thought he saw an unusual movement among the trees, and, turning round, said to Zebul who was close by, "Behold, there come people down from the tops of the mountains. And Zebul said unto him, Thou seest the shadow of the mountains as if they were men." A moment after he looked in another direction, "and spake again and said, See, there come people down by the middle of the land, and one company cometh by the way of the terebinth of the augurs." Zebul, seeing the affair turn out so well, threw off the mask, and replied railingly, "Where is now thy mouth, wherewith thou saidst, Who is Abimelech, that we should serve him? is not this the people that thou hast despised? go out, I pray, now, and fight with him." The King of Manasseh had no difficulty in defeating his adversary, but arresting the pursuit at the gates of the city, he withdrew to the neighbouring village of Arumah.[3] He trusted that the inhabitants, who had taken no part in the affair, would believe that his wrath had been appeased by the defeat of Gaal; and so, in fact, it turned out:

[1] The name Ebed ("slave," "servant") is assumed to have been substituted in the Massoretic text for the original name Jobaal (which appears in the LXX as Ἰωβήλ), because of the element Baal in the latter word, which was regarded as that of the strange god, and would then have the sacrilegious meaning, "Jahveh is Baal." The term of contempt, Ebed, was, according to this view, thus used to replace it.

[2] See on the subject of this festival, p. 162, *supra*.

[3] This is now El-Ormah, or Khurbet el-Ormah, to the south-east of Nablus (Guérin, *Samarie*, vol. ii. pp. 2, 3).



MOUNT GERIZIM,
WITH A VIEW OF NABLUS[1]

they dismissed their unfortunate champion, and on the morrow returned to their labours as if nothing had occurred. Abimelech had arranged his Abiezerites in three divisions, one of which made for the gates, while the other two fell upon the scattered labourers in the vineyards. Abimelech then fought against the city and took it, but the chief citizens had taken refuge in "the hold of the house of El-berith." "Abimelech gat him up to Mount Zalmon, he and all the people that were with him; and Abimelech took an axe in his hand, and cut down a bough from the trees, and took it up, and laid it on his shoulder: and he said unto the people that were with him, What ye have seen me do, make haste, and do as I have done. And all the people likewise cut down every man his bough, and followed Abimelech, and put them to the hold, and set the hold on fire upon them; so that all the men of the tower of Shechem died also, about a thousand men and women." This summary vengeance did not, however, prevent other rebellions. Thebez imitated Shechem, and came nigh suffering the same penalty.[2] The king besieged the city and took it, and was about to burn with fire the tower in which all the people of

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph reproduced in the Duc de Luynes, *Voyage d'Exploration à la mer Morte*, vol. iii. pl. 21.

[2] Thebez, now Tubas, to the north-east of Nablus (Guérin, *Samarie*, vol. i. pp. 357–359).



THE TOWN OF ASCALON.[2]

the city had taken refuge, when a woman threw a millstone down upon his head "and brake his skull." The narrative tells us that, feeling himself mortally wounded, he called his armour-bearer to him and said, "Draw thy sword, and kill me, that men say not of me, A woman slew him." His monarchy ceased with him, and the ancient chronicler recognises in the catastrophe a just punishment for the atrocious crime he had committed in slaying his half-brothers, the seventy children of Jerubbaal.[1] His fall may be regarded also as the natural issue of his peculiar position: the resources upon which he relied were inadequate to secure to him a supremacy in Israel. Manasseh, now deprived of a chief, and given up to internal dissensions, became still further enfeebled, and an easy prey to its rivals. The divine writings record in several places the success attained by the central tribes in their conflict with their enemies. They describe how a certain Jephthah distinguished himself in freeing Gilead from the Ammonites;[3] but his triumph led to the loss of his daughter, whom he sacrificed in order to fulfil a vow he had made to Jahveh before the battle.[4] These were, however, comparatively unimportant episodes in the general history of the Hebrew

[1] *Judges* ix. 23, 24. "And God sent an evil spirit between Abimelech and the men of Shechem; and the men of Shechem dealt treacherously with Abimelech: that the violence done to the threescore and ten sons of Jerubbaal might come, and that their blood might be laid upon Abimelech their brother, which slew them, and upon the men of Shechem, which strengthened his hands to slay his brethren."

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a bas-relief in the Ramesseum; cf. CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, vol. ii. p. 149, et seq.; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 145 c. This is a portion of the picture representing the capture of Ascalon by Ramses II.

[3] The story of Jephthah is contained in chaps. xi., xii. 1–7, of the *Book of Judges*. The passage (xi. 12–29) is regarded by some, owing to its faint echo of certain portions of *Numb.* xx., xxi., to be an interpolation. Jephthah is said to have had Gilead for his father and a harlot for his mother. Various views have been put forward as to the account of his victories over the Midianites, some seeing in it, as well as in the origin of the four days' feast in honour of Jephthah's daughter, insertions of a later date.

[4] There are two views as to the nature of the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter. Some think she was vowed to perpetual virginity, while others consider that she was actually sacrificed (see RENAN, *Hist. des Israélites*, pp. 129, 280).



THE SITE OF ASHDOD, SEEN FROM THE SOUTH.[1]

race. Bedawins from the East, sheikhs of the Midianites, Moabites, and Ammonites—all these marauding peoples of the frontier whose incursions are put on record—gave them continual trouble, and rendered their existence so miserable that they were unable to develop their institutions and attain the permanent freedom after which they aimed. But their real danger—the risk of perishing altogether, or of falling back into a condition of servitude—did not arise from any of these quarters, but from the Philistines.

By a decree of Pharaoh, a new country had been assigned to the remnants of each of the maritime peoples: the towns nearest to Egypt, lying between Raphia and Joppa, were given over to the Philistines, and the forest region and the coast to the north of the Philistines, as far as the Phœnician stations of Dor and Carmel,[2] were appropriated to the Zakkala. The latter was a military colony, and was chiefly distributed among the five fortresses which commanded the Shephelah.[3] Gaza and Ashdod were separated from the Mediterranean by a line of sand-dunes, and had nothing in the nature of a sheltered port—nothing, in fact, but a "maiuma," or open roadstead, with a few dwellings and storehouses arranged along the beach on which their boats were drawn up. Ascalon was built on the sea, and its harbour, although well enough suited for the small craft of the ancients, would not have been entered by the most insignificant of our modern ships. The Philistines had here their naval arsenal, where their fleets were fitted out for scouring the Egyptian waters as a marine police.

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from photograph No. 487 of the *Palestine Exploration Fund*.

[2] We are indebted to the *Papyrus Golénischeff* for the mention of the position of the Zakkala at the beginning of the XXI^st^ dynasty.

[3] The history of the Philistines is dealt with at great length in HITZIG'S *Urgeschichte und Mythologie der Philistäer*, 1845, and in STARK, *Gaza und die Philistäische Küste*, Jena, 1852; but they must be read with caution, especially the former of the two. They contain, moreover, none of the fresh facts which have been revealed in Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions as to the origin and history of the people.

or for piratical expeditions on their own account, when the occasion served, along the coasts of Phœnicia.[1] Ekron and Gath kept watch over the eastern side of the plain at the points where it was most exposed to the attacks of the people of the hills—the Canaanites in the first instance, and afterwards the Hebrews. These foreign warriors soon changed their mode of life in contact with the indigenous inhabitants; daily intercourse, followed up by marriages with the daughters of the land, led to the substitution of the language, manners, and religion of the environing race for those of their mother country.



A ZAKKALA.[2]

The Zakkala, who were not numerous, it is true, lost everything, even to their name, and it was all that the Philistines could do to preserve their own. At the end of one or two generations, the "colts" of Palestine could only speak the Canaanite tongue, in which a few words of the old Hellenic *patois* still continued to survive.[3] Their gods were henceforward those of the towns in which they resided, such as Marna and Dagon and Gaza,[4] Dagon at Ashdod,[5] Baalzebub at Ekron,[6] and Derketô in Ascalon;[7] and their mode of worship, with its mingled bloody and obscene rites, followed

[1] See p. 700, *infra*, for mention of a Philistine fleet belonging to Ascalon.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a "squeeze;" see, on p. 471, *supra*, the bas-relief from Medinet-Habu, to which this head belongs.

[3] Stade, who accepts the Cretan origin of the Philistines, thinks that they were descended from Semitic colonies planted in Crete in pre-Hellenic times, and gradually driven out by Achæan invaders (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. p. 142). It seems more probable that they belonged to one of the non-Semitic tribes which had settled in that island, and that they were, as Hitzig points out (*Urgeschichte der Philistäer*, p. 77, *et seq.*), allied to the insular and continental Greeks. Hitzig attempted to identify the name Anchises with that of Akhish, King of Gath, and Renan thought there still survived in Hebrew a few Greek words which had come from their language, e.g. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], μάχαιρα, פלגש *pillex*, παλλακή (*Hist. du peuple d'Israel*, vol. ii. p. 33). Akhish is met with from the XIX[th] dynasty onwards (W. MAX MÜLLER, *Die Kefto-Namen*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. ix. pp. 394, 395), and under Sargon of Assyria (W. MAX MÜLLER, *Asien und Europa*, p. 389, note 1).

[4] Marna, "our lord," is mentioned alongside Baalzephon in a list of strange gods worshipped at Memphis in the XIX[th] dynasty (*Sallier Papyrus*, iv. *verso*, pl. i. l. 6; cf. p. 156, *supra*). Stephen of Byzantium gives the name as Ζεὺς Κρηταγενής, s.v. Γάζα. The worship of Dagon at Gaza is mentioned in the story of Samson (*Judges* xvi. 21-30).

[5] The temple and statue of Dagon are mentioned in the account of the events following the taking of the ark in 1 Sam. v. 1-7. It is, perhaps, to him that 1 *Chron.* x. 10 refers, in relating how the Philistines hung up Saul's arms in the house of their gods, although 1 Sam. xxxi. 10 calls the place the "house of the Ashtaroth."

[6] Baalzebub was the god of Ekron (2 *Kings* i. 2-6), and his name was doubtfully translated "Lord of Flies." The discovery of the name of the town Zebub on the Tell el-Amarna tablets shows that it means the "Baal of Zebub" (HALÉVY, *Recherches Bibliques*, xxvii., in the *Revue Sémitique*, vol. i. p. 221; WINCKLER, *Geschichte Israels*, vol. i. pp. 223, note 1, 225). Zebub was situated in the Philistine plains, not far from Ekron: Halévy thinks it may have been a suburb of that town.

[7] The worship of Derketô or Atargatis at Ascalon is witnessed to by the classical writers.

that of the country. Two things belonging to their past history they still retained—a clear remembrance of their far-off origin, and that warlike



A PROCESSION OF PHILISTINE CAPTIVES AT MEDINET-HABU.[1]

temperament which had enabled them to fight their way through many obstacles from the shores of the Ægean to the frontiers of Egypt. They could recall their island of Caphtor,[2] and their neighbours in their new home were accustomed to bestow upon them the designation of Cretans, of which they themselves were not a little proud.[3] Gaza enjoyed among them a kind of hegemony, alike on account of its strategic position and its favourable situation for commerce, but this supremacy was of very precarious character, and brought with it no right whatever to meddle in the internal affairs

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph taken by Insinger in 1881.

[2] *Jer.* xlvii. 4 calls them "the remnant of the isle of Caphtor;" Amos (ix. 7) knew that the Lord had brought "the Philistines from Caphtor;" and in *Deut.* ii. 23 it is related how "the Caphtorim which came forth out of Caphtor destroyed the Avvim, which dwelt in villages as far as Gaza, and dwelt in their stead." Classical tradition falls in with the sacred record, and ascribes a Cretan origin to the Philistines; it is suggested, therefore, that in *Gen.* x. 14 the names Casluhim and Caphtorim should be transposed, to bring the verse into harmony with history and other parts of Scripture.

[3] In an episode in the life of David (*1 Sam.* xxx. 14), there is mention of the "south of the Cherethites," which some have made to mean Cretans—that is to say, the region to the south of the Philistines, alongside the territory of Judah, and to the "south of Caleb." *Ezek.* xxv. 16 also mentions in juxtaposition with the Philistines the Cherethites, and "the remnant of the sea-coast," as objects of God's vengeance for the many evils they had inflicted on Israel. By the Cherethims here, and the Cherethites in *Zeph.* ii. 5, the Cretans are by some thought to be meant, which would account for their association with the Philistines.

of other members of the confederacy. Each of the latter had a chief of its own, a Seren,[1] and the office of this chief was hereditary in one case at least—Gath, for instance, where there existed a larger Canaanite element than elsewhere, and was there identified with that of "melek,"[2] or king. The five Sarnim assembled in council to deliberate upon common interests, and to offer sacrifices in the name of the Pentapolis. These chiefs were respectively free to make alliances, or to take the field on their own account, but in matters of common importance they acted together, and took their places each at the head of his own contingent.[3] Their armies were made up of regiments of skilled archers and of pikemen, to whom were added a body of charioteers made up of the princes and the nobles of the nation. The armour for all alike was the coat of scale mail and the helmet of brass; their weapons consisted of the two-edged battle-axe, the bow, the lance, and a large and heavy sword of bronze or iron.[4] Their war tactics were probably similar to those of the Egyptians, who were unrivalled in military operations at this period throughout the whole East. Under able leadership, and in positions favourable for the operations of their chariots, the Philistines had nothing to fear from the forces which any of their foes could bring up against them. As to their maritime history, it is certain that in the earliest period, at least, of their sojourn in Syria, as well as in that before their capture by Ramses III., they were successful in sea-fights, but the memory of only one of their expeditions has come down to us: a squadron of theirs having sailed forth from Ascalon somewhere towards the end of the XIIth dynasty,[5] succeeded in destroying the Sidonian fleet, and pillaging Sidon itself. But however vigorously they may have plied the occupation of Corsairs at the outset of their career, there was, it would appear, a rapid falling off in their maritime prowess: it was on land, and as soldiers, that they displayed their bravery and gained their fame. Their geographical position, indeed, on the direct and almost only route for caravans passing between Asia and Africa, must have contributed to their success,

[1] The *sarnê pelishtîm* figure in the narrative of the last Philistine campaign against Saul (1 *Sam.* xxix. 2-4, 7, 9). Their number, five, is expressly mentioned in 1 *Sam.* vi. 4, 16-18, as well as the names of the towns over which they ruled.

[2] Achish was King of Gath (1 *Sam.* xxi. 10, 12; xxvii. 2), and probably Maoch before him.

[3] Achish, for example, King of Gath, makes war alone against the pillaging tribes, owing to the intervention of David and his men, without being called to account by the other princes (1 *Sam.* xxvii. 8-12, xxviii. 1, 2); but as soon as an affair of moment is in contemplation—such as the war against Saul—they demand the dismissal of David, and Achish is obliged to submit to his colleagues acting together (1 *Sam.* xxix.).

[4] Philistine archers are mentioned in the battle of Gilboa (1 *Sam.* xxxi. 3) as well as chariots (2 *Sam.* i. 6). The horsemen mentioned in the same connection are regarded by some critics as an interpolation, because they cannot bring themselves to think that the Philistines had cavalry corps in the Xth century B.C. The Philistine arms are described at length in the duel between David and Goliath (1 *Sam.* xvii. 5-7, 38, 39). They are in some respects like those of the Homeric heroes.

[5] *Justinus*, xviii. 3, § 5. The memory of this has been preserved owing to the disputes about precedence which raged in the Greek period between the Phœnician towns. The destruction of Sidon must have allowed Tyre to develop and take the first place.

The number of such caravans was considerable, for although Egypt had ceased to be a conquering nation on account of her feebleness at home, she was still one of the great centres of production, and the most important market



A PHILISTINE SHIP OF WAR.[1]

of the East. A very great part of her trade with foreign countries was carried on through the mouths of the Nile, and of this commerce the Phœnicians had made themselves masters; the remainder followed the land-routes, and passed continually through the territory of the Philistines. These people were in possession of the tract of land which lay between the Mediterranean and the beginning of the southern desert, forming as it were a narrow passage, into which all the roads leading from the Nile to the Euphrates necessarily converged. The chief of these routes was that which crossed Mount Carmel, near Megiddo, and passed up the valleys of the Litány and the Orontes. This was met at intervals by other secondary roads, such as that which came from Damascus by way of Tabor and the plain of Jezreel, or those which, starting out from the highland of Gilead, led through the fords of the Lower Jordan to Ekron and Gath respectively. The Philistines charged themselves, after the example and at the instigation of the Egyptians, with the maintenance of the great trunk road which was in their hands, and also with securing safe transit along it, as far as they could post their troops, for those who confided themselves to their care. In exchange for these good offices they exacted the same tolls which had been levied by the Canaanites before them.

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Beato; cf. on p. 469, *supra*, the bas-relief of Medinet-Habu, from which this cut is taken.

In their efforts to put down brigandage, they had been brought into contact with some of the Hebrew clans after the latter had taken possession of Canaan. Judah, in its home among the mountains of the Dead Sea, had become acquainted with the diverse races which were found there, and consequently there had been frequent intermarriages between the Hebrews and these peoples. Some critics have argued from this that the chronicler had this fact in his mind when he assigned a Canaanite wife, Shuah, to the father of the tribe himself.[1] He relates how Judah, having separated from his brethren, "turned in to a certain Adullamite, whose name was Hirah," and that here he became acquainted with Shuah, by whom he had three sons. With Tamar, the widow of the eldest of the latter, he had accidental intercourse, and two children, Perez and Zerah, the ancestors of numerous families, were born of that union.[2] Edomites, Arabs, and Midianites were associated with this semi-Canaanite stock—for example, Kain, Caleb, Othniel, Kenaz, Shobal, Ephah, and Jerahmeel, but the Kenites took the first place among them, and played an important part in the history of the conquest of Canaan.[3] It is related how one of their subdivisions, of which Caleb was the eponymous hero, had driven from Hebron the three sons of Anak—Sheshai, Ahiman, and Talmai—and had then promised his daughter Achsah in marriage to him who should capture Debir; this turned out to be his youngest brother Othniel, who captured the city, and at the same time obtained a wife.[4] Hobab, another Kenite, who is represented to have been the brother-in-law of Moses, occupied a position to the south of Arad, in Idumæan territory.[5] These heterogeneous elements existed alongside each other for a long time without intermingling; they combined, however, now and again to act against a common foe, for we know that the people of Judah aided the tribe of Simeon in the reduction of the city of Zephath;[6] but they followed an independent course for the most part, and their isolation prevented their obtaining, for a lengthened period, any extension of territory. They failed, as at first, in their attempts to subjugate the province of Arad, and in their efforts to capture the fortresses which guarded the caravan routes between Ashdod and the mouth of the Jordan. It is related, however, that they overthrew Adoni-bezek, King of the Jebusites, and that they had dealt with him as he was accustomed to deal with his prisoners. "And Adoni-bezek said, Threescore and ten kings, having their thumbs and their great toes cut off, gathered their meat under my table:

[1] For Stade's view as to the late development of Judah, see *Gesch. des Volkes Isr.*, vol. i. pp. 157–160.
[2] *Gen.* xxxviii., where there is a detailed account of Judah's amours.
[3] Stade, *op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 151, 152, 159.
[4] Budde, *Die Bücher Richter und Samuelis*, p. 50, where the account of the Judæan conquest is ingeniously put together, and the first chapter of *Judges* is used for the purpose.
[5] The father-in-law of Moses is called Jethro in *Exod.* iii. 1, iv. 18, but Reuel in *Exod.* ii. 18–22. Hobab is the son of Reuel, *Numb.* x. 29: for his place in *Judges*, see Budde, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
[6] *Judges* i. 17, where Zephath is the better reading, and not Arad, as has been suggested.



TELL ES-SAFIEH, THE GATH OF THE PHILISTINES.[1]

as I have done, so God hath requited me."[2] Although Adoni-bezek had been overthrown Jerusalem still remained independent, as did also Gibeon, Beeroth, Kirjath-Jearim, Ajalon, Gezer, and the cities of the plain, for the Israelites could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley, because they had chariots of iron, with which the Hebrew foot-soldiers found it difficult to deal.[3] This independent and isolated group was not at first, however, a subject of anxiety to the masters of the coast, and there is but a bare reference to the exploits of a certain Shamgar, son of Anath, who "smote of the Philistines six hundred men with an ox-goad."[4] These cities had also to reckon with Ephraim, and the tribes which had thrown in their lot with her. Dan had cast his eyes upon the northern districts of the Shephelah—which were dependent upon Ekron or Gath—and also upon the semi-Phoenician port of Joppa; but these tribes did not succeed in taking possession of these districts, although they had harassed them from time to time by raids in which the children of Israel did not always come off victorious. One of their chiefs—Samson—had a great reputation among them for his bravery and bodily strength, and we have some details of his history. The episodes which have been preserved deal with some of his exploits against the Philistines, and there is a certain humour in the chronicler's account of the weapons

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from photograph No. 283 of the *Palestine Exploration Fund*.

[2] Budde, *Die Bücher Richter und Samuelis*, pp. 2–4, 62–66, 84, 85, endeavours to show that these events were attributed at a later date to Joshua.

[3] See *Josh.* ix. 3–27 for an explanation of how these people were allowed afterwards to remain in a subordinate capacity among the children of Israel. For the strategical and commercial importance to Judah and Israel of Gibeon and the neighbouring places, see Stade, *Gesch. des Volkes Israels*, vol. ii. p. 187.

[4] *Judges* iii. 31; cf. also *Judges* v. 6, in which Shamgar is mentioned in the song of Deborah.

which he employed: "with the jawbone of an ass have I smitten a thousand men;" he burned up their harvest also by letting go three hundred foxes, with torches attached to their tails, among the standing corn of the Philistines. Various events in his career are subsequently narrated: such as his adventure in the house of the harlot at Gaza, when he carried off the gate of the city and the gate-posts "to the top of the mountain that is before Hebron." By Delilah's treachery he was finally delivered over to his enemies, who, having put out his eyes, condemned him to grind in the prison-house. On the occasion of a great festival in honour of Dagon he was brought into the temple to amuse his captors, but while they were making merry at his expense, he took hold of the two pillars against which he was resting, and bowing "himself with all his might," overturned them, "and the house fell upon the lords, and upon all the people that were therein."[1] The tribe of Dan at length became weary of these unprofitable struggles, and determined to seek out another and more easily defensible settlement. They sent out five emissaries, therefore, to look out for a new home. While these were passing through the mountains they called upon a certain Michah in the hill-country of Ephraim and lodged there. Here they took counsel of a Levite whom Michah had made his priest, and, in answer to the question whether their journey would be prosperous, he told them to "Go in peace: before the Lord is the way wherein ye go." Their search turned out successful, for they discovered near the sources of the Jordan the town of Laish, whose people, like the Zidonians, dwelt in security, fearing no trouble. On the report of the emissaries, Dan decided to emigrate; the warriors set out to the number of six hundred, carried off with them the priest of Michah and his ephod, teraphim, and graven image, and succeeded in capturing Laish, to which they gave the name of their tribe. "The children of Dan set up for themselves the graven image: and Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Moses, he and his sons were priests to the tribe of the Danites until the day of the captivity of the land."[2] The tribe of Dan displayed in this advanced post of peril the bravery it had shown on the frontiers of the Shephelah, and showed itself the most bellicose of the tribes of Israel. It bore out well its character—"Dan is a lion's whelp that leapeth forth from Bashan" on the Hermon;[3] "a serpent

[1] Some learned critics considered Samson to have been a sort of solar deity (H. Husson, *La Légende de Samson et les Mythes solaires*, 1869; Steinthal, *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, vol. ii. pp. 110–120, 129–178; Goldziher, *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern*, p. 128).

[2] Some critics see in the history of this migration, which is given summarily in Josh. xix. 47, a blending of two accounts. Budde, *Die Bücher Richter*, etc., pp. 138–145, has attempted a reconstruction of the narrative. The presence of a descendant of Moses as a priest in this local sanctuary probably offended the religious scruples of a copyist, who substituted Manasseh for Moses (*Judges* xviii. 30), but the correction was not generally accepted. [The R.V. reads "Moses" where the authorised text (and the LXX. also) has "Manasseh."—Tr.]

[3] See the Blessing of Moses (*Deut.* xxxiii. 22).

in the way, an adder in the path, that biteth the horse's heels, so that his rider falleth backward."[1] The new position they had taken up enabled them to protect Galilee for centuries against the incursions of the Aramæans.

Their departure, however, left the descendants of Joseph unprotected, with Benjamin as their only bulwark. Benjamin, like Dan, was one of the tribes which contained scarcely more than two or three clans, but compensated for



THE HILL OF SHILOH, SEEN FROM THE NORTH-EAST.[2]

the smallness of their numbers by their energy and tenacity of character: lying to the south of Ephraim, they had developed into a breed of hardy adventurers, skilled in handling the bow and sling, accustomed from childhood to use both hands indifferently, and always ready to set out on any expedition, not only against the Canaanites, but, if need be, against their own kinsfolk.[3] They had consequently aroused the hatred of both friend and foe, and we read that the remaining tribes at length decreed their destruction; a massacre ensued, from which six hundred Benjamites only escaped to continue the race.[4] Their territory adjoined on the south that of Jerusalem, the fortress of the Jebusites, and on the west the powerful confederation of which Gibeon was the head. It comprised some half-dozen towns—Ramah, Anathoth, Michmash, and Nob, and thus commanded both sides of the passes leading from the Shephelah into the valley of the Jordan. The Benjamites

[1] These are the words used in the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. xlix. 17).

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from photograph No. 190 of the *Palestine Exploration Fund*.

[3] Benjamin signifies, properly speaking, "the Southern;" for the history of the territorial growth of this tribe, cf. Stade, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. pp. 160, 161.

[4] Story of the Levite of Ephraim (*Judges* xix.–xxi.), in which the important historical event is the massacre of the pillaging clan by its neighbours. The story of the Levite is considered by some critics to be of a later date than the rest of the text (Stade, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. p. 71).

were in the habit of descending suddenly upon merchants who were making their way to or returning from Gilead, and of robbing them of their wares; sometimes they would make a raid upon the environs of Ekron and Gath, "like a wolf that ravineth:" realising the prediction of Jacob, "in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at even he shall divide the spoil."[1] The Philistines never failed to make reprisals after each raid, and the Benjamites were no match for their heavily armed battalions; but the labyrinth of ravines and narrow gorges into which the Philistines had to penetrate to meet their enemy was a favourable region for guerilla warfare, in which they were no match for their opponents. Peace was never of long duration on this ill-defined borderland, and neither intercourse between one village and another, alliances, nor intermarriage between the two peoples had the effect of interrupting hostilities; even when a truce was made at one locality, the feud would be kept up at other points of contact. All details of this conflict have been lost, and we merely know that it terminated in the defeat of the house of Joseph, a number of whom were enslaved. The ancient sanctuary of Shiloh still continued to be the sacred town of the Hebrews, as it had been under the Canaanites, and the people of Ephraim kept there the ark of Jahveh-Sabaoth, "the Lord of hosts."[2] It was a chest of wood, similar in shape to the shrine which surmounted the sacred barks of the Egyptian divinities, but instead of a prophesying statue, contained the two tables of the Mosaic law.[3] Yearly festivals were celebrated before it, and it was consulted as an oracle by all the Israelites. Eli, the priest to whose care it was at this time consigned, had earned universal respect by the austerity of his life and by his skill in interpreting the divine oracles.[4] His two sons, on the contrary, took advantage of his extreme age to annoy those who came up to worship, and they were even accused of improper behaviour towards the women who "served at the door of" the tabernacle. They appropriated to themselves a larger portion of the victims than they were entitled to, extracting from the caldron the meat offerings of the faithful after the sacrifice was over by means of flesh-hooks. Their misdeeds were such, that "men abhorred the offering of the Lord," and yet the reverence for the ark was

[1] He is thus characterised in the *Blessing of Jacob* (*Gen.* xlix. 27).

[2] At the very opening of the *First Book of Samuel* (i. 3), Shiloh is mentioned as being the sanctuary of *Jahveh-Sabaoth*, Jahveh the Lord of hosts. The facts given in *Josh.* xviii. 1 show that the date of its foundation there goes back to the earliest times of the Israelite conquest; cf. *supra*, p. 682.

[3] The statement that the tables of the law were enclosed within the ark is frequently repeated in *Exodus* and in subsequent books of the Hexateuch.

[4] The history of Eli extends over chaps. i.–iv. of the *First Book of Samuel*; it is incorporated with that of Samuel, and treats only of the events which accompanied the destruction of the sanctuary of Shiloh by the Philistines. For the views of certain critics as to the sources of the narrative, cf. Bleek-Wellhausen, *Einleitung in das alte Testament*, 4th edit., pp. 204–206; and lastly, Budde, *Die Bücher Richter und Samuelis*, p. 198, *et seq.*)

so great in the minds of the people, that they continued to have recourse to it on every occasion of national danger.[1] The people of Ephraim and Benjamin having been defeated once between Eben-ezer and Aphek, bore the ark in state to the battle-field, that its presence might inspire them with confidence. The Philistines were alarmed at its advent, and exclaimed, "God is come into the camp. Woe unto us! Who shall deliver us out of the hand of these mighty gods? . . . Be strong, and quit yourselves like men, O ye Philistines, that ye be not servants unto the Hebrews, as they have been to you."[2] In response to this appeal, their troops fought so boldly that they once more gained a victory. "And there ran a man of Benjamin out of the army, and came to Shiloh the same day with his clothes rent, and with earth upon his head. And when he came, lo, Eli sat upon his seat by the wayside watching: for his heart trembled for the ark of God. And when the man came into the city, and told it, all the city cried out. And when Eli heard the noise of the crying, he said, What meaneth the noise of this tumult? And the man hasted, and came and told Eli. Now Eli was ninety and eight years old; and his eyes were set, that he could not see. And the man said unto Eli, I am he that came out of the army, and I fled to-day out of the army. And he said, How went the matter, my son? And he that brought the tidings answered and said, Israel is fled before the Philistines, and there hath been also a great slaughter among the people, and thy two sons also, Hophni and Phinehas, are dead, and the ark of God is taken. And it came to pass, when he made mention of the ark of God, that he fell from off his seat backward by the side of the gate, and his neck brake, and he died: for he was an old man, and heavy."[3]

The defeat at Eben-ezer completed, at least for the time, the overthrow of the tribes of Central Canaan. The Philistines destroyed the sanctuary of Shiloh,[4] and placed a garrison at Gibeah to keep the Benjamites in subjection, and to command the route of the Jordan;[5] it would even appear that they pushed their advance-posts beyond Carmel in order to keep in touch with the independent Canaanite cities such as Megiddo, Taanach, and Bethshan, and to ensure a free use of the various routes leading in the direction of Damascus, Tyre, and Cœle-Syria.[6] The Philistine power continued dominant for at least half a century. The Hebrew chroniclers, grieved at the successes of their heathen oppressors, have left us but a meagre account of this period, and have

[1] 1 Sam. ii. 12-17. [2] 1 Sam. iv. 5-10. [3] 1 Sam. iv. 12-18.

[4] This is not mentioned in the sacred books; but certain reasons for believing this destruction to have taken place are given in Stade, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. p. 200.

[5] The Philistine garrison at Geba (Gibeah) is mentioned in 1 Sam. xiii. 3, 4.

[6] After the victory at Gilboa, the Philistines exposed the dead bodies of Saul and his sons upon the walls of Bethshan (1 Sam. xxxi. 10, 12), which they would not have been able to do had the inhabitants not been allies or vassals. Friendly relations with Bethshan entailed almost as a matter of course some similar understanding with the cities of the plain of Jezreel.

confined themselves to a record of the few Israelite victories. Just at this time, however, there lived a man who was able to inspire them with fresh hope. He was a priest of Ramah, Samuel, the son of Elkanah, who had acquired the reputation of being a just and wise judge in the towns of Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpah; "and he judged Israel in all those places, and his return was to Ramah, for there was his house . . . . and he built there an altar unto the Lord."[1] To this man the whole Israelite nation attributed with pride the deliverance of their race. The sacred writings relate how his mother, the pious Hannah, had obtained his birth from Jahveh after years of childlessness, and had forthwith devoted him to the service of God. She had sent him to Shiloh at the age of three years, and there, clothed in a linen tunic and in a little robe which his mother made for him herself, he ministered before God in the presence of Eli. One night it happened, when the latter was asleep in his place, "and the lamp of God was not yet gone out, and Samuel was laid down to sleep in the temple of the Lord, where the ark of God was, that the Lord called Samuel: and he said, Here am I. And he ran unto Eli, and said, Here am I; for thou calledst me. And he said, I called thee not; lie down again." Twice again the voice was heard, and at length Eli perceived that it was God who had called the child, and he bade him reply: "Speak, Lord; for Thy servant heareth." From thenceforward Jahveh was "with him, and did let none of his words fall to the ground. And all Israel from Dan even to Beer-sheba knew that Samuel was established to be a prophet of the Lord."[2] Twenty years after the sad death of his master, Samuel felt that the moment had come to throw off the Philistine yoke; he exhorted the people to put away their false gods, and he assembled them at Mizpah to absolve them from their sins. The Philistines, suspicious of this concourse, which boded ill for the maintenance of their authority, arose against him. "And when the children of Israel heard it, they were afraid of the Philistines. And Samuel took a sucking lamb, and offered it for a whole burnt offering unto the Lord: and Samuel cried unto the Lord for Israel, and the Lord answered him." The Philistines, demoralised by the thunderstorm which ensued, were overcome on the very spot where they had triumphed over the sons of Eli, and fled in disorder to their own country. "Then Samuel took a stone, and set it between Mizpah and Shen, and called the name of it Eben-ezer (the Stone of Help), saying, Hitherto hath the Lord helped us." He next attacked the Tyrians and the Amorites, and won back from them all the territory

[1] 1 Sam. vii. 16, 17. These verses represent, as a matter of fact, all that we know of Samuel anterior to his relations with Saul. This account seems to represent him as exercising merely a restricted influence over the territory of Benjamin and the south of Ephraim; his position as judge of all Israel seems to have developed at a later period.

[2] 1 Sam. i.–iii.

they had conquered.[1] One passage, in which Samuel is not mentioned, tells us how heavily the Philistine yoke had weighed upon the people, and explains their long patience by the fact that their enemies had taken away all their weapons. "Now there was no smith found throughout all the land of Israel: for the Philistines said, Lest the Hebrews make them swords or spears;" and whoever needed to buy or repair the most ordinary agricultural implements was forced to address himself to the Philistine blacksmiths.[2] The very extremity of the evil worked its own cure. The fear of the Midianites had already been the occasion of the ephemeral rule of Jerubbaal and Abimelech; the Philistine tyranny forced first the tribes of Central and then those of Southern Canaan to unite under the leadership of one man. In face of so redoubtable an enemy and so grave a peril a greater effort was required, and the result was proportionate to their increased activity.

The Manassite rule extended at most over two or three clans, but that of Saul and David embraced the whole Israelite nation.[3] Benjamin at that time reckoned among its most powerful chiefs a man of ancient and noble family—Saul, the son of Kish—who possessed extensive flocks and considerable property, and was noted for his personal beauty, for "there was not among the children of Israel a goodlier person than he: from his shoulders and upward he was higher than any of the people."[4] He had already reached mature manhood, and had several children, the eldest of whom, Jonathan, was well known as a skilful and brave soldier, while Saul's reputation was such that his kinsmen beyond Jordan had recourse to his aid as to a hero whose presence would secure victory. The Ammonites had laid siege to Jabesh-Gilead, and the town was on the point of surrendering; Saul came to their help, forced the enemy to raise the siege, and inflicted such a severe lesson upon them, that during the whole of his lifetime they did not again attempt hostilities. He was soon after proclaimed king by the Benjamites, as Jerubbaal had been raised to authority by the Manassites on the

[1] This manner of retaliating against the Philistines for the disaster they had formerly inflicted on Israel, is supposed by some critics to be an addition of a later date, either belonging to the time of the prophets, or to the period when the Jews, without any king or settled government, rallied at Mizpah. According to these scholars, 1 *Sam.* vii. 2-14 forms part of a biography, written at a time when the foundation of the Benjamite monarchy had not as yet been attributed to Saul (Havet, *Hist. des Israélites*, p. 237); a résumé of some of these theories is given in Stade, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. pp. 197–206.

[2] 1 *Sam.* xiii. 20, 21.

[3] The beginning of Saul's reign, up to his meeting with David, will be found in 1 *Sam.* viii.–xv. We can distinguish the remains of at least two ancient narratives, which the writer of the Book of Samuel has put together in order to form a complete and continuous account. As elsewhere in this work, I have confined myself to accepting the results at which criticism has arrived, without entering into detailed discussions which do not come within the domain of history.

[4] 1 *Sam.* ix. 2. In one account he is represented as quite a young man, whose father is still in the prime of life (1 *Sam.* ix.), but this cannot refer to the time of the Philistine war, where we find him accompanied, at the very outset of his reign, by his son, who is already skilled in the use of weapons.

morrow of his victory.[1] We learn from the sacred writings that Samuel's influence had helped to bring about these events. It had been shown him by the divine voice that Saul was to be the chosen ruler, and he had anointed him and set him before the people as their appointed lord; the scene of this must have been either Mizpah or Gilgal.[2] The accession of a sovereign who possessed the allegiance of all Israel could not fail to arouse the vigilance of their Philistine oppressors; Jonathan, however, anticipated their attack and captured Gibeah. The five kings at once despatched an army to revenge this loss; the main body occupied Michmash, almost opposite to the stronghold taken from them, while three bands of soldiers were dispersed over the country, ravaging as they went, with orders to attack Saul in the rear. The latter had only six hundred men, with whom he scarcely dared to face so large a force; besides which, he was separated from the enemy by the Wady Suweinit, here narrowed almost into a gorge between two precipitous rocks, and through which no body of troops could penetrate without running the risk of exposing themselves in single file to the enemy. Jonathan, however, resolved to attempt a surprise in broad daylight, accompanied only by his armour-bearer. "There was a rocky crag on the one side, and a rocky crag on the other side; and the name of the one was Bozez (the Shining), and the name of the other Seneh (the Acacia). The one crag rose up on the north in front of Michmash, and the other on the south in front of Geba (Gibeah)."[3] The two men descended the side of the gorge, on the top of which they were encamped, and prepared openly to climb the opposite side. The Philistine sentries imagined they were deserters, and said as they approached: "Behold, the Hebrews come forth out of the holes where they had hid themselves. And the men of the garrison answered Jonathan and his armour-bearer, and said, Come up to us, and we will show you a thing. And Jonathan said unto his armour-bearer, Come up after me; for the Lord hath delivered them into the hand of Israel. And Jonathan climbed up upon his hands and upon his feet, and his armour-bearer after him: and they fell before Jonathan; and his armour-bearer slew them after him. And that first slaughter that Jonathan and his armour-bearer made, was about twenty men, within as it were half a furrow's length in an acre of land." From Gibeah, where Saul's troops were in ignorance of what was passing, the Benjamite sentinels could distinguish a tumult. Saul guessed

[1] 1 Sam. xi. According to the text of the LXX., the war against the Ammonites broke out a month after Saul had been secretly anointed by Samuel; his popular proclamation did not take place till after the return from the campaign.

[2] One narrative appears to represent him as being only the priest or local prophet of Ramah, and depicts him as favourable to the establishment of the monarchy (1 Sam. ix. 1–27, x. 1–16); the other, however, admits that he was "judge" of all Israel, and implies that he was hostile to the choice of a king (1 Sam. viii. 1–22, x. 17–27, xii. 1–25).

[3] 1 Sam. xiv. 4, 5.



THE WADY SUWEINIT.

Drawn by Boudier, from photograph No. 402 of the *Palestine Exploration Fund.*

that a surprise had taken place, and marched upon the enemy. The Philistines were ousted from their position, and pursued hotly beyond Bethel as far as Ajalon.[1] This constituted the actual birthday of the Israelite monarchy. Gilead, the whole house of Joseph—Ephraim and Manasseh—and Benjamin formed its nucleus, and were Saul's strongest supporters. We do not know how far his influence extended northwards; it probably stopped short at the neighbourhood of Mount Tabor, and the Galilæans either refused to submit to his authority, or acknowledged it merely in theory. In the south the clans of Judah and Simeon were not long in rallying round him, and their neighbours the Kenites, with Caleb and Jerahmeel, soon followed their example. These southerners, however, appear to have been somewhat half-hearted in their allegiance to the Benjamite king: it was not enough to have gained their adhesion—a stronger tie was needed to attach them to the rest of the nation. Saul endeavoured to get rid of the line of Canaanite cities which isolated them from Ephraim, but he failed in the effort, we know not from what cause, and his attempt produced no other result than to arouse against him the hatred of the Gibeonite inhabitants.[2] He did his best to watch over the security of his new subjects, and protected them against the Amalekites, who were constantly harassing them. Their king, Agag, happening to fall into his hands, he killed him, and destroyed several of their nomad bands, thus inspiring the remainder with a salutary terror.[3] Some critics think that all the victories attributed to him—over Moab, Edom, and even the Aramæans of Zobah—were not won by his own sword, and that some of the projects and conquests of David have been transferred to his name. At any rate, the constant incursions of the Philistines could not have left him much time for fighting in the north and east of his domains. Their defeat at Gibeah was by no means a decisive one, and they quickly recovered from the blow; the conflict with them lasted to the end of Saul's lifetime, and during the whole of this period he never lost an opportunity of increasing his army.[4]

[1] The account of these events, separated by the parts relating to the biography of Samuel (1 Sam. xiii. 7b–15a, thought by some to be of a later date) and of the breaking by Jonathan of the fast enjoined by Saul (1 Sam. xiv. 23–45), covers 1 Sam. xiii. 2–7a, 15b–23, xiv. 1–22, 46. The details appear to be strictly historical: the number of the Philistines, however, seems to be exaggerated, "30,000 chariots, and 6000 horsemen, and people as the sand which is on the sea shore in multitude" (1 Sam. xiii. 5).

[2] The fact is made known to us by an accidental mention of it in 2 Sam. xxi. 1–11. The motive which induced Saul to take arms against the Gibeonites is immediately apparent when we realise the position occupied by Gibeon between Judah and the tribes of Central Canaan.

[3] The part taken by Samuel in the narration of Saul's war against the Amalekites (1 Sam. xv.) is thought by some critics to have been introduced with a view of exalting the prophet's office at the expense of the king and the monarchy. They regard 1 Sam. xiv. 48 as being the sole historic ground of the narrative.

[4] 1 Sam. xiv. 47. We may admit his successful skirmishes with Moab, but some writers maintain that the defeat of the Edomites and Aramæans is a mere anticipation, and consider that the passage is only a reflection of 2 Sam. viii. 3, and reproduces the list of the wars of David, with the exception of the expedition against Damascus.



A PHŒNICIAN SOLDIER.[3]

The monarchy was as yet in a very rudimentary state, without either the pomp or accessories usually associated with royalty in the ancient kingdoms of the East. Saul, as King of Israel, led much the same sort of life as when he was merely a Benjamite chief. He preferred to reside at Gibeah, in the house of his forefathers, with no further resources than those yielded by the domain inherited from his ancestors, together with the spoil taken in battle.[1] All that he had, in addition to his former surroundings, were a priesthood attached to the court, and a small army entirely at his own disposal. Ahijah, a descendant of Eli, sacrificed for the king when the latter did not himself officiate; he fulfilled the office of chaplain to him in time of war, and was the mouthpiece of the divine oracles when these were consulted as to the propitious moment for attacking the enemy.[2] The army consisted of a nucleus of Benjamites, recruited from the king's clan, with the addition of any adventurers, whether Israelites or strangers, who were attracted to enlist under a popular military chief. It comprised archers, slingers, and bands of heavily armed infantry, after the fashion of the Phœnicians, bearing pikes. We can gain some idea of their appearance and equipment from the bronze statuettes of an almost contemporary period, which show us the Phœnician foot-soldiers or the barbarian mercenaries in the pay of the Phœnician cities: they wear the horizontally striped loin-cloth of the Syrians, leaving the arms and legs entirely bare, and the head is protected by a pointed or conical helmet. Saul possessed none of the iron-bound chariots which always accompanied the Canaanite infantry; these heavy vehicles would have been entirely out of place in the mountain districts, which were the usual field of operations for the Israelite force.[4] We are unable to ascertain whether

[1] Gibeah is nowhere expressly mentioned as being the capital of Saul, but the name Gibeah of Saul which it bore shows that it must have been the royal residence; the names of the towns mentioned in the account of Saul's pursuit of David—Naioth, Ramah, and Nob—are all near to Gibeah. It was also at Gibeah that the Gibeonites slew seven of the sons and grandsons of Saul (2 Sam. xxi. 6-9), no doubt to bring ignominy on the family of the first king in the very place in which they had governed.

[2] Ahijah (1 Sam. xiv. 3), son of Ahitub, great-grandson of Eli, appears to be the same as Ahimelech, son of Ahitub, who subsequently helped David (1 Sam. xxi. 1-10), and was massacred by order of Saul (1 Sam. xxii. 9-19). The scribe must have been shocked by the name Melech—that of the god Milk [Molech]—and must have substituted Jah or Jahveh.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the bronze original in the Louvre; cf. Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. iii. p. 405.

[4] With regard to the use of the bow among Saul's soldiers, cf. 1 *Sam.* xx. 18-42, where we find the curious scene of the meeting of David and Jonathan when the latter came out of Gibeah on the pretext of practising with bow and arrows. The accoutrement of the Hebrews is given in the passage where Saul lends his armour to David before meeting with Goliath (1 *Sam.* xvii. 38, 39); it is the same as that of the Philistines described *supra*, p. 700.

the king's soldiers received any regular pay, but we know that the spoil was divided between the prince and his men, each according to his rank and in proportion to the valour he had displayed.[1] In cases of necessity the whole of the tribes were assembled, and a selection was made of all those capable of bearing arms. This militia, composed mainly of a pastoral peasantry in the prime of life, capable of heroic efforts, was nevertheless ill-disciplined, liable to sudden panics, and prone to become disbanded on the slightest reverse.[2] Saul had the supreme command of the whole; the members of his own family served as lieutenants under him, including his son Jonathan, to whom he owed some of his most brilliant victories, together with his cousin Abner, the *sar-zaba*, who led the royal guard.[3] Among the men of distinguished valour who had taken service under Saul, he soon singled out David, son of Jesse, a native of Bethlehem of Judah.[4] David was the first Judæan hero, the typical king who served as a model to all subsequent monarchs. His elevation, like that of Saul, is traced to Samuel. The old prophet had repaired to Bethlehem ostensibly to offer a sacrifice, and after examining all the children of Jesse, he chose the youngest, and "anointed him in the midst of his brethren: and the spirit of the Lord came mightily upon David."[5] His introduction at the court of Saul is variously accounted for. According to one narrative, Saul, being possessed by an evil spirit, fell at times into a profound melancholy, from which he could be aroused only by the playing of a harp. On learning that David was skilled in this instrument, he begged Jesse to send him his son, and the lad soon won the king's affection. As often as the illness came upon him, David took his harp, and "Saul was refreshed, and the evil spirit departed from him."[6] Another account relates that he entered on his soldierly career by killing with his sling Goliath of Gath,[7] who had challenged the bravest Israelites

[1] Cf. the quarrel which took place between the soldiers of David about the spoil taken from the Amalekites, and the manner in which the strife was decided by David (1 Sam. xxx. 21–25).

[2] Saul, for instance, assembles the people and makes a selection to attack the Philistines (1 Sam. xiii. 2, 4, 7), against the Ammonites (1 Sam. xi. 7, 8) and against the Amalekites (1 Sam. xv. 4).

[3] 1 Sam. xiv. 50, 51. There is no record of the part played by Abner during Saul's lifetime: he begins to figure in the narrative after the battle at Gilboa under the double reign of Ish-bosheth and David; cf. *supra*, p. 731.

[4] The name of David is a shortened form of Davidâ, Dodo, "the favourite of Him," *i.e.* God.

[5] The intervention of the prophet occupies 1 Sam. xvi. 1–13. Some critics have imagined that this passage was interpolated at a later date, and reflects the events which are narrated in chap. x. They say it was to show that Saul was not alone in enjoying consecration by the prophet, and hence all doubt would be set at rest as to whether David was actually that "neighbour of thine, that is better than thou," mentioned in 1 Sam. xv. 28 (BUDDE, *Die Bücher Richter und Samuelis*, pp. 216, 217).

[6] 1 Sam. xvi. 14–23. This narrative is directly connected with 1 Sam. xiv. 52, where we are told that when "Saul saw any strong man, or any valiant man, he took him unto him" (STADE, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. pp. 224, 225).

[7] 1 Sam. xvii., xviii. 1–5. According to some writers, this second version, the best known of the two, is a development at a later period of the tradition preserved in 2 Sam. xxi. 19, where the victory of Elhanan over Goliath is recorded (STADE, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. pp. 225–229).

to combat; though elsewhere the death of Goliath is attributed to Elhanan of Bethlehem,[1] one of the "mighty men of valour," who specially distinguished himself in the wars against the Philistines. David had, however, no need to take to himself the brave deeds of others; at Ephes-dammim, in company with Eleazar, the son of Dodai, and Shammah, the son of Agu, he had posted himself in a field of lentils, and the three warriors had kept the Philistines at bay till their discomfited Israelite comrades had had time to rally.[2] Saul entrusted him with several difficult undertakings, in all of which he acquitted himself with honour. On his return from one of them, the women of the villages came out to meet him, singing and dancing to the sound of timbrels, the refrain of their song being: "Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands." The king concealed the jealousy which this simple expression of joy excited within him, but it found vent at the next outbreak of his illness, and he attempted to kill David with a spear, though soon after he endeavoured to make amends for his action by giving him his second daughter Michal in marriage.[3] This did not prevent the king from again attempting David's life, either in a real or simulated fit of madness; but not being successful, he despatched a body of men to waylay him. According to one account it was Michal who helped her husband to escape,[4] while another attributes the saving of his life to Jonathan. This prince had already brought about one reconciliation between his father and David, and had spared no pains to reinstall him in the royal favour, but his efforts merely aroused the king's suspicion against himself. Saul imagined that a conspiracy existed for the purpose of dethroning him, and of replacing him by his son; Jonathan, knowing that his life also was threatened, at length renounced the attempt, and David and his followers withdrew from court. He was hospitably received by a descendant of Eli,[5] Ahimelech the priest, at Nob, and wandered about in the neighbourhood of Adullam, hiding himself in the wooded valleys of Khereth, in the heart of Judah. He retained the sympathies of many of the

[1] 2 Sam. xxi. 19, where the duel of Goliath and Elhanan is placed in the reign of David, during the combat at Gob. Some critics think that the writer of Chronicles, recognising the difficulty presented by this passage, changed the epithet Bethlehemite, which qualified the name of Elhanan, into Lahmi, the name of Goliath's brother (1 Chron. xx. 5). Sayce thought to get over the difficulty by supposing that Elhanan was David's first name; but Elhanan is the son of Jair, and not the son of Jesse.

[2] The combat of Pas-Dammim or Ephes-Dammim is mentioned in 1 Sam. xvii. 1; the exploit of David and his two comrades, 2 Sam. xxiii. 9-12 (cf. 1 Chron. xi. 12-14, which slightly varies from 2 Sam. xxiii. 9-12).

[3] The account of the first disagreement between Saul and David, and with regard to the marriage of David with Michal, is given in 1 Sam. xviii. 6-16, 20-29, and presents every appearance of authenticity. Verses 17-19, mentioning a project of union between David and Saul's eldest daughter, Merab, has at some time been interpolated; it is not given in the LXX., either because it was not in the Hebrew version they had before them, or because they suppressed it owing to the motive appearing to them insufficient.

[4] 1 Sam. xix. 11-17. Many critics regard this passage as an interpolation.

[5] 1 Sam. xxi. 8, 9 adds that he took as a weapon the sword of Goliath which was laid up in the sanctuary at Nob.



AÏD-EL-MA, THE SITE OF THE ANCIENT ADULLAM.[1]

Benjamites, more than one of whom doubted whether it would not be to their advantage to transfer their allegiance from their aged king to this more youthful hero. Saul got news of their defection, and one day when he was sitting, spear in hand, under the tamarisk at Gibeah, he indignantly upbraided his servants, and pointed out to them the folly of their plans. "Hear, now, ye Benjamites: will the son of Jesse give every one of you fields and vineyards? will he make you all captains of thousands and captains of hundreds?" Ahimelech was selected as the victim of the king's anger: denounced by Doeg, Saul's steward, he was put to death, and all his family, with the exception of Abiathar, one of his sons, perished with him.[2] As soon as it became known that David held the hill-country, a crowd of adventurous spirits flocked to place themselves under his leadership, anticipating, no doubt, that spoil would not be lacking with so brave a chief, and he soon found himself at the head of a small army, with Abiathar as priest, and the ephod, rescued from Nob, in his possession.[3] The country was favourable for their operations; it was a perfect labyrinth of deep ravines, communicating with each other by narrow passes or by paths winding along the edges of precipices. Isolated rocks, acces-

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from photograph No. 450 of the *Palestine Exploration Fund*.

[2] 1 Sam. xix.-xxii., where, according to some critics, two contradictory versions have been blended together at a late period. The most probable version is given in 1 Sam. xix. 8-10 [11-18 a], xxi. 1-7 [8-10], xxii., and is that which I have followed by preference; the other version, according to those writers, attributes too important a rôle to Jonathan, and relates at length the efforts he made to reconcile his father and his friend (1 Sam. xviii. 30, xix. 1-7, xx.). It is thought, from the confusion apparent in this part of the narrative, that a record of the real motives which provoked a rupture between the king and his son-in-law has not been preserved (Stade, *Geschichte*, vol. i. pp. 240, 241).

[3] 1 Sam. xxii. 20-23, xxiii. 6. For the use of the ephod by Abiathar for oracular purposes, cf. 1 Sam. xxiii. 9-12, xxx. 7, 8; the inquiry in 1 Sam. xxiii. 2-4 probably belongs to the same series, although neither Abiathar nor the ephod is mentioned.



THE DESERT OF JUDAH.[1]

sible only by rugged ascents, defied assault, while extensive caves offered a safe hiding-place to those who were familiar with their windings. One day the little band descended to the rescue of Keilah, which they succeeded in wresting from the Philistines, but no sooner did they learn that Saul was on his way to meet them than they took refuge in the south of Judah, in the neighbourhood of Ziph and Maôn, between the mountains and the Dead Sea.[2] Saul, already irritated by his rival's successes, was still more galled by being always on the point of capturing him, and yet always seeing him slip from his grasp. On one afternoon, when the king had retired into a cave for his siesta, he found himself at the mercy of his adversary; the latter, however, respected the sleep of his royal master, and contented himself with cutting a piece off his mantle.[3] On another occasion David, in company with Abishai and Ahimelech the Hittite, took a lance and a pitcher of water from the king's bedside.[4] The inhabitants of the country were not all equally loyal to David's cause; those of Ziph, whose meagre resources were taxed to support his followers, plotted to deliver him up to the king,[5] while Nabal of Maôn roughly refused him food. Abigail atoned for her husband's churlishness by a speedy submission; she collected a supply of

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from photograph No. 107 of the *Palestine Exploration Fund*. The heights visible in the distance are the mountains of Moab, beyond the Dead Sea.

[2] 1 *Sam.* xxiii. 1-13; an episode acknowledged to be historical by nearly all modern critics. The scenes of David's wanderings have been sympathetically described in an article entitled *Survey of David's Outlaw Life*, in *Survey of Western Palestine, Special Papers*, p. 208, *et seq.*

[3] 1 *Sam.* xxiv. Thought by some writers to be of much later date.

[4] 1 Sam. xxvi. 4-25.

[5] 1 *Sam.* xxiii. 14-26, xxvi. 1, 2.

provisions, and brought it herself to the wanderers. David was as much disarmed by her tact as by her beauty, and when she was left a widow he married her. This union insured the support of the Calebite clan, the most powerful in that part of the country, and policy as well as gratitude no doubt suggested the alliance.[1]

Skirmishes were not as frequent between the king's troops and the outlaws as we might at first be inclined to believe, but if at times there was a truce to hostilities, they never actually ceased, and the position became intolerable. Encamped between his kinsman and the Philistines, David found himself unable to resist either party except by making friends with the other. An incursion of the Philistines near Maôn[2] saved David from the king, but when Saul had repulsed it, David had no choice but to throw himself into the arms of Achish, King of Gath, of whom he craved permission to settle as his vassal at Ziklag, on condition of David's defending the frontier against the Bedawin.[3] Saul did not deem it advisable to try and dislodge him from this retreat. Peace having been re-established in Judah, the king turned northward and occupied the heights which bound the plain of Jezreel to the east; it is possible that he contemplated pushing further afield, and rallying round him those northern tribes who had hitherto never acknowledged his authority. He may, on the other hand, have desired merely to lay hands on the Syrian highways, and divert to his own profit the resources brought by the caravans which plied along them.[4] The Philistines, who had been nearly ruined by the loss of the right to demand toll of these merchants, assembled the contingents of their five principalities, among them being the Hebrews of David, who formed the personal guard of Achish. The four other princes objected to the presence of these strangers in their midst, and forced Achish to dismiss them. David returned to Ziklag, to find ruin and desolation everywhere. The Amalekites had taken advantage of the departure of the Hebrews to revenge themselves once for all for David's former raids on them, and they had burnt the town, carrying off the women and flocks. David at once set out on their track, overtook them just beyond the torrent of Besor, and rescued from them, not only his own belongings, but all the booty they had collected by the way in the southern provinces of Caleb, in Judah, and in the Cherethite plain. He distributed part of this spoil among those cities of Judah which had shown hospitality to himself

[1] 1 Sam. xxv. 2-42.

[2] 1 Sam. xxiii. 27, 28.

[3] 1 Sam. xxvii. The earlier part of this chapter (vers. 1-6) is strictly historical. Some critics take vers. 8-12 to be of later date, and pretend that they were inserted to show the cleverness of David, and to deride the credulity of the King of Gath.

[4] This is the very reasonable hypothesis put forward by Reuss, *Hist. des Israélites*, p. 328, note 2, and worked out by Maurice Vernes, *Précis d'Hist. Juive*, pp. 313-315. Saul must have taken this determination almost immediately after the flight of David to the Philistines; indeed, Achish says to his fellow-kings, on the eve of the battle of Gilboa, that David had "been with me . . . these years" (1 Sam. xxix. 3).



THE HILL OF BETHSHAN, SEEN FROM THE EAST.[1]

and his men, for instance, to Jattir, Aroer, Eshtemoa, Hormah, and Hebron.[2] While he thus kept up friendly relations with those who might otherwise have been tempted to forget him, Saul was making his last supreme effort against the Philistines, but only to meet with failure. He had been successful in repulsing them as long as he kept to the mountain districts, where the courage of his troops made up for their lack of numbers and the inferiority of their arms; but he was imprudent enough to take up a position on the hillsides of Gilboa, whose gentle slopes offered no hindrances to the operations of the heavy Philistine battalions. They attacked the Israelites from the Shunem side, and swept all before them. Jonathan perished in the conflict, together with his two brothers, Malchi-shua and Abinadab; Saul, who was wounded by an arrow, begged his armour-bearer to take his life, but, on his persistently refusing, the king killed himself with his own sword. The victorious Philistines cut off his head and those of his sons, and placed their armour in the temple of Ashtoreth,[3] while their bodies, thus despoiled, were hung up outside the walls of Bethshan, whose Canaanite inhabitants had made common cause with the Philistines against Israel. The people of Jabesh-Gilead, who had never forgotten how Saul had saved them from the Ammonites, hearing the news, marched all night, rescued the mutilated remains, and brought them back

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from photograph No. 79 of the *Palestine Exploration Fund*.

[2] 1 Sam. xxviii. 1, 2, xxix., xxx. The torrent of Besor is the present Wady Esh-Sheriah, which runs to the south of Gaza.

[3] The text of 1 *Sam.* xxxi. 10 says, in a vague manner, "in the house of the Ashtaroth" (in the plural), which is corrected, somewhat arbitrarily, in 1 Chron. x. 10 into "in the house of Dagon" (R.V.); cf. *supra*, p. 698, note 4: it is possible that it was the temple at Gaza, Gaza being the chief of the Philistine towns.

to their own town, where they burned them, and buried the charred bones under a tamarisk, fasting meanwhile seven days as a sign of mourning.[1] David afterwards disinterred these relics, and laid them in the burying-place of the family of Kish at Zela, in Benjamin.[2] The tragic end of their king made a profound impression on the people. We read that, before entering on his last battle, Saul was given over to gloomy forebodings: he had sought counsel of Jahveh, but God "answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophets." The aged Samuel had passed away at Ramah, and had apparently never seen the king after the flight of David:[3] Saul now bethought himself of the prophet in his despair, and sought to recall him from the tomb to obtain his counsel. The king had banished from the land all wizards and fortune-tellers, but his servants brought him word that at Endor there still remained a woman who could call up the dead. Saul disguised himself, and, accompanied by two of his retainers, went to find her: he succeeded in overcoming her fear of punishment, and persuaded her to make the evocation. "Whom shall I bring up unto thee?"—"Bring up Samuel."—And when the woman saw Samuel, she cried with a loud voice, saying, "Why hast thou deceived me, for thou art Saul?" And the king said unto her, "Be not afraid, for what sawest thou?"—"I saw gods ascending out of the earth."—"What form is he of?"—"An old man cometh up, and he is covered with a mantle." Saul immediately recognised Samuel, and prostrated himself with his face to the ground before him. The prophet, as inflexible after death as in his lifetime, had no words of comfort for the God-forsaken man who had troubled his repose. "The Lord hath rent the kingdom out of thine hand, and given it to thy neighbour, even to David, because thou obeyedst not the voice of the Lord, . . . and to-morrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me. The Lord also shall deliver the host of Israel into the hands of the Philistines."[4] We learn, also, how David, at Ziklag, on hearing the news of the disaster, had broken into weeping, and had composed a lament, full of beauty, known as the "Song

[1] 1 Sam. xxxi. It would seem that there were two narratives describing this war: in one, the Philistines encamped at Shunem, and Saul occupied Mount Gilboa (1 Sam. xxviii. 4); in the other, the Philistines encamped at Aphek, and the Israelites "by the fountain which is in Jezreel" (1 Sam. xxix. 1). The first of these accounts is connected with the episode of the witch of Endor, the second with the sending away of David by Achish. The final catastrophe is in both narratives placed on Mount Gilboa, and Stade, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. p. 235, has endeavoured to reconcile the two accounts by admitting that the battle was fought between Aphek and "the fountain," but that the final scene took place on the slopes of Gilboa. There are even two versions of the battle, one in 1 Sam. xxxi. and the other in 2 Sam. i. 6-10, where Saul does not kill himself, but begs an Amalekite to slay him; many critics reject the second version.

[2] 2 Sam. xxi. 12-14.

[3] 1 Sam. xxv. 1, repeated 1 Sam. xxviii. 3, with a mention of the measures taken by Saul against the wizards and fortune-tellers.

[4] 1 Sam. xxviii. 3-25. There is no reason why this scene should not be historical; it was natural that Saul, like many an ancient general in similar circumstances, should seek to know the future by means of the occult sciences then in vogue. Some critics think that certain details of the evocation—as, for instance, the words attributed to Samuel—are of a later date.

of the Bow," which the people of Judah committed to memory in their childhood. "Thy glory, O Israel, is slain upon thy high places! How are the mighty fallen! Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Ashkelon; lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice, lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph! Ye mountains of Gilboa, let there be no dew nor rain upon you, neither fields of offerings: for there the shield of the mighty was vilely cast away, the shield of Saul, not anointed with oil! From the blood of the slain, from the fat of the mighty, the bow of Jonathan turned not back, the sword of Saul returned not empty. Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in death they were not divided."[1]

The Philistines occupied in force the plain of Jezreel and the pass which leads from it into the lowlands of Bethshan: the Israelites abandoned the villages which they had occupied in these districts, and the gap between the Hebrews of the north and those of the centre grew wider.[2] The remnants of Saul's army sought shelter on the eastern bank of the Jordan, but found no leader to reorganise them. The reverse sustained by the Israelitish champion seemed, moreover, to prove the futility of trying to make a stand against the invader, and even the uselessness of the monarchy itself: why, they might have asked, burthen ourselves with a master, and patiently bear with his exactions, if, when put to the test, he fails to discharge the duties for the performance of which he was chosen? And yet the advantages of a stable form of government had been so manifest during the reign of Saul, that it never for a moment occurred to his former subjects to revert to patriarchal institutions: the question which troubled them was not whether they were to have a king, but rather who was to fill the post. Saul had left a considerable number of descendants behind him:[3] from these, Abner, the ablest of his captains, chose Ishbaal, and set him on the throne to reign under his guidance.[4] Gibeah was too close to the frontier to be a safe residence for a sovereign whose

[1] 2 *Sam.* i. 17-27 (R.V.). This elegy is described as a quotation from Jashar, the "Book of the Upright." Many modern writers attribute its authorship to David himself (REUSS, *Hist. des Israélites*, p. 324; STADE, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. p. 258; CORNILL, *Einleitung in das Alte Test.*, 2nd edit., p. 119); others reject this view (DUNCKER, *Gesch. des Alt.*, 5th edit., vol. ii. p. 113; ED. MEYER, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, vol. i. p. 361; RENAN, *Hist. du peuple d'Israël*, vol. i. p. 434); all agree in regarding it as extremely ancient. The title, "Song of the Bow," is based on the possibly corrupt text of ver. 18.

[2] 1 *Sam.* xxxi. 7.

[3] We know that he had three sons by his wife Ahinoam—Jonathan, Ishbaal, and Malchi-shua, and two daughters, Merab and Michal (1 *Sam.* xiv. 49, 50, where "Ishvi" should be read "Ishbaal"). Jonathan left at least one son, Meribbaal (1 *Chron.* viii. 34, ix. 40; called Mephibosheth in 2 *Sam.* xxi. 7), and Merab had five sons by Adriel (2 *Sam.* xxi. 8). One of Saul's concubines, Rizpah, daughter of Aiah, had borne him two sons, Armoni and Meribbaal (2 *Sam.* xxi. 8, where the name Meribbaal is changed into Mephibosheth); Abinadab, who fell with him in the fight at Mount Gilboa (1 *Sam.* xxxi. 2), whose mother's name is not mentioned, was another son.

[4] Ishbaal was still a child when his father died; had he been old enough to bear arms, he would have taken a part in the battle of Gilboa with his brothers. The expressions used in the account of his elevation to the throne prove that he was a minor (2 *Sam.* ii. 8, 9); the statement that he was forty years old when he began to reign would seem, therefore, to be an error (ii. 10).

position was still insecure; Abner therefore installed Ishbaal at Mahanaim, in the heart of the country of Gilead. The house of Jacob, including the tribe of Benjamin, acknowledged him as king, but Judah held aloof. It had adopted the same policy at the beginning of the previous reign, yet its earlier isolation had not prevented it from afterwards throwing in its lot with the rest of the nation. But at that time no leader had come forward from its own ranks who was worthy to be reckoned among the mighty men of Israel; now, on the contrary, it had on its frontier a bold and resolute leader of its own race. David lost no time in stepping into the place of those whose loss he had bewailed. Their sudden removal, while it left him without a peer among his own people, exposed him to the suspicion and underground machinations of his foreign protectors; he therefore quitted them and withdrew to Hebron, where his fellow-countrymen hastened to proclaim him king.[1] From that time onwards the tendency of the Hebrew race was to drift apart into two distinct bodies; one of them, the house of Joseph, which called itself by the name of Israel, took up its position in the north, on the banks of the Jordan; the other, which is described as the house of Judah, in the south, between the Dead Sea and the Shephelah. Abner endeavoured to suppress the rival kingdom in its infancy; he brought Ishbaal to Gibeah and proposed to Joab, who was in command of David's army, that the conflict should be decided by the somewhat novel expedient of pitting twelve of the house of Judah against an equal number of the house of Benjamin. The champions of Judah are said to have won the day, but the opposing forces did not abide by the result, and the struggle still continued.[2] An intrigue in the harem furnished a solution of the difficulty. Saul had raised one of his wives of the second rank, named Rizpah, to the post of favourite. Abner became enamoured of her and took her. This was an insult to the royal house, and amounted to an act of open usurpation; the wives of a sovereign could not legally belong to any but his successor, and for any one to treat them as Abner had treated Rizpah, was equivalent to his declaring himself the equal, and in a sense the rival, of his master. Ishbaal keenly resented his minister's conduct, and openly insulted him. Abner made terms with David, won the northern tribes, including that of Benjamin, over to his side, and when what seemed a propitious moment had arrived made his way to Hebron with an escort of twenty men. He was favourably received, and all kinds of promises were made him; but when he was about to depart again in order to complete the negotiations with the disaffected elders, Joab, returning from an expedition, led him aside into a gateway and slew him. David gave him solemn burial, and composed a lament

[1] 2 Sam. ii. 1-11. Very probably Abner recognised the Philistine suzerainty as David had done, for the sake of peace; at any rate, we find no mention in Holy Writ of a war between Ishbaal and the Philistines.

[2] 2 Sam. ii. 12-32, iii. 1.

on the occasion, of which four verses have come down to us: having thus paid tribute to the virtues of the deceased general, he lost no time in taking further precautions to secure his power. The unfortunate king Ishbaal, deserted by every one, was assassinated by two of his officers as he slept in the heat of the day, and his head was carried to Hebron: David again poured forth lamentations, and ordered the traitors to be killed.[1] There was now no obstacle between him and the throne: the elders of the people met him at Hebron, poured oil upon his head, and anointed him king over all the provinces which had obeyed the rule of Saul in Gilead—Ephraim and Benjamin as well as Judah.[2]

As long as Ishbaal lived, and his dissensions with Judah assured their supremacy, the Philistines were content to suspend hostilities: the news of his death, and of the union effected between Israel and Judah, soon roused them from this state of quiescence. As prince of the house of Caleb and vassal of the lord of Gath, David had not been an object of any serious apprehension to them; but in his new character, as master of the dominions of Saul, David became at once a dangerous rival, whom they must overthrow without delay, unless they were willing to risk being ere long overthrown by him. They therefore made an attack on Bethlehem with the choicest of their forces, and entrenched themselves there, with the Canaanite city of Jebus as their base, so as to separate Judah entirely from Benjamin, and cut off the little army quartered round Hebron from the reinforcements which the central tribes would otherwise have sent to its aid.[3] This move was carried out so quickly that David found himself practically isolated from the rest of his kingdom, and had no course left open but to shut himself up in Adullam, with his ordinary guard and the Judæan levies.[4] The whole district round about is intersected by a network of winding streams, and abounds in rocky gorges, where a few determined men could successfully hold their ground against the onset of a much more numerous body of troops. The caves afford, as we know, almost impregnable refuges: David had often hidden

[1] 2 Sam. iii. 1, 6–39, iv.

[2] 2 Sam. v. 1–3; in 1 Chron. xi. 1–3, xii. 23–40, we find further details beyond those given in the Book of Samuel; it seems probable, however, that the northern tribes may not have recognised David's sovereignty at this time.

[3] The history of this war is given in 2 Sam. v. 17–25, where the text shows signs of having been much condensed. It is preceded by the account of the capture of Jerusalem, which some critics would like to transfer to chap. vi., following ver. 1 which leads up to it. The events which followed are self-explanatory, if we assume, as I have done in the text, that the Philistines wished to detach Judah from Israel: at first (2 Sam. v. 17–21) David endeavours to release himself and effect a junction with Israel, as is proved by the relative positions assigned to the two opposing armies, the Philistines at Bethlehem, David in the cave of Adullam; afterwards (2 Sam. v. 22–25) David has shaken himself free, has rejoined Israel, and is carrying on the struggle between Gibeah and Gezer. The incidents recounted in 2 Sam. xxi. 15–22, xxiii. 13–17, seem to refer almost exclusively to the earlier part of the war, at the time when the Hebrews were hemmed in in the neighbourhood of Adullam.

[4] The passage in 2 Sam. v. 17 simply states that David "went down to the hold," and gives no further details. This expression, following as it does the account of the taking of Jerusalem, would seem to refer to this town itself, and RENAN, *Histoire du peuple d'Israël*, vol. ii. pp. 17–22, 26–28, has thus interpreted it. It really refers to Adullam, as is shown by the passage in 2 Sam. xxiii. 13–17 (STADE, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. p. [illegible], and note).

himself in them in the days when he fled before Saul, and now his soldiers profited by the knowledge he possessed of them to elude the attacks of the Philistines. He began a sort of guerilla warfare, in the conduct of which he seems to have been without a rival, and harassed in endless skirmishes his more heavily equipped adversaries. He did not spare himself, and freely risked his own life; but he was of small stature and not very powerful, so that his spirit often outran his strength. On one occasion, when he had advanced too far into the fray and was weary with striking, he ran great peril of being killed by a gigantic Philistine: with difficulty Abishai succeeded in rescuing him unharmed from the dangerous position into which he had ventured, and for the future he was not allowed to run such risks on the field of battle.[1] On another occasion, when lying in the cave of Adullam, he began to feel a longing for the cool waters of Bethlehem, and asked who would go down and fetch him a draught from the well by the gates of the town. Three of his mighty men, Josheb-basshebeth, Eleazar, and Shammah, broke through the host of the Philistines and succeeded in bringing it; but he refused to drink the few drops they had brought, and poured them out as a libation to Jehovah, saying, "Shall I drink the blood of men that went in jeopardy of their lives?"[2] Duels between the bravest and stoutest champions of the two hosts were of frequent occurrence. It was in an encounter of this kind that Elhanan the Bethlehemite [or David] slew the giant Goliath at Gob.[3] At length David succeeded in breaking his way through the enemies' lines in the valley of Rephaim, thus forcing open the road to the north. Here he probably fell in with the Israelitish contingent, and, thus reinforced, was at last in a position to give battle in the open: he was again successful, and routing his foes pursued them from Gibeon to Gezer.[4] None of his victories, however, was of a sufficiently decisive character to bring the struggle to an end: it dragged on year after year, and when at last it did terminate, there was no question on either side of submission or of tribute:[5] the Hebrews completely regained their independence, but the Philistines do not seem to have lost any portion of their domain, and apparently retained possession of all that they had previously held. But though they suffered no loss of territory, their position was in reality much inferior to

[1] 2 Sam. xxi. 15-17.

[2] 2 Sam. xxiii. 13-17; cf. 1 Chron. xi. 15-19. Popular tradition furnishes many incidents of a similar type; cf. Alexander in the desert of Gedrosia, Godfrey de Bouillon in Asia Minor, etc.

[3] [For the conflicting accounts of the slaying of Goliath, and the efforts to reconcile them, see p. 715, supra, and note 1.—Tr.]

[4] The Hebrew text gives "from Geba [or Gibeah] to Gezer" (2 Sam. v. 25); the Septuagint, "from Gibeon to Gezer." This latter reading [which is that of 1 Chron. xiv. 16.—Tr.] is more in accordance with the geographical facts, and I have therefore adopted it. Jahveh had shown by a continual rustling in the leaves of the mulberry trees that He was on David's side. As to Elhanan, see p. 712, supra.

[5] In 2 Sam. viii. 1 we are told that David humiliated the Philistines, and took "the bridle of the mother city" out of their hands, or, in other words, destroyed the supremacy which they had exercised over Israel; he probably did no more than this, and failed to secure any part of their territory. The passage in 1 Chron. xviii. 1, which attributes to him the conquest of Gath and its dependencies, is probably an amplification of the somewhat obscure wording employed in 2 Sam. viii. 1.

what it was before. Their control of the plain of Jezreel was lost to them for ever, and with it the revenue which they had levied from passing caravans: the Hebrews transferred to themselves this right of their former masters, and were so much the richer at their expense. To the five cities this was a more damaging blow than twenty reverses would have been to Benjamin or Judah. The military spirit had not died out among the Philistines, and they were still capable of any action which did not require sustained effort; but lack of resources prevented them from entering on a campaign of any length, and any chance they may at one time have had of exercising a dominant influence in the affairs of Southern Syria had passed away. Under the restraining hand of Egypt they returned to the rank of a second-rate power, just strong enough to inspire its neighbours with respect, but too weak to extend its territory by annexing that of others. Though they might still, at times, give David trouble by contesting at intervals the possession of some outlying citadel, or by making an occasional raid on one of the districts which lay close to the frontier, they were no longer a permanent menace to the continued existence of his kingdom.

But was Judah strong enough to take their place, and set up in Southern Syria a sovereign state, around which the whole fighting material of the country might range itself with confidence? The incidents of the last war had clearly shown the disadvantages of its isolated position in regard to the bulk of the nation. The gap between Ekron and the Jordan, which separated it from Ephraim and Manasseh, had, at all costs, to be filled up, if a repetition of the manœuvre which so nearly cost David his throne at Adullam were to be avoided. It is true that the Gibeonites and their allies acknowledged the sovereignty of Ephraim, and formed a sort of connecting link between the tribes, but it was impossible to rely on their fidelity so long as they were exposed to the attacks of the Jebusites in their rear: as soon therefore as David found he had nothing more to fear from the Philistines, he turned his attention to Jerusalem.[1] This city stood on a dry and sterile limestone spur, separated on three sides from the surrounding hills by two valleys of unequal length. That of the Kedron, on the east, begins as a simple depression, but gradually becomes deeper and narrower as it extends towards the south. About a mile and a half from its commencement it is nothing more than a deep gorge, shut in by precipitous rocks, which for some days after the winter rains is turned into the bed of a torrent.[2] During the remainder of the year a number of

[1] The name Jerusalem occurs under the form Urusalimmu, or Urusalim, in the Tel el-Amarna tablets (cf. p. 131, note 3 *supra*). Sion was the name of the citadel preserved by the Israelites after the capture of the place, and applied by them to the part of the city which contained the royal palace, and subsequently to the town itself.

[2] The Kedron is called a *nakhal* (2 *Sam.* xv. 23; 1 *Kings* ii. 37; *Jer.* xxxi. 40), i.e. a torrent which runs dry during the summer; in winter it was termed a brook, χειμάῤῥους, during the Greek epoch (1 *Macc.* xii. 37). Excavations show that the fall diminishes at the foot of the ancient walls, and that the bottom of the valley has risen nearly twelve yards.

springs, which well up at the bottom of the valley, furnish an unfailing supply of water to the inhabitants of Gihon,[1] Siloam,[2] and Rogel.[3] The valley widens out again near En-Rogel, and affords a channel to the Wady of the Children of Hinnom, which bounds the plateau on the west. The intermediate space has, for a long time been nothing more than an undulating plain, at present covered by the houses of modern Jerusalem. In ancient times it was traversed by a depression in the ground, since filled up, which ran almost parallel with the Kedron, and joined it near the Pool of Siloam.[4] The ancient city of the Jebusites stood on the summit of the headland which rises between these two valleys, the town of Jebus itself being at the extremity, while the Millo lay farther to the north on the hill of Sion, behind a ravine which ran down at right angles into the valley of the Kedron.[5] An unfortified suburb had gradually grown up on the lower ground to the west, and was connected by a stairway cut in the rock[6] with the upper city. This latter was surrounded by ramparts with turrets, like those of the Canaanitish citadels which we constantly find depicted on the Egyptian monuments. Its natural advantages and efficient garrison had so far enabled it to repel all the attacks of its enemies. When David appeared with his troops, the inhabitants ridiculed his presumption, and were good enough to warn him of the hopelessness of his enterprise: a garrison composed of the halt and the blind, without an able-bodied man amongst them, would, they declared, be able successfully to resist him. The king, stung by their mockery, made a promise to his "mighty men" that the first of them to scale the walls should be made chief and captain of his host. We often find that impregnable cities owe their downfall to negligence on the part of their defenders: these concentrate their whole attention on the few vulnerable points, and give but scanty care to those which are regarded as inaccessible.[7] Jerusalem proved to be no exception to this rule; Joab carried it by a sudden assault, and received as his reward the best part of the territory which he had won by his valour.[8] In attacking

[1] Now, possibly, the "Fountain of the Virgin," but its identity is not certain.

[2] These are the springs which feed the group of reservoirs now known as the Pool of Siloam. The name "Siloam" occurs only in *Neh.* iii. 15, but is undoubtedly more ancient.

[3] En-Rogel, the "Traveller's Well," is now called the "Well of Job."

[4] This valley, which is not mentioned by name in the Old Testament, was called, in the time of Josephus, the Tyropœon, or Cheesemakers' Quarter (*Bell. Jud.*, V. iv. 1). Its true position, which had been only suspected up to the middle of the present century, was determined with certainty by means of the excavations carried out by the English and Germans. The bottom of the valley was found at a depth of from forty to sixty feet below the present surface.

[5] As to the application of the name Millo to fortresses in general, see p. 693, note 2, *supra*. The name Moriah, borne by the hill on which the temple stands, belongs to a different category; it is a symbolical term employed in *Gen.* xxii. 2, and is applied by the writer of 2 *Chron.* iii. 1 to the site of Solomon's temple.

[6] This is the Ophel of the Hebrew text.

[7] Cf. the capture of Sardis by Cyrus (Herodotus, I. lxxxiv.) and by Antiochus III. (Polybius, vii. 17), as also the taking of the Capitol by the Gauls.

[8] The account of the capture of Jerusalem is given in 2 *Sam.* v. 6-9, where the text is possibly

Jerusalem, David's first idea was probably to rid himself of one of the more troublesome obstacles which served to separate one-half of his people from the other; but once he had set foot in the place, he was not slow to perceive its advantages, and determined to make it his residence. Hebron had sufficed so long as his power extended over Caleb and Judah only. Situated as it was in the heart of the mountains, and in the wealthiest part of the province in which it stood, it seemed the natural centre to which the Kenites and men of Judah must gravitate, and the point at which they might most readily be moulded into a nation; it was, however, too far to the south to offer a convenient rallying-point for a ruler who wished to bring the Hebrew communities scattered about on both banks of the Jordan under the sway of a common sceptre. Jerusalem, on the other hand, was close to the crossing point of the roads which lead from the Sinaitic desert into Syria, and from the Shephelah to the land of Gilead; it commanded nearly the whole domain of Israel and the ring of hostile races by which it was encircled. From this lofty eyrie, David, with Judah behind him, could either swoop down upon Moab, whose mountains shut him out from a view of the Dead Sea, or make a sudden descent on the seaboard, by way of Bethhoron, at the least sign of disturbance among the Philistines, or could push straight on across Mount Ephraim into Galilee. Issachar, Naphtali, Asher, Dan, and Zebulun were, perhaps, a little too far from the seat of government; but they were secondary tribes, incapable of any independent action, who obeyed without repugnance, but also without enthusiasm, the soldier-king able to protect them from external foes. The future master of Israel would be he who maintained his hold on the posterity of Judah and of Joseph, and David could not hope to find a more suitable place than Jerusalem from which to watch over the two ruling houses at one and the same time.

The lower part of the town he gave up to the original inhabitants,[1] the upper he filled with Benjamites and men of Judah;[2] he built or restored a royal palace on Mount Sion, in which he lived surrounded by his warriors and his family.[3] One thing only was lacking—a temple for his God. Jerubbaal had had a sanctuary at Ophrah, and Saul had secured the services of Ahijah the prophet of Shiloh:[4] David was no longer satisfied with the ephod which had

corrupt, with interpolated glosses, especially in ver. 8. David's reply to the mockery of the Jebusites is difficult to understand. 1 *Chron.* xi. 4–9 gives a more correct text, but one less complete in so far as the portions parallel with 2 *Sam.* v. 6–9 are concerned; the details in regard to Joab are undoubtedly historical, but we do not find them in the Book of Samuel.

[1] *Judges* i. 21; cf. *Zech.* xi. 7, where Ekron in its decadence is likened to the Jebusite vassal of Judah.

[2] Jerusalem is sometimes assigned to Benjamin (*Judges* i. 21), sometimes to Judah (*Josh.* xv. 63). Judah alone is right.

[3] 2 *Sam.* v. 9, and the parallel passage in 1 *Chron.* xi. 7, 8.

[4] Cf. what is said in regard to the sanctuary of Jerubbaal on p. 692, *supra*, and in regard to the priesthood attached to the person of Saul, on p. 711 of the present work.

been the channel of many wise counsels during his years of adversity and his struggles against the Philistines. He longed for some still more sacred object with which to identify the fortunes of his people, and by which he might raise the newly gained prestige of his capital. It so happened that the ark of the Lord, the ancient safeguard of Ephraim, had been lying since the battle of Eben-ezer not far away, without a fixed abode or regular worshippers.[1] The reason why it had not brought victory on that occasion, was that God's anger had been stirred at the misdeeds committed in His name by the sons of Eli, and desired to punish His people; true, it had been preserved from profanation, and the miracles which took place in its neighbourhood proved that it was still the seat of a supernatural power. At first the Philistines had, according to their custom, shut it up in the temple of Dagon at Ashdod. On the morrow, when the priests entered the sanctuary, they found the statue of their god prostrate in front of it, his fish-like body overthrown, and his head and hands scattered on the floor;[2] at the same time a plague of malignant tumours broke out among the people, and thousands of mice overran their houses. The inhabitants of Ashdod made haste to transfer the ark to Gath; from Gath it was passed on to Ekron: it thus went the round of the five cities, its arrival being in each case accompanied by the same disasters. The soothsayers, being consulted at the end of seven months, ordered that solemn sacrifices should be offered up, and the ark restored to its rightful worshippers, accompanied by expiatory offerings of five golden mice and five golden tumours, one for each of the five repentant cities.[3] The ark was placed on a new cart, and two milch cows with their calves drew it, lowing all the way, without guidance from any man, to the field of a certain Joshua at Bethshemesh. The inhabitants welcomed it with great joy, but their curiosity overcame their reverence, and they looked within the shrine. Jehovah, being angered thereat, smote seventy men of them, and the warriors made haste to bring the ark to Kirjath-jearim, where it remained for a long time, in the house of Abinadab on the hill, under charge of his son Eleazar.[4] Kirjath-jearim is only about two leagues from Jerusalem.

[1] The account of the events which followed the battle of Eben-ezer up to its arrival in the house of Abinadab, is taken from the history of the ark, referred to on pp. 706, 707, *supra*. It is given in 1 Sam. v., vi., vii. 1, where it forms an exceedingly characteristic whole, composed, it may be, of two separate versions thrown into one; the passage in *1 Sam.* vi. 15, where the Levites receive the ark, is supposed by some to be interpolated.

[2] The statue here referred to is evidently similar to those of the Chaldæan gods and genii (*cf.* Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 567, 547), in which Dagon is represented as a man with his back and head enveloped in a fish as in a cloak.

[3] In the Oustinoff collection at Jaffa, there is a roughly shaped image of a mouse, cut out of a piece of white metal, and perhaps obtained from the ruins of Gaza; it would seem to be an ex-voto of the same kind as that referred to in the Hebrew text, but it is of doubtful authenticity. See the reproduction on p. 729 of the present work.

[4] The text of 1 Sam. vi. 21, vii. 1, gives the reading Kirjath-jearim, whereas the text of 2 Sam.

David himself went thither, and setting "the ark of God upon a new cart," brought it away.[1] Two attendants, called Uzzah and Ahio, drove the new cart, "and David and all Israel played before God with all their might: even with songs, and with harps, and with psalteries, and with timbrels, and with cymbals, and with trumpets." An accident leading to serious consequences brought the procession to a standstill: the oxen stumbled, and their sacred burden threatened to fall: Uzzah, putting forth his hand to hold the ark, was smitten by the Lord, "and there he died before the Lord." David was disturbed at this, feeling some insecurity in dealing with a Deity who had thus seemed to punish one of His worshippers for a well-meant and respectful act. He "was afraid of the Lord that day," and "would not remove the ark" to Jerusalem, but left it for three months in the house of a Philistine, Obed-Edom of Gath; but finding that its host, instead of experiencing any evil, was blessed by the Lord, he carried out his original intention, and brought the ark to Jerusalem. "David, girded with a linen ephod, danced with all his might before the Lord," and "all the house of Israel brought up the ark of the Lord with shouting, and with the sound of the trumpet." When the ark had been placed in the tent that David had prepared for it, he offered up burnt offerings and peace offerings, and at the end of the festival there were dealt out to the people gifts of bread, cakes, and wine (or flesh). There is inserted in the narrative[3] an account of the conduct of Michal his wife, who, looking out of the window and seeing the king dancing and playing, despised him in her heart, and when David returned to his house congratulated him ironically—"How glorious was the King of Israel to-day, who uncovered himself in the eyes of the handmaids of his servants!" David said in reply that he would rather be held in honour by the handmaids of whom she had spoken than avoid the acts which covered him with ridicule in her eyes; and the chronicler adds that "Michal the daughter of Saul had no child unto the day of her death."[4]



MOUSE OF METAL.[2]

vi. 2 has Baale-Judah, which should be corrected to Baal-Judah. Baal-Judah, or, in its abbreviated form, Baala, is another name for Kirjath-jearim (*Josh.* xv. 9–11; cf. 1 *Chron.* xiii. 6). Similarly, we find the name Kirjath-Baal (*Josh.* xv. 60). Kirjath-jearim is now Kharbet-el-Enab.

[1] The transport of the ark from Kirjath-jearim to Jerusalem is related in 2 *Sam.* vi. and in 1 *Chron.* xiii., xv., xvi.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a sketch published by Schick and Oldfield Thomas, in the *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1893, p. 290; 1894, p. 189.

[3] Renan, *Histoire du peuple d'Israel*, vol. ii. pp. 57, 58, would consider this to have been inserted in the time of Hezekiah. It appeared to him to answer "to the antipathy of Hamutal and the ladies of the court to the worship of Jahveh, and to that form of human respect which restrained the people of the world from giving themselves up to it."

[4] [David's reply shows (2 *Sam.* vi. 21, 22) that it was in gratitude to Jehovah who had exalted him that he thus humbled himself.—Tr.]

The tent and the ark were assigned at this time to the care of two priests—Zadok, son of Ahitub, and Abiathar, son of Ahimelech, who was a descendant of Eli, and had never quitted David throughout his adventurous career.[1] It is probable, too, that the ephod had not disappeared, and that it had its place in the sanctuary; but it may have gradually fallen into neglect, and may have ceased to be the vehicle of oracular responses as in earlier years. The king was accustomed on important occasions to take part in the sacred ceremonies, after the example of contemporary monarchs, and he had beside him at this time a priest of standing to guide him in the religious rites, and to fulfil for him duties similar to those which the chief reader rendered to Pharaoh. The only one of these priests of David whose name has come down to us was Ira the Jethrite, who accompanied his master in his campaigns, and would seem to have been a soldier also, and one of "the thirty." These priestly officials seem, however, to have played but a subordinate part, as history is almost silent about their acts.[2] While David owed everything to the sword and trusted in it, he recognised at the same time that he had obtained his crown from Jahveh; just as the sovereigns of Thebes and Nineveh saw in Amon and Assur the source of their own royal authority. He consulted the Lord directly when he wished for counsel, and accepted the issue as a test whether his interpretation of the Divine will was correct or erroneous. When once he had realised, at the time of the capture of Jerusalem, that God had chosen him to be the champion of Israel, he spared no labour to accomplish the task which the Divine favour had assigned to him. He attacked one after the other the peoples who had encroached upon his domain, Moab being the first to feel the force of his arm. He extended his possessions at the expense of Gilead, and the fertile provinces opposite Jericho fell to his sword. These territories were in dangerous proximity to Jerusalem, and David doubtless realised the peril of their independence. The struggle for their possession must have continued for some time, but the details are not given, and we have only the record of a few incidental exploits: we know, for instance, that the captain of David's guard, Benaiah, slew two Moabite notables in a battle.[3] Moabite captives were treated with all the severity sanctioned by the laws of war. They were laid on the ground in a line, and two-thirds of the length of the row being measured off, all within it were pitilessly massacred, the rest having their lives spared. Moab acknowledged

[1] 2 *Sam.* viii. 17, xx. 25; cf. 1 *Sam.* xxi. 1, xxii. 20; 1 *Chron.* xv. 11.

[2] 2 *Sam.* xx. 26, where he is called the Jairite, and not the Ithrite, owing to an easily understood confusion of the Hebrew letters. He figures in the list of the *Gibborim*, "mighty men," 2 *Sam.* xxiii. 38.

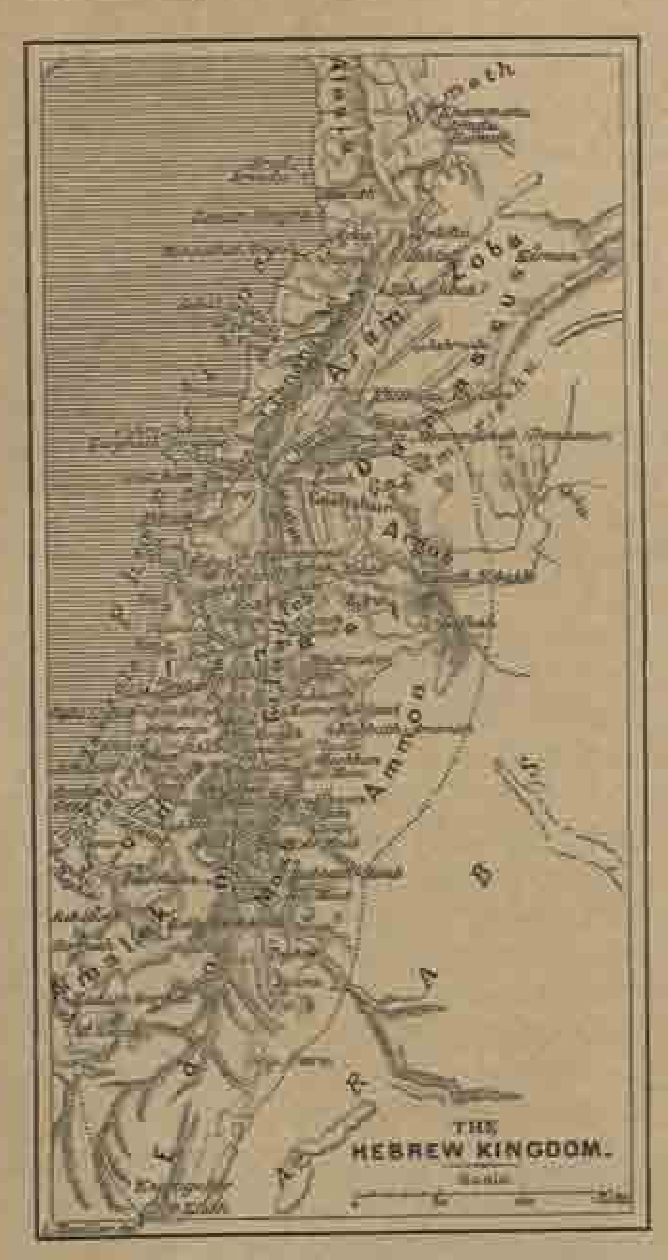
[3] 2 *Sam.* xxiii. 20-23; cf. 1 *Chron.* xi. 22-25. "Ariel," who is made the father of the two slain by Benaiah, may possibly be the term in ll. 12, 17, 18 of the *Inscription of Mesha* (Moabite Stone); but its meaning is obscure, and has hitherto baffled all attempts to explain it.

its defeat, and agreed to pay tribute: it had suffered so much that it required several generations to recover.[1] Gilead had become detached from David's domain on the south, while the Ammonites were pressing it on the east, and the Aramæans making encroachments upon its pasture-lands on the north. Nahash, King of the Ammonites, being dead, David, who had received help from him in his struggle with Saul, sent messengers to offer congratulations to his son Hanun on his accession. Hanun, supposing the messengers to be spies sent to examine the defences of the city, "shaved off one-half of their beards, and cut off their garments in the middle, even to their buttocks, and sent them away." This was the signal for war. The Ammonites, foreseeing that David would endeavour to take a terrible vengeance for this insult to his people, came to an understanding with their neighbours. The overthrow of the Amorite chiefs had favoured the expansion of the Aramæans towards the south. They had invaded all that region hitherto unconquered by Israel in the valley of the Litâny to the east of Jordan, and some half-dozen of their petty states had appropriated among them the greater part of the territories which were described in the sacred record as having belonged previously to Jabin of Hazor and the kings of Bashan.[2] The strongest of these principalities—that which occupied the position of Qodshû in the Bekaa, and had Zoba as its capital—was at this time under the rule of Hadadezer, son of Rehob. This warrior had conquered Damascus, Maacah, and Geshur, was threatening the Canaanite town of Hamath, and was preparing to set out to the Euphrates when the Ammonites sought his help and protection. He came immediately to their succour. Joab, who was in command of David's army, left a portion of his troops at Rabbath under his brother Abishai, and with the rest set out against the Syrians. He overthrew them, and returned immediately afterwards. The Ammonites, hearing of his victory, disbanded their army; but Joab had suffered such serious losses, that he judged it wise to defer his attack upon them until Zoba should be captured. David then took the field himself, crossed the Jordan with all his reserves, attacked the Syrians at Helam, put them to flight, killing Shobach, their general, and captured Damascus. Hadadezer [Hadarezer] "made peace with Israel," and Tou or Toi, the King of Hamath, whom this victory had delivered, sent presents to David. This was the work of a single campaign. The next year Joab invested Rabbath, and when it was about to surrender he

[1] 2 Sam. viii. 2.

[2] On the progress of the Aramæans in this region, see WINCKLER, *Geschichte Israels*, vol. i. pp. 137–144, where the author tries to show that Zoba and Aram-Zoba were not in the north of Israel and to the west of Damascus, but somewhere in the Haurân, near the Ammonites. The kingdom of Zoba, under Hadadezer, must, in fact, have extended southward to the frontiers of Ammon, but I think that the small state which formed its nucleus was in the valley of the Upper Orontes and that of the Litany: Zoba must have taken the place of Qodshû, whose name is only incidentally mentioned in 2 Sam. xxiv. 6, where the Hebrew gives Tahtim-hodshi, and the LXX. (Lucian's recension) Kedesh.

called the king to his camp, and conceded to him the honour of receiving the submission of the city in person. The Ammonites were treated with as much severity as their kinsmen of Moab. David "put them under saws and harrows of iron, and under axes of iron, and made them pass through the brick-kiln."[1] This success brought others in its train. The Idumæans had taken advantage of the employment of the Israelite army against the Aramæans to make raids into Judah. Joab and Abishai, despatched in haste to check them, met them in the Valley of Salt to the south of the Dead Sea, and gave them battle: their king perished in the fight, and his son Hadad with some of his followers took flight into Egypt. Joab put to the sword all the able-bodied combatants, and established garrisons at Petra, Elath, and Eziongeber[2] on the Red Sea. David dedicated the spoils to the Lord, "who gave victory to David wherever he went."



Southern Syria had found its master: were the Hebrews going to pursue their success, and undertake in the central and northern regions a work of

[1] The war with the Aramæans, described in 2 Sam. viii. 3–12, is similar to the account of the conflict with the Ammonites in 2 Sam. x.–xii., but with more details. Both documents are reproduced in 1 Chron. xviii. 3–11, and xix., xx. 1–3.

[2] 2 Sam. viii. 13, 14; cf. 1 Chron. xviii. 12, 13. Neither Elath nor Eziongeber are here mentioned, but 1 Kings ix. 26–28 and 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18 prove that these places had been occupied by David. For all that concerns Hadad, see 1 Kings xi. 15–22.

conquest which had baffled the efforts of all their predecessors—Canaanites, Amorites, and Hittites? The Assyrians, thrown back on the Tigris, were at this time leading a sort of vegetative existence in obscurity; and as for Egypt, it would seem to have *forgotten* that it ever had possessions in Asia. There was, therefore, nothing to be feared from foreign intervention should



THE SITE OF RABBATH-AMMON, SEEN FROM THE WEST.[1]

the Hebrews be inclined to weld into a single state the nations lying between the Euphrates and the Red Sea. Unfortunately, the Israelites had not the necessary characteristics of a conquering people. Their history from the time of their entry into Canaan showed, it is true, that they were by no means incapable of enthusiasm and solidarity: a leader with the needful energy and good fortune to inspire them with confidence could rouse them from their self-satisfied indolence, and band them together for a great effort. But such concentration of purpose was ephemeral in its nature, and disappeared with the chief who had brought it about. In his absence, or when the danger he had pointed out was no longer imminent, they fell back instinctively into their usual state of apathy and disorganisation. Their nomadic temperament, which two centuries of a sedentary existence had not seriously modified, disposed them to give way to tribal quarrels, to keep up hereditary vendettas, to break out into sudden tumults, or to make pillaging expeditions into their neighbours' territories. Long wars, requiring the maintenance of a permanent army, the continual levying of troops and taxes, and a prolonged effort to keep what they had

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from photograph No. 377 of the *Palestine Exploration Fund*.

acquired, were repugnant to them. The kingdom which David had founded owed its permanence to the strong will of its originator, and its increase or even its maintenance depended upon the absence of any internal disturbance or court intrigue, to counteract which might make too serious a drain upon his energy. David had survived his last victory sufficiently long to witness around him the evolution of plots, and the multiplication of the usual miseries which sadden, in the East, the last years of a long reign. It was a matter of custom as well as policy that an exaltation in the position of a ruler should be accompanied by a proportional increase in the number of his retinue and his wives. David was no exception to this custom: to the two wives, Abigail and Ahinoam, which he had while he was in exile at Ziklag, he now added Maacah the Aramæan, daughter of the King of Geshur, Haggith, Abital, Eglah, and several others.[1] During the siege of Rabbath-Ammon he also committed adultery with Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah the Hittite, and, placing her husband in the forefront of the battle, brought about his death. Rebuked by the prophet Nathan for this crime, he expressed his penitence, but he continued at the same time to keep Bathsheba, by whom he had several children.[2] There was considerable rivalry among the progeny of these different unions, as the right of succession would appear not to have been definitely settled. Of the family of Saul, moreover, there were still several members in existence—the son which he had by Rizpah, the children of his daughter Merab, Merib-baal, the lame offspring of Jonathan,[3] and Shimei,[4]—all of whom had partisans among the tribes, and whose pretensions might be pressed unexpectedly at a critical moment. The eldest son of Ahinoam, Amnon, whose priority in age seemed likely to secure for him the crown, had fallen in love with one of his half-sisters named Tamar, the daughter of Maacah, and, instead of demanding her in marriage, procured her attendance on him by a feigned illness, and forced her to accede to his desires. His love was thereupon converted immediately into hate, and, instead of marrying her, he had her expelled from his house by his servants. With rent garments and ashes on her head, she fled to her full-brother Absalom. David was very wroth, but he loved his firstborn, and could not permit himself to punish him. Absalom kept his anger to himself, but when two years had elapsed

[1] As to Abigail, see pp. 717, 718, supra. Ahinoam is mentioned in the following passages: 1 Sam. xxv. 43, xxvii. 3, xxx. 5; 2 Sam. ii. 2, iii. 2; cf. also 1 *Chron.* iii. 1; Maacah in 2 Sam. iii. 3; 1 *Chron.* iii. 2; Haggith in 2 Sam. iii. 4; 1 *Kings* i. 5, 11, ii. 13; 1 *Chron.* iii. 2; Abital in 2 Sam. iii. 4; 1 *Chron.* iii. 3; Eglah in 2 Sam. iii. 5; 1 *Chron.* iii. 3. For the concubines, see 2 Sam. v. 13, xv. 16, xvi. 21, 22; 1 *Chron.* iii. 9, xiv. 3.

[2] 2 Sam. xi., xii. 1–25.

[3] 2 Sam. ix., xvi. 1–4, xix. 24–30, where the name is changed into Mephibosheth; the original name is given in 1 *Chron.* viii. 34.

[4] 2 Sam. xvi. 5–14, xix. 16–23; 1 *Kings* ii. 8, 9, 36–46.

he invited Amnon to a banquet, killed him, and fled to his grandfather Talmai, King of Geshur.[1] His anger was now turned against the king for not having taken up the cause of his sister, and he began to meditate his dethronement. Having been recalled to Jerusalem at the instigation of Joab, "Absalom prepared him chariots and horses, and fifty men to run before him," thus affecting the outward forms of royalty. Judah, dissatisfied at the favour shown by David to the other tribes, soon came to recognise Absalom as their chief, and some of the most intimate counsellors of the aged king began secretly to take his part. When Absalom deemed things safe for action, he betook himself to Hebron, under the pretence of a vow which he had made during his sojourn at Geshur. All Judah rallied around him, and the excitement at Jerusalem was so great that David judged it prudent to retire, with his Philistine and Cherethite guards, to the other side of the Jordan. Absalom, in the mean while, took up his abode in Jerusalem, where, having received the tacit adherence of the family of Saul and of a number of the notables, he made himself king. To show that the rupture between him and David was complete, he had tents erected on the top of the house, and there, in view of the people, took possession of his father's harem. Success would have been assured to him if he had promptly sent troops after the fugitives, but while he was spending his time in inactivity and feasting, David collected together those who were faithful to him, and put them under the command of Joab and Abishai. The king's veterans were more than a match for the undisciplined rabble which opposed them, and in the action which followed at Mahanaim Absalom was defeated: in his flight through the forest of Ephraim he was caught in a tree, and before he could disentangle himself was pierced through the heart by Joab.[2]

David, we read, wished his people to have mercy on his son, and he wept bitterly. He spared on this occasion the family of Saul, pardoned the tribe of Judah, and went back triumphantly into Jerusalem, which a few days before had taken part in his humiliation. The tribes of the house of Joseph had taken no side in the quarrel. They were ignorant alike of the motives which set the tribe of Judah against their own hero, and of their reasons for the zeal with which they again established him on the throne. They sent delegates to inquire about this, who reproached Judah for acting without their cognisance. "We have ten parts in the king, and we have also more right in David than ye: why then did

[1] It is to be noted that Tamar asked Amnon to marry her, and that the sole reproach directed against the king's eldest son was that, after forcing her, he was unwilling to make her his wife. Unions of brother and sister were probably as legitimate among the Hebrews at this time as among the Egyptians (cf. *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 50-52, 270, and *supra*, pp. 77, 78).

[2] 2 Sam. xiii.–xviii.

ye despise us, that our advice should not be first had in bringing back our king?" Judah answered with yet fiercer words; then Sheba, a chief of the Benjamites, losing patience, blew a trumpet, and went off crying: "We have no portion in David, neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse: every man to his tents, O Israel." If these words had produced an echo among the central and northern tribes, a schism would have been inevitable: some approved of them, while others took no action, and since Judah showed no disposition to put its military forces into movement, the king had once again to trust to Joab and the Philistine guards to repress the sedition. Their appearance on the scene disconcerted the rebels, and Sheba retreated to the northern frontier without offering battle. Perhaps he reckoned on the support of the Aramæans. He took shelter in the small stronghold of Abel of Beth-maacah, where he defended himself for some time; but just when the place was on the point of yielding, the inhabitants cut off Sheba's head, and threw it to Joab from the wall.[1] His death brought the crisis to an end, and peace reigned in Israel. Intrigues, however, began again more persistently than ever over the inheritance which the two slain princes had failed to obtain. The eldest son of the king was now Adonijah, son of Haggith, but Bathsheba exercised an undisputed sway over her husband, and had prepared him to recognise in Solomon her son the heir to the throne. She had secured, too, as his adherents several persons of influence, including Zadok, the prophet Nathan, and Benaiah, the captain of the foreign guard. Adonijah had on his side Abiathar the priest, Joab, and the people of Jerusalem, who had been captivated by his beauty and his regal display. In the midst of these rivalries the king was daily becoming weaker: he was now very old, and although he was covered with wrappings he could not maintain his animal heat. A young girl was sought out for him to give him the needful warmth. Abishag, a Shunammite, was secured for the purpose, but her beauty inspired Adonijah with such a violent passion that he decided to bring matters to a crisis. He invited his brethren, with the exception of Solomon, to a banquet in the gardens which belonged to him in the south of Jerusalem, near the well of Rôgel. All his partisans were present, and, inspired by the good cheer, began to cry, "God save King Adonijah!" When Nathan informed Bathsheba of what was going on, she went in unto the king, who was being attended on by Abishag, complained to him of the weakness he was showing in regard to his eldest son, and besought him to designate his heir officially. He collected together the soldiers, and charged them to take the young man Solomon with royal pomp from the hill of Sion to the source of the Gihôn: Nathan anointed him

[1] 2 Sam. xx. 1-22.

forehead with the sacred oil, and in the sight of all the people brought him to the palace, mounted on his father's mule. The blare of the coronation trumpets resounded in the ears of the conspirators, quickly followed by the tidings that Solomon had been hailed king over the whole of Israel: they fled on all sides, Adonijah taking refuge at the horns of the altar. David did not long survive this event: shortly before his death he advised Solomon to rid himself of all those who had opposed his accession to the throne. Solomon did not hesitate to follow this counsel, and the beginning of his reign was marked by a series of bloodthirsty executions. Adonijah was the first to suffer. He had been unwise enough to ask the hand of Abishag in marriage: this request was regarded as indicative of a hidden intention to rebel, and furnished an excuse for his assassination. Abiathar, at whose instigation Adonijah had acted, owed his escape from a similar fate to his priestly character and past services: he was banished to his estate at Anathoth, and Zadok became high priest in his stead. Joab, on learning the fate of his accomplice, felt that he was a lost man, and vainly sought sanctuary near the ark of the Lord; but Benaiah slew him there, and soon after, Shimei, the last survivor of the race of Saul, was put to death on some transparent pretext. This was the last act of the tragedy: henceforward Solomon, freed from all those who bore him malice, was able to devote his whole attention to the cares of government.[1]

The change of rulers had led, as usual, to insurrections among the tributary races: Damascus had revolted before the death of David, and had not been recovered. Hadad returned from Egypt, and having gained adherents in certain parts of Edom, resisted all attempts made to dislodge him.[2] As a soldier, Solomon was neither skilful nor fortunate; he even failed to retain what his father had won for him. Though he continued to increase his army, it was more with a view to consolidating his power over the Benê-Israel than for any aggressive action outside his borders. On the other hand, he showed himself an excellent administrator, and did his best, by various measures of general utility, to draw closer the ties which bound the tribes to him and to each other. He repaired the citadels with such means as he had at his disposal. He rebuilt the fortifications of Megiddo,

[1] *1 Kings* i., ii. This is the close of the history of David, and follows on from *2 Sam.* xxiv. It would seem that Adonijah was heir-apparent (*1 Kings* i. 5, 6), and that Solomon's accession was brought about by an intrigue, which owed its success to the old king's weakness (*1 Kings* i. 12, 13, 17, 18, 20, 31).

[2] It seems clear from the context that the revolt of Damascus took place during David's lifetime. It cannot, in any case, have occurred at a later date than the beginning of the reign of Solomon, for we are told that Rezôn, after capturing the town, "was an adversary of Israel all the days of Solomon" (*1 Kings* xi. 23-25). Hadad returned from Egypt when "he had heard that David slept with his fathers, and that Joab the captain of the host was dead" (*1 Kings* xi. 21, 22, 25).

thus securing the control of the network of roads which traversed Southern Syria. He remodelled the fortifications of Tamar, the two Bethhorons, Baalath, Hazor, and of many other towns which defended his frontiers. Some of them he garrisoned with foot-soldiers, others with horsemen and chariots. By thus distributing his military forces over the whole country, he achieved a twofold object;[1] he provided, on the one hand, additional security from foreign invasion, and on the other diminished the risk of internal revolt. The remnants of the old aboriginal clans, which had hitherto managed to preserve their independence, mainly owing to the dissensions among the Israelites, were at last absorbed into the tribes in whose territory they had settled. A few still held out, and only gave way after long and stubborn resistance: before he could triumph over Gezer, Solomon was forced to humble himself before the Egyptian Pharaoh. He paid homage to him, asked the hand of his daughter in marriage, and having obtained it, persuaded him to come to his assistance: the Egyptian engineers placed their skill at the service of the besiegers and soon brought the recalcitrant city to reason, handing it over to Solomon in payment for his submission.[2] The Canaanites were obliged to submit to the poll-tax and the *corvée*: the men of the league of Gibeon were made hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of the Lord.[3] The Hebrews themselves bore their share in the expenses of the State, and though less heavily taxed than the Canaanites, were, nevertheless, compelled to contribute considerable sums; Judah alone was exempt, probably because, being the private domain of the sovereign, its revenues were already included in the royal exchequer.[4] In order to facilitate the collection of the taxes, Solomon divided the kingdom into twelve districts, each of which was placed in charge of a collector; these regions did not coincide with the existing tribal boundaries, but the extent of each was determined by the wealth of the lands contained within it. While one district included the whole of Mount Ephraim, another was limited to the stronghold of Mahanaim and its suburbs. Mahanaim was at one time the capital of Israel, and had played an important part in the life of David;[5] it held the key to the regions

[1] 1 *Kings* ix. 15, 17–19; cf. 2 *Chron.* viii. 4–6. The parallel passage in 2 *Chron.* viii. 4, and the marginal variant in the *Book of Kings*, give the reading Tadmor-Palmyra for Tamar, thus giving rise to the legends which state that Solomon's frontier extended to the Euphrates. The Tamar here referred to is that mentioned in *Ezek.* xlvii. 19, xlviii. 28, as the southern boundary of Judah; it is perhaps identical with the modern Khurbet-Kurnub.

[2] 1 *Kings* ix. 16. The Pharaoh in question was, as we shall see further on, probably one of the Pisibkhânu II., the Psusennes II. of Manetho; cf. p. 772, *infra*.

[3] 1 *Kings* ix. 20, 21. The annexation of the Gibeonites and their allies is placed at the time of the conquest in *Josh.* ix. 3–27; it should be rather fixed at the date of the loss of independence of the league, probably in the time of Solomon.

[4] Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. p. 305, thinks that Judah was not exempt, and that the original document must have given thirteen districts.

[5] Cf. what is said in regard to the part played by Mahanaim under David on pp. 722–725, *supra*.

beyond Jordan, and its ruler was a person of such influence that it was not considered prudent to leave him too well provided with funds. By thus obliterating the old tribal boundaries, Solomon doubtless hoped to destroy, or at any rate greatly weaken, that clannish spirit which showed itself with such alarming violence at the time of the revolt of Sheba, and to weld into a single homogeneous mass the various Hebrew and Canaanitish elements of which the people of Israel were composed.[1] Each of these provinces was obliged, during one month in each year, to provide for the wants of "the king and his household," or, in other words, the requirements of the central government. A large part of these contributions went to supply the king's table; the daily consumption at the court was—thirty measures of fine flour, sixty measures of meal, ten fat oxen, twenty oxen out of the pastures, a hundred sheep, besides all kinds of game and fatted fowl: nor need we be surprised at these figures, for in a country where, and at a time when money was unknown, the king was obliged to supply food to all his dependents, the greater part of their emoluments consisting of these payments in kind.[2] The tax-collectors had also to provide fodder for the horses reserved for military purposes: there were forty thousand of these, and twelve thousand charioteers, and barley and straw had to be forthcoming either in Jerusalem itself or in one or other of the garrison towns amongst which they were distributed.[3] The levying of tolls on caravans passing through the country completed the king's fiscal operations which were based on the systems prevailing in neighbouring States, especially that of Egypt.[4] Solomon, like other Oriental sovereigns, reserved to himself the monopoly of certain imported articles, such as yarn, chariots, and horses. Egyptian yarn, perhaps the finest produced in ancient times, was in great request among the dyers and embroiderers of Asia. Chariots, at once strong and light, were important articles of commerce at a time when their use in warfare was universal. As for horses, the cities of the Delta and Middle Egypt possessed a celebrated strain of stallions, from which the Syrian princes were accustomed to obtain their war-steeds.[5] Solomon decreed

[1] 1 *Kings* iv. 7-19, where a list of the districts is given; the fact that two of Solomon's sons-in-law appear in it, show that the document from which it is taken gave the staff of collectors in office at the close of his reign.

[2] 1 *Kings* iv. 22, 23, 27.

[3] 1 *Kings* iv. 26-28; the complementary passages in 1 *Kings* x. 26 and 2 *Chron.* i. 14 give the number of chariots as 1400 and of charioteers at 12,000. The numbers do not seem excessive for a kingdom which embraced the whole south of Palestine, when we reflect that, at the battle of Qodshû, Northern Syria was able to put between 2500 and 3000 chariots into the field against Ramses II. (*cf.* what has been said on this point on p. 392, *supra*). The Hebrew chariots probably carried at least three men, like those of the Hittites and Assyrians (*cf.* pp. 217, 357, *supra*).

[4] 1 *Kings* x. 15, where mention is made of the amount which the chapmen brought, and the traffic of the merchants contains an allusion to these tolls (Kittel, *Histoire des Israélites*, p. 158, n. 2).

[5] As to the chariots and stallions from Egypt, *cf.* what is said on p. 216, note 1, *supra*. The terms in which the text, 1 *Kings* x. 27-29 (*cf.* 2 *Chron.* i. 16, 17), speaks of the trade in horses, show that the traffic was already in existence when Solomon decided to embark in it.

that for the future he was to be the sole intermediary between the Asiatics and the foreign countries supplying their requirements. His agents went down at regular intervals to the banks of the Nile to lay in stock; the horses and chariots, by the time they reached Jerusalem, cost him at the rate of six hundred silver shekels for each chariot, and one hundred and fifty shekels for each horse, but he sold them again at a profit to the Aramæan and Hittite princes. In return he purchased from them Cilician stallions, probably to sell again to the Egyptians, whose relaxing climate necessitated a frequent introduction of new blood into their stables.[1] By these and other methods of which we know nothing the yearly revenue of the kingdom was largely increased: and though it only reached a total which may seem insignificant in comparison with the enormous quantities of the precious metals which passed through the hands of the Pharaohs of that time, yet it must have seemed boundless wealth in the eyes of the shepherds and husbandmen who formed the bulk of the Hebrew nation.

In thus developing his resources and turning them to good account, Solomon derived great assistance from the Phœnicians of Tyre and Sidon, a race whose services were always at the disposal of the masters of Southern Syria. The continued success of the Hellenic colonists on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean had compelled the Phœnicians to seek with redoubled boldness and activity in the Western Mediterranean some sort of compensation for the injury which their trade had thus suffered.[2] They increased and consolidated their dealings with Sicily, Africa, and Spain, and established themselves throughout the whole of that misty region which extended beyond the straits of Gibraltar on the European side, from the mouth of the Guadalete to that of the Guadiana. This was the famous Tarshish—the Oriental El Dorado. Here they had founded a number of new towns, the most flourishing of which, Gadir,[3] rose not far from the mouths of the Bætis, on a small islet separated from the mainland by a narrow arm of the sea. In this city they constructed a temple to Melkarth, arsenals, warehouses, and ship-building yards: it was the Tyre of the west, and its merchant-vessels sailed to the south and to the north to trade with the savage races of the African

[1] 1 *Kings* x. 27-29; 2 *Chron.* i. 16, 17. *Kuê*, the name of Lower Cilicia, was discovered in the Hebrew text by Fr. Lenormant, *Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. iii. p. 9, note 2. Winckler, with mistaken reliance on the authority of Erman, has denied that Egypt produced stud-horses at this time, and wishes to identify the Mizraim of the Hebrew text with Muṣri, a place near Mount Taurus, mentioned in the Assyrian texts (*Alttestamentliche Forschungen*, pp. 172, 174).

[2] As to these various points, cf. pp. 580-588, *supra*.

[3] I do not propose to discuss here the question of the identity of the country of Tartessus with the Tarshish or Tarsis mentioned in the Bible (1 *Kings* x. 22); in regard to the colonisation of Spain by the Phœnicians, cf., in addition to the brief summaries by Gutschmid (*Kleine Schriften*, vol. ii. pp. 54-57) and of Rawlinson (*History of Phœnicia*, pp. 120-128), the works of Meltzer (*Geschichte der Karthager*, vol. i. pp. 37-40) and of Pietschmann (*Geschichte der Phönizier*, p. 286, *et seq.*), and, with necessary caution, Movers (*Das Phönizische Alterthum*, vol. ii. p. 588, *et seq.*).

and European seaboard. On the coast of Morocco they built Lixos, a town almost as large as Gadir, and beyond Lixos, thirty days' sail southwards, a whole host of depôts, reckoned later on at three hundred. By exploiting the materials to be obtained from these lands, such as gold, silver, tin, lead, and copper, Tyre and Sidon were soon able to make good the losses they had suffered from Greek privateersmen and marauding Philistines. Towards the close of the reign of Saul over Israel, a certain king Abibaal had arisen in Tyre, and was succeeded by his son Hiram, at the very moment when David was engaged in bringing the whole of Israel into subjection. Hiram, guided by instinct or by tradition, at once adopted a policy towards the rising dynasty which his ancestors had always found successful in similar cases.[1] He made friendly overtures to the Hebrews, and constituted himself their broker and general provider: when David was in want of wood for the house he was building at Jerusalem, Hiram let him have the necessary quantity, and hired out to him workmen and artists at a reasonable wage, to help him in turning his materials to good account.[2] The accession of Solomon was a piece of good luck for him. The new king, born in the purple, did not share the simple and somewhat rustic tastes of his father. He wanted palaces and gardens and a temple, which might rival, even if only in a small way, the palaces and temples of Egypt and Chaldæa, of which he had heard such glowing accounts: Hiram undertook to procure these things for him at a moderate cost, and it was doubtless his influence which led to those voyages to the countries which produced precious metals, perfumes, rare animals, costly woods, and all those foreign knickknacks with which Eastern monarchs of all ages loved to surround themselves.[3] The Phœnician sailors were well acquainted with the bearings of Puanit, most of them having heard of this country when in Egypt, a few perhaps having gone thither under the direction and by the orders of Pharaoh: and Hiram took advantage of the access which the Hebrews had gained to the shores of the Red Sea by the annexation of Edom, to establish relations with these outlying districts without having to pass the Egyptian customs. He lent to Solomon shipwrights and sailors, who helped him to fit out a fleet at Ezion-geber, and undertook a voyage of discovery in company with a number of Hebrews, who were no doubt despatched in the same capacity as the royal messengers sent with the galleys of Hâtshopsîtû. It was a venture similar to those so frequently undertaken by the Egyptian admirals in the palmy days of the Theban navy, and of which we find so many curious pictures among the bas-reliefs

[1] Cf. what is said concerning the policy adopted by the Theban rulers on pp. 190, 191, supra.
[2] 2 Sam. v. 11; cf. the reference to the same incident in 1 Kings v. 1-2.
[3] As to this predilection of the Pharaohs and Assyrian kings, cf. pp. 280, 281, 265, 600, 601, supra.

at Deir el-Bahari.[1] On their return, after a three years' absence, they reported that they had sailed to a country named Ophir, and produced in support of their statement a freight well calculated to convince the most sceptical, consisting as it did of four hundred and twenty talents of gold. The success of this first venture encouraged Solomon to persevere in such expeditions: he sent his fleet on several voyages to Ophir, and procured from thence a rich harvest of gold and silver, wood and ivory, apes and peacocks.[2] Was the profit from these distant cruises so very considerable after all? After they had ceased, memory may have thrown a fanciful glamour over them, and magnified the treasures they had yielded to fabulous proportions: we are told that Solomon would have no drinking vessels or other utensils save those of pure gold, and that in his days "silver was as stone," so common had it become.[3] Doubtless Hiram took good care to obtain his full share of the gains. The Phœnician king began to find Tyre too restricted for him, the various islets over which it was scattered affording too small a space to support the multitudes which flocked thither. He therefore filled up the channels which separated them; by means of embankments and fortified quays he managed to reclaim from the sea a certain amount of land on the south; after which he constructed two harbours—one on the north, called the Sidonian; the other on the south, named the Egyptian. He was perhaps also the originator of the long causeway, the lower courses of which still serve as a breakwater, by which he transformed the projecting headland between the island and the mainland into a well-sheltered harbour. Finally, he set to work on a task like that which he had already helped Solomon to accomplish:[4] he



[1] Cf. the account of the voyage undertaken under Hâtshopsîtû on pp. 245–252, supra.

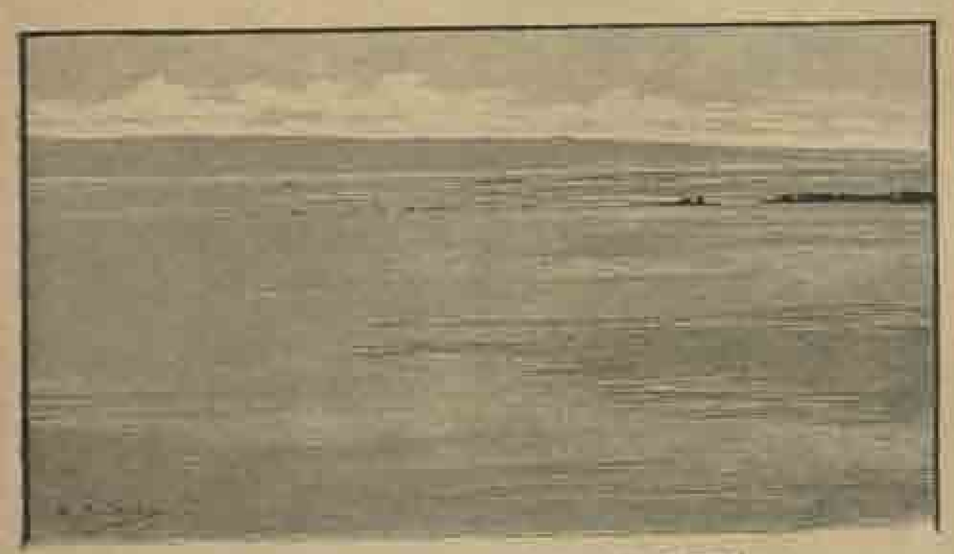
[2] 1 Kings ix. 26–28, x. 11, 12; cf. 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18, ix. 10, 11, 21. A whole library might be stocked with the various treatises which have appeared on the situation of the country of Ophir: Arabia, Persia, India, Java, and America have all been suggested. The mention of almug wood and of peacocks, which may be of Indian origin, for a long time inclined the scale in favour of India, but the discoveries of Mauch and Bent on the Zimbabye have drawn attention to the lands of the Zambesi and the ruins found there. Dr. Peters, one of the best-known German explorers, is inclined to agree with Mauch and Bent, in their theory as to the position of the Ophir of the Bible (*Der Goldene Ophir Salamo's*, pp. 50–61). I am rather inclined to identify it with the Egyptian Puanît, on the Somali or Yemen seaboard.

[3] 1 Kings x. 21, 27. In *Chronicles* the statement in the *Book of Kings* is repeated in a still more emphatic manner, since it is there stated that gold itself was "in Jerusalem as stones" (2 *Chron.* i. 15).

[4] Dius, *Fragm.* 2, and Menander, *Fragm.* 1, in Müller-Didot, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, vol. iv. pp. 398, 399, 445, 446. In so far as the interpretation of the facts connected with the enlargement of the harbour and building of the temples is concerned, I follow Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 566–575.

built for himself a palace of cedar-wood, and restored and beautified the temples of the gods, including the ancient sanctuary of Melkarth and that of Astarté. In his reign the greatness of Phœnicia reached its zenith, just as that of the Hebrews culminated under David.

The most celebrated of Solomon's works were to be seen at Jerusalem. As David left it, the city was somewhat insignificant. The water from its fountains



THE BREAKWATER OF THE EGYPTIAN HARBOUR AT TYRE.[1]

had been amply sufficient for the wants of the little Jebusite town; it was wholly inadequate to meet the requirements of the growing population of the capital of Judah. Solomon made better provision for its distribution than there had been in the past, and then tapped a new source of supply some distance away, in the direction of Bethlehem; it is even said that he made the reservoirs for its storage which still bear his name.[2] Meanwhile, Hiram had drawn up for him plans for a fortified residence, on a scale commensurate with the thriving fortunes of his dynasty. The main body was constructed of stone from the Judæan quarries, cut by masons from Byblos, but it was inlaid with cedar to such an extent that one wing was called "the house of the forest of Lebanon." It contained everything that was required for the comfort of an Eastern potentate—a harem, with separate apartments for the favourites (one of which was probably decorated in the Egyptian manner for the benefit of Pharaoh's daughter);[3] then there were

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph published by the Duc de Luynes, *Voyage d'Exploration à la mer Morte*, vol. iii. pl. 18.

[2] A somewhat ancient tradition attributes these works to Solomon: no single fact confirms it, but the balance of probability seems to indicate that he must have taken steps to provide a water-supply for the new city. The channels and reservoirs, of which traces are found at the present day, probably occupy the same positions as those which preceded them.

[3] 1 *Kings* vii. 8, ix. 24; 2 *Chron.* viii. 11.

reception-halls, to which the great men of the kingdom were admitted, store-houses, and an arsenal. The king's body-guard possessed five hundred shields "of beaten gold," which were handed over by each detachment, when the guard was relieved, to the one which took its place.[1] But this gorgeous edifice would not have been complete if the temple of Jahveh had not arisen side by side



ONE OF SOLOMON'S RESERVOIRS NEAR JERUSALEM.[2]

with the abode of the temporal ruler of the nation. No monarch in those days could regard his position as unassailable until he had a sanctuary and a priesthood attached to his religion, either in his own palace or not far away from it.[3] David had scarcely entered Jerusalem before he fixed upon the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite as a site for the temple, and built an altar there to the Lord during a plague which threatened to decimate his people; but as he did not carry the project any farther,[4] Solomon set himself to complete the task which his father had merely sketched out. The site was irregular in shape, and the surface did not naturally lend itself to the purpose for which it was destined. His engineers, however, put this right by constructing enormous piers for the foundations, which they built up from the slopes of the mountain or from the bottom of the valley as circumstances required: the space between this artificial casing and the solid rock was filled

[1] 1 *Kings* vii. 1-12, x. 16. Of the numerous attempts which have been made to reconstruct Solomon's palace, I shall content myself by mentioning those of STADE, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. pp. 311-325, and PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. iv. pp. 308-410.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by M. C. Albaud of Limoges.

[3] Cf. pp. 713, 727, *supra*.

[4] 2 Sam. xxiv. 18-25. The threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite is mentioned elsewhere as the site on which Solomon built his temple (2 *Chron.* iii. 1).

up, and the whole mass formed a nearly square platform, from which the temple buildings were to rise.[1] Hiram undertook to supply materials for the work. Solomon had written to him that he should command "that they hew me cedar trees out of Lebanon; and my servants shall be with thy servants; and I will give thee hire for thy servants according to all that thou shalt say: for thou knowest that there is not among us any that can skill to hew timber like unto the Zidonians." Hiram was delighted to carry out the wishes of his royal friend with regard to the cedar and cypress woods. "My servants," he answered, "shall bring them down from Lebanon unto the sea: and I will make them into rafts to go by sea unto the place that thou shalt appoint me, and will cause them to be broken up there, and thou shalt receive them; and thou shalt accomplish my desire, in giving food for my household." The payment agreed on, which was in kind, consisted of twenty thousand *kor* of wheat, and twenty *kor* of pure oil per annum, for which Hiram was to send to Jerusalem not only the timber, but architects, masons, and Gebalite carpenters (*i.e.* from Byblos), smelters, sculptors, and overseers.[3] Solomon undertook to supply the necessary labour, and for this purpose made a levy of men from all the tribes. The number of these labourers was reckoned at thirty thousand, and they were relieved regularly every three months; seventy thousand were occupied in the transport of the materials, while eighty thousand cut the stones from the quarry.[4] It is possible that the numbers may have been somewhat



SOME OF THE STONE COURSES OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE AT JERUSALEM.[2]

[1] For this part of the subject I must refer the reader to the exhaustive account given in PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. iv. pp. 171-218, of the works undertaken for the *Palestine Exploration Fund*, especially by Wilson and Warren.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph.

[3] 1 *Kings* v. 7-11; cf. 2 *Chron.* ii. 3-16, where the writer adds 20,000 kor of barley, 20,000 "baths" of wine, and the same quantity of oil. For the transport of wood, cf. a similar case in Egypt under Herihor, *supra*, pp. 582, 583.

[4] 1 *Kings* v. 13-18; cf. 2 *Chron.* ii. 1, 2, 17, 18.

exaggerated in popular estimation, since the greatest Egyptian monuments never required such formidable levies of workmen for their construction: we must remember, however, that such an undertaking demanded a considerable effort, as the Hebrews were quite unaccustomed to that kind of labour. The front of the temple faced eastward; it was twenty cubits wide, sixty long, and thirty high. The walls were of enormous squared stones, and the ceilings and frames of the doors of carved cedar, plated with gold; it was entered by a porch, between two columns of wrought bronze, which were called Jachin and Boaz.[1] The interior contained only two chambers; the *hekal*, or holy place, where were kept the altar of incense, the seven-branched candlestick, and the table of shewbread; and the Holy of Holies—*debir*—where the ark of God rested beneath the wings of two cherubim of gilded wood. Against the outer wall of the temple, and rising to half its height, were rows of small apartments, three stories high, in which were kept the treasures and vessels of the sanctuary. While the high priest was allowed to enter the Holy of Holies only once a year, the holy place was accessible at all times to the priests engaged in the services, and it was there that the daily ceremonies of the temple-worship took place; there stood also the altar of incense and the table of shewbread. The altar of sacrifice stood on the platform in front of the entrance; it was a cube of masonry with a parapet, and was approached by stone steps; it resembled, probably, in general outline the monumental altars which stood in the forecourts of the Egyptian temples and palaces. There stood by it, as was also customary in Chaldæa, a "molten sea," and some ten smaller lavers, in which the Levites washed the portions of the victims to be offered, together with the basins, knives, flesh-hooks, spoons, shovels, and other utensils required for the bloody sacrifice. A low wall surmounted by a balustrade of cedar-wood separated this sacred enclosure from a court to which the people were permitted to have free access.[2] Both palace and temple were probably designed in that pseudo-Egyptian style which the Phœnicians were known to affect.[3] The few Hebrew edifices of which remains have come down to us, reveal a method of construction and decoration common in Egypt; we have an example of this in

[1] 1 *Kings* vii. 15-22; cf. 2 *Chron.* iv. 11-13. The names were probably engraved each upon its respective column, and taken together formed an inscription which could be interpreted in various ways. The most simple interpretation is to recognise in them a kind of talismanic formula to ensure the strength of the building, affirming "that it exists by the strength" of God (cf. Renan, *Hist. du peuple d'Israël*, vol. ii. pp. 143, 144). For a tentative restoration of these columns, cf. Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. iv. pp. 314-327; we may, on the other hand, see in them merely an equivalent of the Egyptian Stele-Pillars—as, for instance, those of the temple of Karnak, reproduced *supra*, p. 307.

[2] 1 *Kings* vi., vii.; cf. 2 *Chron.* iii., iv. Here, again, I must refer my readers to two restorations proposed by Stade, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. pp. 325, 342, and by Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. iv. pp. 243-338.

[3] Cf. *supra*, p. 577.

the uprights of the doors at Lachish, which terminate in an Egyptian gorge like that employed in the naos of the Phœnician temples. The completion of the whole plan occupied thirteen years; at length both palace and temple were finished in the XVII^th^ year of the king's reign. Solomon, however, did not wait for the completion of the work to dedicate the sanctuary to God. As soon as the inner court was ready, which was in his XI^th^ year, he proceeded to transfer the ark to its new resting-place; it was raised upon a cubical base, and the long staves by which it had been carried were left in their rings, as was usual in the case of the sacred barks of the Egyptian deities.[1] The God of Israel thus took up His abode in the place in which He



AN UPRIGHT OF A DOOR AT LACHISH.[2]

was henceforth to be honoured. The sacrifices on the occasion of the dedication were innumerable, and continued for fourteen days, in the presence of the representatives of all Israel. The ornate ceremonial and worship which had long been lavished on the deities of rival nations were now, for the first time, offered to the God of Israel. The devout Hebrews who had come together from far and near returned to their respective tribes filled with admiration,[3] and their limited knowledge of art doubtless led them to consider their temple as unique in the world; as a fact, it presented nothing remarkable either in proportion, arrangement, or in the variety and richness of its ornamentation and furniture. Compared with the magnificent monuments of Egypt and Chaldæa, the work of Solomon was what the Hebrew kingdom appears to us among the empires of the ancient world—a little temple suited to a little people.

[1] 1 *Kings* viii. 6-8, and 2 *Chron.* v. 7-9. For the representation of the bark of the Egyptian god Amon, with its staves, placed on its altar seat, cf. Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 235.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the drawing by Petrie, *Tell el Hesy*, p. 26.

[3] 1 *Kings* vi. 37, 38 states that the foundations were laid in the IV^th^ year of Solomon's reign, in the month of Ziv, and that the temple was completed in the month of Bul in the XI^th^ year: the work occupied seven years. 1 *Kings* vii. 1 adds that the construction of the palace lasted thirteen years; it went on for six years after the completion of the temple. The account of the dedication (1 *Kings* viii.) contains a long prayer by Solomon, part of which (vers. 14-66) is thought by certain critics to be of later date. They contend that the original words of Solomon are confined to vers. 12 and 13.

The priests to whose care it was entrusted did not differ much from those whom David had gathered about him at the outset of the monarchy.[1] They in no way formed an hereditary caste confined to the limits of a rigid hierarchy; they admitted into their number—at least up to a certain point—men of varied extraction, who were either drawn by their own inclinations to the service of the altar, or had been dedicated to it by their parents from childhood. He indeed was truly a priest "who said of his father and mother, 'I have not seen him;' neither did he acknowledge his brethren, nor knew he his own children." He was content, after renouncing these, to observe the law of God and keep His covenant, and to teach Jacob His judgments and Israel His law; he put incense before the Lord, and whole burnt offerings upon His altar.[2] As in Egypt, the correct offering of the Jewish sacrifices was beset with considerable difficulties, and the risk of marring their efficacy by the slightest inadvertence necessitated the employment of men who were thoroughly instructed in the divinely appointed practices and formulæ. The victims had to be certified as perfect, while the offerers themselves had to be ceremonially pure; and, indeed, those only who had been specially trained were able to master the difficulties connected with the minutiæ of legal purity. The means by which the future was made known necessitated the intervention of skilful interpreters of the Divine will. We know that in Egypt the statues of the gods were supposed to answer the questions put to them by movements of the head or arms, sometimes even by the living voice; but the Hebrews do not appear to have been influenced by any such recollections in the use of their sacred oracles. We are ignorant, however, of the manner in which the ephod was consulted, and we know merely that the art of interrogating the Divine will by it demanded a long noviciate.[3] The benefits derived by those initiated into these mysteries were such as to cause them to desire the privileges to be perpetuated to their children. Gathered round the ancient sanctuaries were certain families who, from father to son, were devoted to the performance of the sacred rites, as, for instance, that of Eli at Shiloh, and that of Jonathan-ben-Gershom at Dan, near the sources of the Jordan;[4] but, in addition to these, the text mentions functionaries analogous to those found among the Canaanites, diviners, seers—*roê*—who had means of discovering that which was hidden from the vulgar,

[1] Cf. *supra*, pp. 727, 738.

[2] These are the expressions used in the Blessing of Moses (*Deut.* xxxiii. 8–11), though this text is by some writers placed as late as the VIII[th] century B.C., yet the state of things there represented would apply also to an earlier date. The Hebrew priest, in short, had the same duties as a large proportion of the priesthood in Chaldæa and Egypt.

[3] An example of the consulting of the ephod will be found in 1 *Sam.* xxx. 7, 8, where David desires to know if he shall pursue the Amalekites.

[4] Cf., for these two families, *supra*, 704, 706, 707, 713, 715, 730.

even to the finding of lost objects, but whose powers sometimes rose to a higher level when they were suddenly possessed by the prophetic spirit and enabled to reveal coming events. Besides these, again, were the prophets—*nabî*[1]—who lived either alone or in communities, and attained, by means of a strict training, to a vision of the future. Their prophetic utterances were accompanied by music and singing, and the exaltation of spirit which followed their exercises would at times spread to the bystanders, as is the case in the "zikr" of the Mahomedans of to-day.[2] The early kings, Saul and David, used to have recourse to individuals belonging to all these three classes, but the prophets, owing to the intermittent character of their inspiration and their ministry, could not fill a regular office attached to the court. One of this class was raised up by God from time to time to warn or guide His servants, and then sank again into obscurity; the priests, on the contrary, were always at hand, and their duties brought them into contact with the sovereign all the year round. The god who was worshipped in the capital of the country and his priesthood promptly acquired a predominant position in all Oriental monarchies, and most of the other temples, together with the sacerdotal bodies attached to them, usually fell into disrepute, leaving them supreme. If Amon of Thebes became almost the sole god, and his priests the possessors of all Egypt, it was because the accession of the XVIII[th] dynasty had made his pontiffs the almoners of the Pharaoh.[3] Something of the same sort took place in Israel; the priesthood at Jerusalem attached to the temple built by the sovereign, being constantly about his person, soon surpassed their brethren in other parts of the country both in influence and possessions. Under David's reign their head had been Abiathar, son of Ahimelech, a descendant of Eli,[4] but on Solomon's accession the primacy had been transferred to the line of Zadok. In this alliance of the throne and the altar, it was natural at first that the throne should reap the advantage. The king appears to have continued to be a sort of high priest, and to have officiated at certain times and occasions.[5] The priests kept the temple in order, and watched over the cleanliness of its chambers and its vessels; they interrogated the Divine will for the king according to the prescribed ceremonies, and offered sacrifices on behalf of

[1] 1 Sam. ix. 9 is a gloss which identifies the *seer* of former times with the prophet of the times of the monarchy.

[2] 1 Sam. x. 5-13, where we see Saul seized with the prophetic spirit on meeting with a band of prophets descending from the high place; cf. 2 Sam. vi. 13-16, 20-23, and *supra*, p. 725, for David dancing before the ark.

[3] For the history of the priests of Amon, cf. p. 559 of the present work.

[4] For Ahijah or Ahimelech, cf. *supra*, p. 712, note 3.

[5] Solomon officiated and presided at the consecration of the temple (1 *Kings* viii.). The actual words appear to be of a later date; but even if that be the case, it proves that, at the time they were written, the king still possessed his full sacerdotal powers.

the monarch and his subjects; in short, they were at first little more than chaplains to the king and his family.

Solomon's allegiance to the God of Israel did not lead him to proscribe the worship of other gods; he allowed his foreign wives the exercise of their various religions, and he raised an altar to Chemosh on the Mount of Olives for one of them who was a Moabite.[1] The political supremacy and material advantages which all these establishments acquired for Judah could not fail to rouse the jealousy of the other tribes. Ephraim particularly looked on with ill-concealed anger at the prospect of the hegemony becoming established in the hands of a tribe which could be barely said to have existed before the time of David, and was to a considerable extent of barbarous origin. Taxes, homage, the keeping up and recruiting of garrisons, were all equally odious to this, as well as to the other clans descended from Joseph; meanwhile their burdens did not decrease. A new fortress had to be built at Jerusalem by order of the aged king. One of the overseers appointed for this work—Jeroboam, the son of Nebat—appears to have stirred up the popular discontent, and to have hatched a revolutionary plot. Solomon, hearing of the conspiracy, attempted to suppress it; Jeroboam was forewarned, and fled to Egypt, where Pharaoh Sheshonq received him with honour, and gave him his wife's sister in marriage.[2] The peace of the nation had not been ostensibly troubled, but the very fact that a pretender should have risen up in opposition to the legitimate king augured ill for the future of the dynasty. In reality, the edifice which David had raised with such difficulty tottered on its foundations before the death of his successor; the foreign vassals were either in a restless state or ready to throw off their allegiance; money was scarce, and twenty Galilæan towns had been perforce ceded to Hiram to pay the debts due to him for the building of the temple;[3] murmurings were heard among the people, who desired an easier life. In a future age, when priestly and prophetic influences had gained the ascendant, amid the perils which assailed Jerusalem, and the miseries of the exile, the Israelites, contrasting their humiliation with the glory of the past, forgot the reproaches which their forefathers had addressed to the house of David, and surrounded its memory with a halo of romance. David again became the hero, and Solomon the saint and sage of his race; the latter "spake three thousand proverbs; and his songs were a thousand and five. And he spake of trees, from the cedar that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall: he spake also of beasts, and of fowl,

[1] 1 *Kings* xi. 7; cf. 2 *Kings* xxiii. 13.

[2] 1 *Kings* xi. 26–40, where the LXX. is fuller than the A.V.

[3] 1 *Kings* ix. 10–13; cf. 2 *Chron.* viii. 1, 2, where the fact seems to have been reversed, and Hiram is made the donor of the twenty towns.

and of creeping things, and of fishes."[1] We are told that God favoured him with a special predilection, and appeared to him on three separate occasions: once immediately after the death of David, to encourage him by the promise of a prosperous reign, and the gift of wisdom in governing; again after the dedication of the temple, to confirm him in his pious intentions; and lastly to upbraid him for his idolatry, and to predict the downfall of his house.[2] Solomon is supposed to have had continuous dealings with all the sovereigns of the Oriental world,[3] and a Queen of Sheba is recorded as having come to bring him gifts from the furthest corner of Arabia.[4] His contemporaries, however, seem to have regarded him as a tyrant who oppressed them with taxes, and whose death was unregretted.[5] His son Rehoboam experienced no opposition in Jerusalem and Judah on succeeding to the throne of his father; when, however, he repaired to Shechem to receive the oath of allegiance from the northern and central tribes, he found them unwilling to tender it except under certain conditions; they would consent to obey him only on the promise of his delivering them from the forced labour which had been imposed upon them by his predecessors. Jeroboam, who had returned from his Egyptian exile on the news of Solomon's death, undertook to represent their grievances to the new king. "Thy father made our yoke grievous: now therefore make thou the grievous service of thy father, and his heavy yoke which he put upon us, lighter, and we will serve thee." Rehoboam demanded three days for the consideration of his reply; he took counsel with the old advisers of the late king, who exhorted him to comply with the petition, but the young men who were his habitual companions urged him, on the contrary, to meet the remonstrances of his subjects with threats of still harsher exactions. Their advice was taken, and when Jeroboam again presented himself, Rehoboam greeted him with raillery and threats. "My little finger is thicker than my father's loins. And now whereas my father did lade you with a heavy yoke, I will add to your yoke: my father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions." This unwise answer did not produce the intimidating effect which was desired; the cry of revolt, which had already been raised in the earlier days of the monarchy, was once more heard. "What portion have we in David? neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse: to your tents, O Israel: now see to thine own house, David." Rehoboam attempted to carry

[1] 1 *Kings* iv. 29–33.

[2] 1 *Kings* iii. 4–15, ix. 1–9, xi. 9–13; cf. 2 *Chron.* i. 7–12, vii. 12–22.

[3] 1 *Kings* iv. 34; on this passage are founded all the legends dealing with the contests of wit and wisdom in which Solomon was supposed to have entered with the kings of neighbouring countries; traces of these are found in Dius (*Fragm.* 1, in Müller-Didot, *Fragmenta Hist. Græc.*, vol. iv. p. 398), in Menander (*Fragm.* 2, *ibid.*, p. 446), and in Eupolemus (*Id.*, vol. iii. pp. 225–228).

[4] 1 *Kings* x. 1–13; cf. 2 *Chron.* ix. 1–12.

[5] I am inclined to place the date of Solomon's death between 935 and 930 B.C.

his threats into execution, and sent the collectors of taxes among the rebels to enforce payment: but one of them was stoned almost before his eyes, and the king himself had barely time to regain his chariot and flee to Jerusalem to escape an outburst of popular fury. The northern and central tribes immediately offered the crown to Jeroboam, and the partisans of the son of Solomon were reduced to those of his own tribe; Judah, Caleb, the few remaining Simeonites, and some of the towns of Dan and Benjamin, which were too near to Jerusalem to escape the influence of a great city, were all who threw in their lot with him.[1]

Thus was accomplished the downfall of the House of David, and with it the Hebrew kingdom which it had been at such pains to build up. When we consider the character of the two kings who formed its sole dynasty, we cannot refrain from thinking that it deserved a better fate. David and Solomon exhibited that curious mixture of virtues and vices which distinguished most of the great Semite princes. The former, a soldier of fortune and an adventurous hero, represents the regular type of the founder of a dynasty: crafty, cruel, ungrateful, and dissolute, but at the same time brave, prudent, cautious, generous, and capable of enthusiasm, clemency, and repentance; at once so lovable and so gentle that he was able to inspire those about him with the firmest friendship and the most absolute devotion. The latter was a religious though sensual monarch, fond of display—the type of sovereign who usually succeeds to the head of the family and enjoys the wealth which his predecessor had acquired, displaying before all men the results of an accomplished work, and often thereby endangering its stability. The real reason of their failure to establish a durable monarchy was the fact that neither of them understood the temperament of the people they were called upon to govern. The few representations we possess of the Hebrews of this period depict them as closely resembling the nations which inhabited Southern Syria at the time of the Egyptian occupation. They belong to the type with which the monuments have made us familiar; they are distinguished by an aquiline nose, projecting cheek-bones, and curly hair and beard. They were vigorous, hardy, and inured to fatigue, but though they lacked those qualities of discipline and obedience which are the characteristics of true warrior races, David had not hesitated to employ them in war; they were neither sailors, builders, nor given to commerce and industries, and yet Solomon built fleets, raised palaces and a temple, and undertook maritime expeditions, and

[1] 1 *Kings* xii. 1–24; cf. 2 *Chron.* x., xi. 1–4. The text of 1 *Kings* xii. 20 expressly says, "there was none that followed the house of David but the tribe of Judah only;" whereas the following verse, which some think to have been added by another hand, adds that Rehoboam assembled 180,000 men "which were warriors" from "the house of Judah and the tribe of Benjamin."

financial circumstances seemed for the moment to be favourable. The onward progress of Assyria towards the Mediterranean had been arrested by the Hittites, Egypt was in a condition of lethargy, the Aramæan populations were fretting away their energies in internal dissensions; David, having encountered no serious opposition after his victory over the Philistines, had extended his conquests and increased the area of his kingdom, and the interested assistance which Tyre afterwards gave to Solomon enabled the latter to realise his dreams of luxury and royal magnificence. But the kingdom which had been created by David and Solomon rested solely on their individual efforts, and its continuance could be ensured only by bequeathing it to descendants who had sufficient energy and prudence to consolidate its weaker elements, and build up the tottering materials which were constantly threatening to fall asunder. As soon as the government had passed into the hands of the weakling Rehoboam, who had at the outset departed from his predecessors' policy, the component parts of the kingdom, which had for a few years been held together, now became disintegrated without a shock, and as if by mutual consent. The old order of things which existed in the time of the Judges had passed away with the death of Saul. The advantages which ensued from a monarchical *régime* were too apparent to permit of its being set aside, and the tribes who had been bound together by nearly half a century of obedience to a common master now resolved themselves, according to their geographical positions, into two masses of unequal numbers and extent—Judah in the south, together with the few clans who remained loyal to the kingly house, and Israel in the north and the regions beyond Jordan, occupying three-fourths of the territory which had belonged to David and Solomon.



A JEWISH CAPTIVE.[1]

Israel, in spite of its extent and population, did not enjoy the predominant position which we might have expected at the beginning of its independent existence. It had no political unity, no capital in which to concentrate its resources, no temple, and no army; it represented the material out of which a state could be formed rather than one already constituted. It was subdivided into three groups, formerly independent of, and almost strangers to

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Petrie; it is the captive who represents the town of Ganoti in the lists of Shoshonq at Karnak. *Cf.* another type taken from the same list, viz. that which corresponds to the town of Jud-hammelek, and which is considered to be the portrait of Rehoboam (p. 773, note 2, of the present work), given as the head-piece to the summary of this chapter, p. 671.

each other, and between whom neither David nor Solomon had been able to establish any bond which would enable them to forget their former isolation. The centre group was composed of the House of Joseph—Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh—and comprised the old fortresses of Peræa, Mahanaim, Penuel, Succoth, and Ramoth, ranged in a line running parallel with the Jordan. In the eastern group were the semi-nomad tribes of Reuben and Gad, who still persisted in the pastoral habits of their ancestors, and remained indifferent to the various revolutions which had agitated their race for several generations. Finally, in the northern group lay the smaller tribes of Asher, Naphtali, Issachar, Zebulon, and Dan, hemmed in between the Phœnicians and the Aramæans of Zoba and Damascus. Each group had its own traditions, its own interests often opposed to those of its neighbours, and its own peculiar mode of life, which it had no intention of renouncing for any one else's benefit. The difficulty of keeping these groups together became at once apparent. Shechem had been the first to revolt against Rehoboam; it was a large and populous town, situated almost in the centre of the newly formed state, and the seat of an ancient oracle, both of which advantages seemed to single it out as the future capital. But its very importance, and the memories of its former greatness under Jerubbaal and Abimelech, were against it. Built in the western territory belonging to Manasseh, the eastern and northern clans would at once object to its being chosen, on the ground that it would humiliate them before the House of Joseph, in the same manner as the selection of Jerusalem had tended to make them subservient to Judah. Jeroboam would have endangered his cause by fixing on it as his capital, and he therefore soon quitted it to establish himself at Tirzah. It is true that the latter town was also situated in the mountains of Ephraim, but it was so obscure and insignificant a place that it disarmed all jealousy; the new king therefore took up his residence in it, since he was forced to fix on some royal abode, but it never became for him what Jerusalem was to his rival, a capital at once religious and military. He had his own sanctuary and priests at Tirzah, as was but natural, but had he attempted to found a temple which would have attracted the whole population to a common worship, he would have excited jealousies which would have been fatal to his authority. On the other hand, Solomon's temple had in its short period of existence not yet acquired such a prestige as to prevent Jeroboam's drawing his people away from it: which he determined to do from a fear that contact with Jerusalem would endanger the allegiance of his subjects to his person and family. Such concourses of worshippers, assembling at periodic intervals from all parts of the country, soon degenerated into a kind of fair, in which commercial as well as religious motives had their part. These gatherings formed a source of revenue to the prince in whose capital they



THE MOUND AND PLAIN OF BETHEL.[1]

were held, and financial as well as political considerations required that periodical assemblies should be established in Israel similar to those which attracted Judah to Jerusalem. Jeroboam adopted a plan which while safeguarding the interests of his treasury, prevented his becoming unpopular with his own subjects; as he was unable to have a temple for himself alone, he chose two out of the most venerated ancient sanctuaries, that of Dan for the northern tribes, and that of Bethel, on the Judæan frontier, for the tribes of the east and centre. He made two calves of gold, one for each place, and said to the people, "It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem; behold thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." He granted the sanctuaries certain appanages, and established a priesthood answering to that which officiated in the rival kingdom: "whosoever would he consecrated him, that there might be priests of the high places."[2] While Jeroboam thus endeavoured to strengthen himself on the throne by adapting the monarchy to the temperament of the tribes over which he ruled, Rehoboam took measures to regain his lost ground and restore the unity which he himself had destroyed. He recruited the army which had been somewhat neglected in the latter years of his father, restored the walls of the cities which had remained faithful to him, and fortified the places which constituted his frontier defences against the Israelites.[3] His ambition was not as foolish as we might be tempted to

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from the photograph published by the Duc de Luynes, *Voyage d'Exploration à la mer Morte*, vol. iii. pl. 23.

[2] 1 Kings xii. 25–33; chaps. xii. 33, xiii., xiv. 1–18 contain, side by side with the narrative of facts, such as the death of Jeroboam's son, comments on the religious conduct of the sovereign, which we regard as being of later date.

[3] 1 Kings xii. 21–24; cf. 2 Chron. xi. 1–17, where the list of strongholds, wanting in the *Book of*

imagine. He had soldiers, charioteers, generals, skilled in the art of war, well-filled storehouses, the remnant of the wealth of Solomon, and, as a last resource, the gold of the temple at Jerusalem. He ruled over the same extent of territory as that possessed by David after the death of Saul, but the means at his disposal were incontestably greater than those of his grandfather, and it is possible that he might in the end have overcome Jeroboam, as David overcame Ishbosheth, had not the intervention of Egypt disconcerted his plans, and, by exhausting his material forces, struck a death-blow to all his hopes.

The century and a half which had elapsed since the death of the last of the Ramessides had, as far as we can ascertain, been troubled by civil wars and revolutions.[1] The imperious Egypt of the Theban dynasties had passed away, but a new Egypt had arisen, not without storm and struggle, in its place. As long as the campaigns of the Pharaohs had been confined to the Nile valley and the Oases, Thebes had been the natural centre of the kingdom; placed almost exactly between the Mediterranean and the southern frontier, it had been both the national arsenal and the treasure-house to which all foreign wealth had found its way from the Persian Gulf to the Sahara, and from the coasts of Asia Minor to the equatorial swamps. The cities of the Delta, lying on the frontier of those peoples with whom Egypt now held but little intercourse, possessed neither the authority nor the resources of Thebes; even Memphis, to which the prestige of her ancient dynasties still clung, occupied but a secondary place beside her rival. The invasion of the shepherds, by

Kings, is given from an ancient source. The writer affirms, in harmony with the ideas of his time, "that the Levites left their suburbs and their possession and came to Judah and Jerusalem: for Jeroboam and his sons cast them off, that they should not execute the Priest's office unto the Lord."

[1] I have mentioned above, on p. 482, the uncertainty which still shrouds the XXth dynasty. The following is the order in which I proposed, eight years ago, that its kings should be placed (*Les Momies royales de Deir el-Bahari*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. p. 662):—

I. Nakhtusit-Miamon, Usirmarî-Miamon.
II. Ramses III. Hiq-ûîtbou-onû, Usirmarî-Miamon.
III. Ramses IV. Maîti-Miamon, Usirmarî-sotpûnirî.
IV. Ramses V. Amonhikhopshûf-Miamon, Usirmarî-sakhopirnirî.
V. Ramses VI. Amonhikhopshûf-hiq-ûîtbou-onû, Nibmarî-Miamon.
VI. Ramses VII. Atamon hiq-ûîtbou-onû, Usirmarî-Miamon-sotpûnirî.
VII. Ramses VIII. Sîtamonhikhopshûf-Miamon, Usirmarî-khûniamon.
VIII. Marîtûmû-Miamon. . . . .
IX. Ramses IX. Siptah, Sakhâniri-Miamon.
X. Ramses X. Miamon, Noferkerî-sotpûnirî.
XI. Ramses XI. Amonhikhopshûf, Khopirmarî-sotpûnirî.
XII. Ramses XII. Khâmoîsit-hiq-ûîtbou-onû-Miamon, Manmarî-sotpûnphtah.

For another possible classification of the earlier Pharaohs of this dynasty, see the observations of K. Sethe, *Untersuchungen zur Gesch. und Alterthumskunde Ægyptens*, pp. 59-61. The XXth dynasty lasted for about a hundred and forty years, from 1220 to 1080 B.C.

making the Thebaid the refuge and last bulwark of the Egyptian nation, increased its importance: in the critical times of the struggle, Thebes was not merely the foremost city in the country, it represented the country itself, and the heart of Egypt may be said to have throbbed within its walls. The victories of Ahmosis, the expeditions of Thûtmosis I. and Thûtmosis III., enlarged her horizon; her Pharaohs crossed the Isthmus of Suez, they conquered Syria, subdued the valleys of the Euphrates and the Balikh, and by so doing increased her wealth and her splendour. Her streets witnessed during two centuries processions of barbarian prisoners laden with the spoils of conquest. But with the advent of the XIXth and XXth dynasties came anxious times; the peoples of Syria and Libya, long kept in servitude, at length rebelled, and the long distance between Karnak and Gaza soon began to be irksome to princes who had to be constantly on the alert on the Canaanite frontier, and who found it impossible to have their head-quarters six hundred miles from the scene of hostilities. Hence it came about that Ramses II., Minephtah, and Ramses III. all took up their abode in the Delta during the greater part of their active life; they restored its ancient towns and founded new ones, which soon acquired considerable wealth by foreign commerce.[1] The centre of government of the empire, which, after the dissolution of the old Memphite state, had been removed southwards to Thebes on account of the conquest of Ethiopia and the encroachment of Theban civilization upon Nubia and the Sudan, now gradually returned northwards, and passing over Heliopolis, which had exercised a transitory supremacy, at length established itself in the Delta. Tanis, Bubastis, Sais, Mendes, and Sebennytos all disputed the honour of forming the royal residence, and all in turn during the course of ages enjoyed the privilege without ever rising to the rank of Thebes, or producing any sovereigns to be compared with those of her triumphant dynasties. Tanis was, as we have seen, the first of these to rule the whole of the Nile valley.[2] Its prosperity had continued to increase from the time that Ramses II. began to rebuild it; the remaining inhabitants of Avaris, mingled with the natives of pure race and the prisoners of war settled there, had furnished it with an active and industrious population, which had considerably increased during the peaceful reigns of the XXth dynasty. The surrounding country, drained and cultivated by unremitting efforts, became one of the most fruitful parts of the Delta; there was a large exportation of fish and corn, to which were soon added the various products of its manufactories, such as linen and woollen stuffs,

[1] For the impulse given to the towns of the Delta under the XIXth and XXth dynasties see *supra*, pp. 423, 424, 475, 476.

[2] The little that is known of the circumstances connected with the rise of the Tanite dynasty will be found *supra*, pp. 562-565.

ornaments, and objects in glass and in precious metals.[1] These were embarked on Egyptian or Phœnician galleys, and were exchanged in the ports of the Mediterranean for Syrian, Asiatic, or Ægean commodities, which were then transmitted by the Egyptian merchants to the countries of the East and to Northern Africa.[2] The port of Tanis was one of the most secure and convenient which existed at that period. It was at sufficient distance from the coast to be safe from the sudden attacks of pirates,[3] and yet near enough to permit of its being reached from the open by merchantmen in a few hours of easy navigation: the arms of the Nile, and the canals which here flowed into the sea, were broad and deep, and, so long as they were kept well dredged, would allow the heaviest-laden vessel of large draught to make its way up them with ease. The site of the town was not less advantageous for overland traffic. Tanis was the first important station encountered by caravans after crossing the frontier at Zalû,[4] and it offered them a safe and convenient emporium for the disposal of their goods in exchange for the riches of Egypt and the Delta. The combination of so many advantageous features on one site tended to the rapid development of both civic and individual wealth: in less than three centuries after its rebuilding by Ramses II., Tanis had risen to a position which enabled its sovereigns to claim even the obedience of Thebes itself.

We know very little of the history of this Tanite dynasty; the monuments have not revealed the names of all its kings, and much difficulty is experienced in establishing the sequence of those already brought to light.[5] Their actual domain barely extended as far as Siut, but their suzerainty was acknowledged

[1] The immense number of designs taken from aquatic plants, as, for instance, the papyrus and the lotus, single or in groups, as well as from fish and aquatic birds, which we observe on objects of Phœnician goldsmiths' work, leads me to believe that the Tyrian and Sidonian artists borrowed most of their models from the Delta, and doubtless from Tanis, the most flourishing town of the Delta during the centuries following the downfall of Thebes.

[2] It was from Tanis that the Egyptian vessel set out carrying the messengers of Hrihor to Byblos; cf. *supra*, pp. 582, 583.

[3] We may judge of the security afforded by such a position by the account in Homer (*Odyssey*, xiv. 185–359) which Ulysses gives to Eumæus of his pretended voyage to Egypt: the Greeks having disembarked, and being scattered over the country, were attacked by the Egyptians before they could capture a town or carry their booty to the ships. Cf., for these legends, MALLET, *Les Premiers établissements des Grecs en Égypte*, p. 12, et seq.

[4] For the eastern frontier of the Delta and the station at Zalu, cf. *supra*, pp. 122, 123.

[5] The classification of the Tanite line has been complicated in the minds of most Egyptologists by the tendency to ignore the existence of the sacerdotal dynasty of high priests, to confuse with the Tanite Pharaohs those of the high priests who bore the crown, and to identify in the lists of Manetho (more or less corrected) the names they are in search of. I have discussed the various systems proposed, even to those of Lepsius and Wiedemann, in the *Momies royales de Deir el-Bahari* (*Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. p. 640, et seq.), and I have also endeavoured to show the contemporaneousness of the two families in a clearer way than has been hitherto done. Daressy has added new facts to those I had already pointed out, but he has made the mistake of supposing Paînotmû to have been of the Tanite line (*Contribution à l'Étude de la XXI^e dynastie*, in the *Revue Archéologique*,

by the Saïd as well as by all or part of Ethiopia,[1] and the Tanite Pharaohs maintained their authority with such vigour, that they had it in their power on several occasions to expel the high priests of Amon, and to restore, at least for a time, the unity of the empire. To accomplish this, it would have been sufficient for them to have assumed the priestly dignity at Thebes, and this was what no doubt took place at times when a vacancy in the high priesthood occurred; but it was merely in an interim, and the Tanite sovereigns always relinquished the office, after a brief lapse of time, in favour of some member of the family of Hrihor whose right of primogeniture entitled him to succeed to it.[2] It indeed seemed as if custom and religious etiquette had made the two offices of the pontificate and the royal dignity incompatible for one individual to hold simultaneously. The priestly duties had become marvellously complicated during the Theban hegemony, and the minute observances which they entailed absorbed the whole life of those who dedicated themselves to their performance.[3] They had daily to fulfil a multitude of rites, distributed over the various hours in such a manner that it seemed impossible to find leisure for any fresh occupation without encroaching on the time allotted to absolute bodily needs. The high priest rose each morning at an appointed hour; he had certain times for taking food, for recreation, for giving audience, for dispensing justice, for attending to worldly affairs, and for relaxation with his wives and children;

1886, vol. xviii. pp. 72-90). A fresh examination of the subject has led me to adopt provisionally the following order for the series of Tanite kings :—

From the Monuments.
1. Nsbindîdi-miamon, Hashkhopirrî-sotpûnirî.
2. Psiûkhânuit I. Miamon, Âakhopirrî-sotpûniamon.
. . . .
3. Amenemopit-miamon, Usirmarî-sotpûniamon.
4. Siamon-miamon, Nutirkhopirrî-sotpûniamon.
. . . .
5. Hor-Psiûkhânuit II. Miamon, Tîtkhopirrî.

From Manetho.	
1. Smendes	26 years
2. Psousennes I.	46 "
3. Nephercheres	4 "
4. Amenophthis	9 "
5. Osochôr	6 "
6. Psinaches	9 "
7. Psousennes II.	35 "

The dynasty must have reigned about a hundred and forty years, from *circ.* 1080 to 940 B.C.; but these, of course, are merely approximate dates.

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 584.

[2] This is only true if the personage who entitles himself once within a cartouche, "the Master of the two lands, First Prophet of Amon, Psiûkhânuit" (Wiedemann, *Zur XXI. Dynastie Manetho's*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1885, p. 88; Maspero, *Les Momies royales de Deir el-Bahari*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pp. 679, 728), is really the Tanite king, and not the high priest Psiûkhânuit (cf. pp. 701, 702 of the present volume), as Daressy is inclined to think (*Contribution à l'histoire de la XXI^e dynastie*, p. 17).

[3] The first book of Diodorus contains a picture of the life of the kings of Egypt (i. 70, 71), which, in common with much information contained in this work, is taken from a lost book of Hecatæus. The historical romance written by the latter appears to have been composed from information taken from Theban sources. The comparison of it with the inscribed monuments and the ritual of the cultus of Amon proves that the ideal description given in this work of the life of the kings, merely reproduces the chief characteristics of the lives of the Theban and Ethiopian high priests; hence the greater part of the minute observances which we remark therein apply to the latter only, and not to the Pharaohs properly so called.

at night he kept watch, or rose at intervals to prepare for the various ceremonies which could only be celebrated at sunrise. He was responsible for the superintendence of the priests of Amon in the numberless festivals held in honour of the gods, from which he could not absent himself except for some legitimate reason. From all this it will be seen how impossible it was for a lay king, like the sovereign ruling at Tanis, to submit to such restraints beyond a certain point; his patience would soon have become exhausted, want of practice would have led him to make slips or omissions, rendering the rites null and void;[1] and the temporal affairs of his kingdom—internal administration, justice, finance, commerce, and war—made such demands upon his time, that he was obliged as soon as possible to find a substitute to fulfil his religious duties. The force of circumstances therefore maintained the line of Theban high priests side by side with their sovereigns, the Tanite kings. They were, it is true, dangerous rivals, both on account of the wealth of their fief and of the immense prestige which they enjoyed in Egypt, Ethiopia, and in all the nomes devoted to the worship of Amon.[2] They were allied to the elder branch of the Ramessides, and had thus inherited such near rights to the crown that Smendes had not hesitated to concede to Hrihor the cartouches, the preamble, and insignia of the Pharaoh, including the pschent and the iron helmet inlaid with gold.[3] This concession, however, had been made as a personal favour, and extended only to the lifetime of Hrihor, without holding good, as a matter of course, for his successors; his son Piônkhi had to confine himself to the priestly titles;[4] and his grandson Painotmu enjoyed the kingly privileges only during part of his life,[5] doubtless in consequence of his marriage with a certain Mâkeri, probably daughter of Psiûkhânnit I., the Tanite king.[6] Mâkeri apparently died soon after, and the discovery of her coffin in the hiding-place at Deir el-Bahari reveals the fact of her death in giving birth to a little daughter who did not survive her, and who rests in the same coffin beside

[1] Cf. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 123–127.

[2] The limits of the Theban state have been defined *supra*, pp. 263, 264; for the remarkable extension of the cultus of Amon, cf. *ibid.*, p. 309.

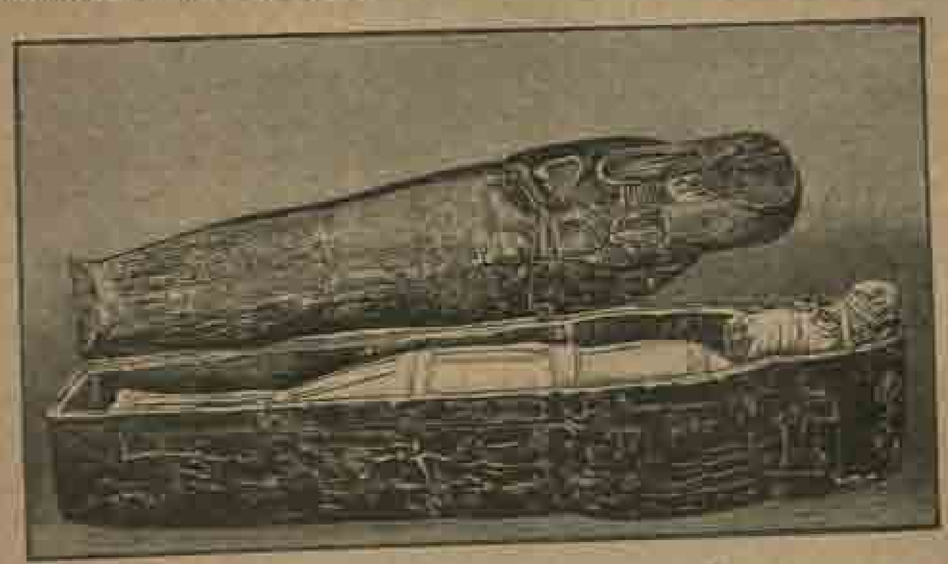
[3] For this restricted royalty of Hrihor, cf. *supra*, pp. 563–565.

[4] The only monument of this prince as yet known (Maspero, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1886, p. 62) gives him merely the usual titles of the high priest, and the inscriptions of his son Painotmu I. style him "First Prophet of Amon." His name should probably be read Paiônkhi or Piônkhi, rather than Piankhi or Piankhi. It is not unlikely that some of the papyri published by Spiegelberg date from his pontificate (Spiegelberg, *Correspondances du temps des rois-prêtres*, etc., pp. 13, 71).

[5] Cf. the history of his pontificate in Maspero, *Les Momies royales de Deir el-Bahari*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. p. 679, et seq.

[6] For Mâkeri and the monuments remaining of her reign, see Wiedemann, *Ægyptische Gesch.*, p. 534, and Maspero, *Les Momies royales de Deir el-Bahari*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pp. 577, 693–698.

the mummy of her mother.[1] None of the successors of Painotmû—Masahirti, Manakhpirri, Painotmû II., Psiûkhânnit, Nsbindidi—enjoyed a similar distinction, and if one of them happened to surround his name with a cartouche, it was done surreptitiously, without the authority of the sovereign.[2] Painotmû II. contented himself with drawing attention to his connection with the reigning



THE REMAINS OF QUEEN MÂKERÎ AND HER CHILD.[3]

house, and styled himself "Royal Son of Psiûkhânnit-Miamon," on account of his ancestress Mâkerî having been the daughter of the Pharaoh Psiûkhânnit.[4] The relationship of which he boasted was a distant one, but many of his contemporaries who claimed to be of the line of Sesostris, and called themselves "royal sons of Ramses," traced their descent from a far more remote ancestor. The death of one high priest, or the appointment of his successor, was often the occasion of disturbances; the jealousies between his children by the same or by different wives were as bitter as those which existed in the palace of the Pharaohs, and the suzerain himself was obliged at times to interfere in order to restore peace. It was owing to an intervention of this kind that

[1] Maspero, *Les Momies royales de Deir el-Bahari*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. p. 577.

[2] Manakhpirri often places his name in a square cartouche which tends at times to become an oval (Maspero, *Les Momies royales*, etc., pp. 702-704), but this is the case only on some pieces of stuff rolled round a mummy and on some bricks concealed in the walls of el-Hibeh, Thebes, and Gebelein. If the "Psiûkhânnit, High Priest of Amon," who once (to our knowledge) enclosed his name in a cartouche, is really a high priest, and not a king (cf. *supra*, p. 759, note 2), his case would be analogous to that of Manakhpirri.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey; cf. Maspero, *Les Momies royales*, etc., pl. xix. a.

[4] The example of the "royal sons of Ramses" (cf. *supra*, pp. 564, 565) explains the variant which makes "Painotmû, son of Manakhpirri," into "Painotmû, royal son of Psiûkhânnit-Miamon" (Maspero, *Les Momies royales*, etc., pp. 575, 708-710; Daressy, *Contribution à l'étude de la XXIe Dynastie*, pp. 1-8).

Manakhpirrî was called on to replace his brother Masahirti. A section of the Theban population had revolted, but the rising had been put down by the Tanite Siamon, and its leaders banished to the Oasis; Manakhpirrî had thereupon been summoned to court and officially invested with the pontificate in the XXVth year of the king's reign. But on his return to Karnak, the new high priest desired to heal old feuds, and at once recalled the exiles.[1] Troubles and disorders appeared to beset the Thebans, and, like the last of the Ramesside, they were engaged in a perpetual struggle against robbers.[2] The town, deprived of its former influx of foreign spoil, became more and more impoverished, and its population gradually dwindled. The necropolis suffered increasingly from pillagers, and the burying-places of the kings were felt to be in such danger, that the authorities, despairing of being able to protect them, withdrew the mummies from their resting-places. The bodies of Seti I., Ramses II., and Ramses III. were once more carried down the valley, and, after various removals, were at length huddled together for safety in the tomb of Amenôthes I. at Drah-abu'l-Neggah.[3]

The Tanite Pharaohs seemed to have lacked neither courage nor good will. The few monuments which they have left show that to some extent they carried on the works begun by their predecessors. An unusually high inundation had injured the temple at Karnak, the foundations had been denuded by the water, and serious damage would have been done, had not the work of reparation been immediately undertaken. Nsbindidi reopened the sandstone quarries between Erment and Gebelein, from which Seti I. had obtained the building materials for the temple, and drew from thence what was required for the repair of the edifice.[4] Two of the descendants of Nsbindidi, Psiûkhânnît I. and

[1] This appears in the *Maunier Stele* preserved for some time in the "Maison Française" at Luxor, and now removed to the Louvre. It was published and translated by Brugsch, *Recueil de Monuments*, vol. i. pl. xxii. pp. 39, 40; *Reise nach der Grossen Oase el Khargeh*, pl. xxii. pp. 86–89; and *Gesch. Ægyptens*, pp. 645–648.

[2] The series of high priests side by side with the sovereigns of the XXIst dynasty may be provisionally arranged as follows:—

THEBANS.	TANITES.
I. Hrihor [illegible], Siamon-Siamon	Smendes.
II. Piônkhi	Psiûkhânnît I.
III. Pinozmu I. Miamon, Khopirkhâ [illegible]	
IV. Masahirti	Amenemôpit.
V. Manakhpirrî	Siamon.
VI. Pinozmu II.	Psiûkhânnît II.
VII. Nsbindîdi?	
VIII. Psiûkhânnît.	

This is the table drawn up by Maspero, *Les Momies royales de Deir el-Bahari*, p. 730, partly corrected by fresh information given by Daressy, *Contribution à l'histoire de la XXIe Dynastie*, p. 18.

[3] This follows from the legal documents found on several royal mummies (Maspero, *Les Momies royales*, etc., in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pp. 554, 559).

[4] Daressy, *Les Carrières de Gebelein et le roi Smendès*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. x. pp. 133–138; Maspero, *A Stele of King Smendes*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. v. pp. 17–24.

Amenemôpit, remodelled the little temple built by Kheops in honour of his daughter Hontsonû, at the south-east angle of his pyramid.[1] Both Siamon-miamon and Paînkhânuît I. have left traces of their work at Memphis, and the latter inserted his cartouches on two of the obelisks raised by Ramses at Heliopolis.[2] But these were only minor undertakings, and it is at Tanis that we must seek the most characteristic examples of their activity. Here it was that Paînkhânuît rebuilt the brick ramparts which defended the city, and decorated several of the halls of the great temple.[3] The pylons of this sanctuary had been merely begun by Sesostris: Siamon completed them, and added the sphinxes; and the metal plaques and small objects which he concealed under the base of one of the latter have been brought to light in the course of excavations.[4] The appropriation of the monuments of other kings, which we have remarked under former dynasties, was also practised by the Tanites. Siamon placed his inscriptions over those of the Ramessides,[5] and Paînkhânuît engraved his name on the sphinxes and statues of Amenemhâît III. as unscrupulously as Apôphis and the Hyksôs had done before him.[6] The Tanite sovereigns, however, were not at a loss for artists, and they had revived, after the lapse of centuries, the traditions of the local school which had flourished during the XII[th] dynasty. One of the groups, executed by order of Paînkhânuît, has escaped destruction, and is now in the Gîzeh Museum. It represents two figures of the Nile, marching gravely shoulder to shoulder, and

[1] From this temple came the fragments reproduced by Mariette, *Monuments divers*, pl. 102 *b*, *c*; cf. Maspero, *Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq*, p. 123, and the part of an inscription now at Berlin (Lepsius, *Über die XXI. Manethonische Königsdynastie*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1882, p. 106). Manetho transcribes the name Amenemôpit as Amenôphthis, which supposes a variant *Amenôphîti*, a form actually found on some private stelæ; the usual transcription of the Egyptian name Amenemôpit is *Amenôphis* (Wiedemann, *Zur XXI. Dynastie Manetho's*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1882, pp. 86–88), but this form is most often erroneously used to transcribe Amenhotpu instead of Amenôthes (cf. *supra*, p. 94, note 3).

[2] Block from Memphis bearing the name of Siamon, in Brugsch's *Recueil de Monuments*, vol. i. pl. iv., No. 5; obelisks from Alexandria now at London and New York, see Lepsius, *op. cit.*, p. 104. The two cartouches of Siamon have been generally assigned to Hrihor, and were thought to represent the royal protocol of this king used outside Thebes, in Lower Egypt (Naville, *Inscription historique de Pinodjem III.*, p. 16, et seq.; Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 87, and *Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 532; Maspero, *Les Momies royales de Deir el-Bahari*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. p. 673). Daressy has shown that Siamon must certainly be distinguished from Hrihor, and has given him his proper place after Amenemôpit in the Tanite dynasty (*Contribution à l'étude de la XXI[e] dynastie égyptienne*, pp. 8–10, 15).

[3] Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 255 *d*; Flinders Petrie, *Tanis*, i. p. 23, and ii. p. 13. Several plaques at Gîzeh bear his cartouche (Mariette, *Notice des principaux monuments du Musée de Boulaq*, 1876, pp. 204, 205, Nos. 545–550).

[4] One sphinx of Siamon is mentioned by Naville, *Inscr. hist. de Pinodjem III.*, p. 16; cf. Fl. Petrie, *Tanis*, ii. pp. 11, 12, 33, and pl. viii. These plaques are preserved at the Gîzeh Museum (Mariette, *Notice des princ. mon.*, 1876, p. 205, Nos. 551, 552; Maspero, *Guide du Visiteur*, etc., p. 03, No. 5778); Vassalli tells us several more have been discovered at the angle of one of the pylons.

[5] Flinders Petrie, *Tanis*, ii. p. 28.

[6] Sphinx in the Gîzeh Museum, in Mariette, *Notice des princ. mon.*, 1876, p. 264, Nos. 11, 13; Maspero, *Guide du Visiteur*, etc., pp. 64, 65; cf. what is said of these sphinxes in the *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 501, 502, and *supra*, p. 58.

carrying in front of them tables of offerings, ornamented with fish and garnished with flowers. The stone in which they are executed is of an extraordinary hardness, but the sculptor has, notwithstanding, succeeded in carving and polishing it with a skill which does credit to his proficiency in his craft. The general effect of the figures is a little heavy, but the detail is excellent, and the correctness of pose, precision in modelling, and harmony of proportion are beyond criticism. The heads present a certain element of strangeness. The artist evidently took as his model, as far as type and style of head-dress are concerned, the monuments of Amenemhâît III. which he saw around him; indeed, he probably copied one of them feature for feature. He has reproduced the severity of expression, the firm mouth, the projecting cheek-bones, the long hair and fan-shaped beard of his model, but he has not been able to imitate the broad and powerful treatment of the older artists; his method of execution has a certain hardness and conventionality which we never see to the same extent in the statues of the XIIth dynasty. The work is, however, an extremely interesting one, and we are tempted to wish that many more such monuments had been saved from the ruins of the city.[2] The Pharaoh who dedicated it was a great builder, and, like most of his predecessors with similar tastes, somewhat of a conqueror. The sovereigns of the XXIst dynasty, though they never undertook any distant campaigns, did not neglect to keep up a kind of suzerainty over the Philistine Shephelah to which they still laid claim. The expedition which one of them, probably Psiûkhânnît II., led against Gezer, the alliance with the Hebrews and the marriage of a royal princess with Solomon, must all have been regarded at the court of Tanis as a partial revival of the former Egyptian rule in Syria.[3] The kings were, however, obliged



THE TWO NILES OF TANIS.[1]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey.

[2] Mariette attributes this group to the Hyksôs (*Deuxième lettre à M. le vicomte de Rougé sur les fouilles de Tanis*, pp. 5-7, and pl. v., vi., and *Notice des principaux monuments*, 1864, No. 11, pp. 264, 265); I have already expressed (*Archéologie Égyptienne*, p. 217) the opinion that it dates from the XXIst dynasty. Cf. *supra*, p. 52, note 8.

[3] For the taking of Gezer, the marriage of a daughter of Pharaoh to Solomon, and the deductions which can be drawn from it as to the relative positions of Egypt and the Hebrew kingdom towards the end of the XXIst dynasty, cf. *supra*, p. 738, and *infra*, p. 772.

to rest content with small results, for though their battalions were sufficiently numerous and well disciplined to overcome the Canaanite chiefs, or even the Israelite kingdom, it is to be doubted whether they were strong enough to attack the troops of the Aramæan or Hittite princes, who had a highly organised military system, modelled on that of Assyria. Egyptian arms and tactics had not made much progress since the great campaigns of the Theban conquerors; the military authorities still complacently trusted to their chariots and their light troops of archers at a period when the whole success of a campaign was decided by heavily armed infantry, and when cavalry had already begun to change the issue of battles. The decadence of the military spirit in Egypt had been particularly marked in all classes under the later Ramessides, and the native militia, without exception, were reduced to a mere rabble—courageous, it is true, and able to sell their lives dearly when occasion demanded, rather than give way before the enemy, but entirely lacking that enthusiasm and resolution which sweep all obstacles before them. The chariotry had not degenerated in the same way, thanks to the care with which the Pharaoh and his vassals kept up the breeding of suitable horses in the training stables of the principal towns. Egypt provided Solomon with draught-horses, and with strong yet light chariots, which he sold with advantage to the sovereigns of the Orontes and the Euphrates.[1] But it was the mercenaries who constituted the most active and effective section of the Pharaonic armies. These troops formed the backbone on which all the other elements—chariots, spearmen, and native archers—were dependent. Their spirited attack carried the other troops with them, and by a tremendous onslaught on the enemy at a decisive moment gave the commanding general some chance of success against the better-equipped and better-organised battalions that he would be sure to meet with on the plains of Asia. The Tanite kings enrolled these mercenaries in large numbers; they entrusted them with the garrisoning of the principal towns, and confirmed the privileges which their chiefs had received from the Ramessides, but the results of such a policy were not long in manifesting themselves, and this state of affairs had been barely a century in existence before Egypt became a prey to the barbarians.

It would perhaps be more correct to say that it had fallen a prey to the Libyans only. The Asiatics and Europeans whom the Theban Pharaohs had called in to fight for them had become merged in the bulk of the nation, or had died out for lack of renewal. Semites abounded, it is true, in the eastern nomes of the Delta, but their presence had no effect on the military strength of the country. Some had settled in the towns and villages, and were engaged

1. For the breeding studs of the Egyptians, and the chariots which they were in the habit of supplying to the Hebrews, see supra, p. 215, note 1, and pp. 739, 740.

in commerce or industry; these included Phœnician, Canaanite, Edomite, and even Hebrew merchants and artisans, who had been forced to flee from their own countries owing to political disturbances.[1] A certain proportion were descendants of the Hyksôs, who had been reinforced from time to time by settlements of prisoners captured in battle; they had taken refuge in the marshes as in the times of Âhmosis, and there lived in a kind of semi-civilized independence, refusing to pay taxes, boasting of having kept themselves from any alliances with the inhabitants of the Nile valley, while their kinsmen of the older stock betrayed the knowledge of their origin by such disparaging nicknames as Pa-shmûri, "the stranger," or Pi-âmû, "the Asiatic."[2] The Shardana, who had constituted the body-guard of Ramses II., and whose commanders had, under Ramses III., ranked with the great officers of the crown, had all but disappeared.[3] It had been found difficult to recruit them since the dislodgment of the People of the Sea from the Delta and the Syrian littoral, and their settlement in Italy and the fabulous islands of the Mediterranean;[4] the adventurers from Crete and the Ægean coasts now preferred to serve under the Philistines, where they found those who were akin to their own race, and from thence they passed on to the Hebrews, where, under David and Solomon, they were gladly hired as mercenaries.[5] The Libyans had replaced the Shardana in all the offices they had filled and in all the garrison towns they had occupied. The kingdom of Mâraîû and Kapur had not survived the defeats which it had suffered from Minephtah and Ramses III.,[6] but the Mashauasha who had founded it still kept an active hegemony over their former subjects; hence it was that the Egyptians became accustomed to look on all the Libyan tribes as branches of the dominant race, and confounded all the immigrants from Libya under the common name of Mashauasha.[7] Egypt was thus slowly flooded by Libyans;

[1] Jeroboam (1 *Kings* xi. 40, xii. 2, 3) and Hadad (1 *Kings* xi. 17-22) took refuge in this way at the court of Pharaoh; cf. *supra*, pp. 737, 750.

[2] On these descendants of the Hyksôs, cf. *supra*, pp. 88, 89, 441, 442. On the names *Pi-shmuri* and *Pi-âmu*, Bashmurites and Bashmourites, cf. Mariette, *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne et Assyrienne*, vol. i. pp. 91-93.

[3] Cf. what is said about the Shardanian auxiliaries of Egypt, *supra*, pp. 372, 373, 390, 391, 478, 480, 489; they are not mentioned after the reign of Ramses III.

[4] For their migrations, cf. *supra*, p. 587.

[5] Carians or Cretans (Cherethites) formed part of David's body-guard (2 *Sam.* viii. 18, xv. 18, xx. 23); one again meets with these Carian or Cretan troops in Judah in the reign of Athaliah (2 *Kings* xi. 4, 19).

[6] Cf. *supra*, pp. 430-436, 456-461, 470-474.

[7] Ramses III. still distinguished between the Qahaka, the Tihonu, and the Mashauasha (cf. *supra*, p. 456); the monuments of the XXIInd dynasty only recognise the Mashauasha, whose name they curtail to Mâ. The meaning of this abbreviation had been discovered by E. de Rougé, from the variants on the stelæ of the Serapeum (*Étude sur quelques monuments du règne de Taharka*, in the *Mélanges d'Arch. Égyp. et Assyr.*, vol. i. p. 87); Lauth (*Die Pianchi Stele*, 1870, pp. 69, 70), Brugsch (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 644, *et seq.*), and Krall (*Die Composition und Schicksale des Manethonischen Geschichtswerkes*, p. 73) believe them to be Asiatics, more particularly Assyrians. One section of the troops, which Herodotus (II. clxiv., *et seq.*) called μάχιμοι, consisted of Libyan bands, as I shall have occasion to show later on.

it was a gradual invasion, which succeeded by pacific means where brute force had failed. A Berber population gradually took possession of the country, occupying the eastern provinces of the Delta, filling its towns—Saïs, Damanhur, and Marea—making its way into the Fayûm, the suburbs of Heracleopolis, and penetrating as far south as Abydos: at the latter place they were not found in such great numbers, but still considerable enough to leave distinct traces.[1] The high priests of Amon seem to have been the only personages who neglected to employ this ubiquitous race; but they preferred to use the Nubian tribe of the Mâzaiu,[2] who probably from the XII[th] dynasty onwards had constituted



A TROOP OF LIBYANS HUNTING.[3]

the police force of Thebes. These Libyan immigrants had adopted the arts of Egypt and the externals of her civilization; they sculptured rude figures on the rocks and engraved scenes on their stone vessels, in which they are represented fully armed,[4] and taking part in some skirmish or attack, or even a chase in the desert. The hunters are divided into two groups, each of which is preceded by a different ensign—that of the West for the right wing of the troop, and that of the East for the left wing. They carry the spear, the

[1] The settlement of Libyan colonists by Ramses III. at Hermopolis and at the entrance to the Fayûm has been indicated, *supra*, p. 474; the presence in these regions of persons bearing Asiatic names has been also remarked (Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, p. 40), without drawing thence any proof for the existence of Asiatic colonies in those regions. The presence of Libyans at Abydos seems to be proved by the discovery in that town of the little monument here reproduced, and of many objects in the same style, many of which are in the Louvre or the British Museum.

[2] For the part played by the Mâzaiu, cf. *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 308, note 2, and *supra*, pp. 161, 224. I have not discovered among the personal attendants of the descendants of Hrihor any functionary bearing the title of *Chief of the Mashauasha*; even those who bore it later on, under the XXII[nd] dynasty, were always officers from the north of Egypt. It seems almost certain that Thebes always avoided having Libyan troops, and never received a Mashauasha settlement.

[3] Drawn by Boudier, from the original in the Louvre; cf. Heuzey, *Une Tribu asiatique en voyage*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1890, vol. i. pls. iv., v.

[4] I attribute to the Libyans, whether mercenaries or tribes hovering on the Egyptian frontier, the figures cut everywhere on the rocks, which no one up till now has reproduced or studied. To them I attribute also the tombs which Mr. Petrie has so successfully explored, and in which he finds the remains of a New Race which seems to have conquered Egypt after the VI[th] dynasty: they appear to be of different periods, but all belong to the Berber horsemen of the desert and the outskirts of the Nile valley.

boomerang, the club, the double-curved bow, and the dart; a fox's skin depends from their belts over their thighs, and an ostrich's feather waves above their curly hair.[1] They never abandoned this special head-dress and manner of arming themselves, and they can always be recognised on the monuments by the plumes surmounting their forehead.[2] Their settlement on the banks of the Nile and intermarriage with the Egyptians had no deteriorating effect on them, as had been the case with the Shardana, and they preserved nearly all their national characteristics. If here and there some of them became assimilated with the natives, there was always a constant influx of new comers, full of energy and vigour, who kept the race from becoming enfeebled. The attractions of high pay and the prospect of a free-and-easy life drew them to the service of the feudal lords. The Pharaoh entrusted their chiefs with confidential offices about his person, and placed the royal princes at their head. The position at length attained by these Mashuasha was analogous to that of the Cossæans at Babylon, and, indeed, was merely the usual sequel of permitting a foreign militia to surround an Oriental monarch; they became the masters of their sovereigns.[3] Some of their generals went so far as to attempt to use the soldiery to overturn the native dynasty, and place themselves upon the throne; others sought to make and unmake kings to suit their own taste. The earlier Tanite sovereigns had hoped to strengthen their authority by trusting entirely to the fidelity and gratitude of their guard; the later kings became mere puppets in the hands of mercenaries. At length a Libyan family arose who, while leaving the externals of power in the hands of the native sovereigns, reserved to themselves the actual administration, and reduced the kings to the condition of luxurious dependence enjoyed by the elder branch of the Ramessides under the rule of the high priests of Amon.

There was at Bubastis, towards the middle or end of the XXth dynasty, a Tihonû named Buiuwa-buiuwa. He was undoubtedly a soldier of fortune, without either office or rank, but his descendants prospered and rose to

[1] This drawing is reproduced above, p. 767. M. Hamy thought it represented an expedition of an Asiatic tribe, but the arms and costumes prove that the tribe in question was Libyan, as I have briefly shown (*Tribu asiatique en expédition*, p. 11). Other fragments in the same style are preserved in the Louvre and the British Museum; they all came from Abydos, according to the verbal information given me in 1884 by M. Allemand, the first owner of most of them.

[2] This design is generally thought to represent a piece of cloth folded in two, and laid flat on the head (E. de Rougé, *Inscription historique du roi Pianchi-Mériamoun*, p. 21); examination of the monuments proves that it is the ostrich plume fixed at the back of the head, and laid flat on the hair or wig.

[3] For these Cossæan mercenaries at Babylon, refer to what I have said above, p. 117. Without speaking of the Turks who surrounded the Caliphs of Bagdad, I shall content myself with citing, in Mussulman Egypt, the negroes, who formed an important part of the Fatimite Caliph's body-guard, and whose rebellions filled the long reign of Mostanser-billah (E. Quatremère, *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Égypte*, vol. ii. p. 334, et seq.).

important positions among the Mashauasha chiefs: the fourth among these, Sheshonq by name, married Mihtinuasakhît, a princess of the royal line. His son, Namarôti, managed to combine with his function of chief of the Mashauasha several religious offices, and his grandson, also called Sheshonq, had a still more brilliant career.[1] We learn from the monuments of the latter that, even before he had ascended the throne, he was recognised as king and prince of princes, and had conferred on him the command of all the Libyan troops. Officially he was the chief person in the state after the sovereign, and had the privilege of holding personal intercourse with the gods, Amonrâ included



MASAHIRTI.[2]

—a right which belonged exclusively to the Pharaoh and the Theban high priest. The honours which he bestowed upon his dead ancestors were of a remarkable character, and included the institution of a liturgical office in connection with his father Namarôti, a work which resembles in its sentiments the devotions of Ramses II. to the memory of Seti.[3] He succeeded in arranging a marriage between his son Osorkon and a princess of the royal line, the daughter

[1] The genealogy of the first members of the Bubastite dynasty is inscribed on stele 1904 of the Serapeum, published by Mariette (*Renseignements sur les soixante-quatre Apis*, in the *Bulletin de l'Athénæum Français*, 1855, pp. 94-97; *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, 1st edit., pl. 31), of which the subject-matter was thoroughly examined by LEPSIUS, *Über die XXII. Ægyptische Königsdynastie*, p. 259, et seq. Birch was the first to assign a Babylonian origin to the dynasty, comparing the names "Osorkon" and "Takelot" with "Sargon" and "Tiglath" (*Observations on Two Egyptian Cartouches found at Nimroud*, in the *Transactions Soc. of Literature*, 2nd series, vol. iii. p. 165, et seq.; cf. MARIETTE, *Renseignements*, etc., in the *Bulletin de l'Athénæum Français*, 1855, p. 97; LEPSIUS, *op. cit.*, pp. 284-290; BRUGSCH, *History of Egypt*, pp. 220, 221). Oppert recognises Elamite affinities in the dynasty (*Les Inscriptions en langue susienne*, in the *Mém. du Congr. International des Orientalistes à Paris*, vol. ii. p. 183), and all that Brugsch (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 644, 651-659) says about Sheshonq invading the country from Assyria is based upon a too free handling of certain texts (MASPERO, in the *Revue Critique*, 1880, vol. ii. pp. 112-115). Krall's system (*Die Composition und Schicksale des Manethonischen Geschichtswerkes*, pp. 71-78) has not been confirmed by recent investigation. A Libyan origin, hesitatingly put forward by Krall (*Die Composition*, p. 78, note 1), was confirmed by Stern (*Die XXII. Manethonische Königsdynastie*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1883, pp. 15-26); it is now generally accepted (WIEDEMANN, *Ægypt. Gesch.*, pp. 544-548; ED. MEYER, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, vol. i. pp. 385, 386, and *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 329, 330; MASPERO, *Hist. Ancienne*, 4th edit., p. 359).

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by E. Brugsch Bey; cf. MASPERO, *Les Momies royales de Deir el-Bahari*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pl. xx. B.

[3] The Abydos inscriptions published in MARIETTE, *Abydos*, vol. ii. pls. 36, 37; translated by BRUGSCH in the *Zeitschrift*, 1871, p. 85, and *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 651-656; also by BIRCH, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. xii. pp. 93-100; cf. NAVILLE, *Inscription historique de Pinodjem III.*, pp. 13, 14.

of Paînkhâmît II., by which alliance he secured the Tanite succession;[1] he obtained as a wife for his second son Aûpûti, the priestess of Amon, and thus obtained an indirect influence over the Saïd and Nubia.[2] This priestess was probably a daughter or niece of Paînotmû II., but we are unacquainted with her name. The princesses continued to play a preponderating part in the transmission of power, and we may assume that the lady in question was one of those whose names have come down to us—Nsikhonsû, Nsitanibashrû, or Isimkhobiû II., who brought with her as a dowry the Bubastite fief. We are at a loss whether to place Aûpûti immediately after Paînotmû, or between the ephemeral pontificates of a certain Paînkhâmît and a certain Nsbindidi. His succession imposed a very onerous duty upon him. Thebes was going through the agonies of famine and misery, and no police supervision in the world could secure the treasures stored up in the tombs of a more prosperous age from the attacks of a famished people. Arrests, trials, and punishments were ineffectual against the violation of the sepulchres, and even the royal mummies—including those placed in the chapel of Amenôthes I. by previous high priests—were not exempt from outrage. The remains of the most glorious of the Pharaohs were reclining in this chapel, forming a sort of solemn parliament: here was Saqnûnrî Tiûâqni, the last member of the XVIIth dynasty; here also were the first of the XVIIIth—Âhmosis, Amenôthes I., and the three of the name Thûtmosis, together with the favourites of their respective harems—Nofritari, Âhhotpû II., Anhâpû, Honittimihû, and Sitkamosis; and, in addition, Ramses I., Seti I., Ramses II. of the XIXth dynasty, Ramses III. and Ramses X. of the XXth dynasty. The "Servants of the True Place"[3] were accustomed to celebrate at the appointed periods the necessary rites established in their honour. Inspectors, appointed for the purpose by the government, determined from time to time the identity of the royal mummies, and examined into the condition of their wrappings and coffins: after each inspection a report, giving the date and the name of the functionary responsible for the examination, was inscribed on the linen or the lid covering the bodies. The most of the mummies had suffered considerably before they reached the refuge in which they were found. The bodies of

statue of the Nile in British Museum, reproduced in Arundale-Bonomi-Birch, *Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum*, pl. 13 (cf. *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 39). See the inscription in Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, pl. xv.

[2] The date of the death of Paînotmû II. is fixed at the XVIth year of his reign, according to the inscriptions in the pit at Deîr el-Bahari (*Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire*, etc., in the *Zeitschrift*, 1882; cf. *Les Momies royales de Deîr el-Baharî*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. p. 521). This would be the date of the accession of Aûpûti, if Aûpûti succeeded him directly, as I am inclined to believe; but if Paînkhâmît was his immediate successor, as Daressy thinks (*Contribution à la Étude de la XXe dynastie*), and if Nsbindidi succeeded Masahirti, we must place the accession of Aûpûti some years later.

[3] As to the "Servants of the True Place" and their functions in the necropolis, see *supra*, pp. 526, 527.

Sitamun and of the Princess Honttimihu had been completely destroyed, and bundles of rags had been substituted for them, so arranged with pieces of wood as to resemble human figures.[1] Ramses I., Ramses II., and Thûtmosis had been deprived of their original shells, and were found in extemporised cases.[2] Hrihor's successors, who regarded these sovereigns as their legitimate ancestors, had guarded them with watchful care, but Aûpûti, who did not feel himself so closely related to these old-world Pharaohs, considered, doubtless, this vigilance irksome, and determined to locate the mummies in a spot where they would henceforward be secure from all attack. A princess of the family of Manakhpirri—Isimkhobiu, it would appear—had prepared a tomb for herself in the rocky cliff which bounds the amphitheatre of Deir el-Bahari on the south. The position lent itself readily to concealment. It consisted of a well some 130 feet deep, with a passage running out of it at right angles for a distance of some 200 feet and ending in a low, oblong, roughly cut chamber, lacking both ornament and paintings. Paînotmû II. had been placed within this chamber in the XVIth year of the reign of Psiûkhânnît II.,[3] and several members of his family had been placed beside him not long afterwards. Aûpûti soon transferred thither the batch of mummies which, in the chapel of Amenôthes I., had been awaiting a more definite sepulture; the coffins, with what remained of their funerary furniture, were huddled together in disorder. The chamber having been filled up to the roof, the remaining materials, consisting of coffers, boxes of *Ushabti*, Canopic jars, garlands, together with the belongings of priestly mummies, were arranged along the passage: when the place was full, the entrance was walled up, the well filled, and its opening so dexterously covered that it remained concealed until our own time. The accidental "sounding" of some pillaging Arabs revealed the place as far back as 1872, but it was not until ten years later (1881) that the Pharaohs once more saw the light. They are now enthroned—who can say for how many years longer?—in the chambers of the Gizeh Museum. Egypt is truly a land of marvels! It has not only, like Assyria and Chaldæa, Greece and Italy, preserved for us monuments by which its historic past may be reconstructed, but it has handed on to us the men themselves who set up the monuments and made the history. Her great monarchs are not any longer mere names deprived of appropriate forms, and floating colourless and shapeless in the imagination of posterity;—they may be weighed, touched, and measured; the capacity of their brains may be gauged; the curve of their noses and the cut of their mouths may be determined; we know if they were bald, or if they suffered from some

[1] Maspero, *Les Momies royales de Déir el-Baharî*, pp. 538, 572, 544.
[2] See *supra*, pp. 142, note 2, and 428.
[3] Maspero, *op. cit.*, pp. 520–526.

secret infirmity; and, as we are able to do in the case of our contemporaries, we may publish their portraits taken first hand in the photographic camera.[1]

Sheshonq, by assuming the control of the Theban priesthood, did not on this account extend his sovereignty over Egypt beyond its southern portion, and that part of Nubia which still depended on it. Ethiopia remained probably outside his jurisdiction, and constituted from this time forward an independent kingdom, under the rule of dynasties which were, or claimed to be, descendants of Hrihor. The oasis, on the other hand, and the Libyan provinces in the neighbourhood of the Delta and the sea, rendered obedience to his officers, and furnished him with troops which were recognised as among his best. Sheshonq found himself at the death of Paînkhâmît II., which took place about 940 B.C., sole master of Egypt, with an effective army and well-replenished treasury at his disposal. What better use could he make of his resources than devote them to reasserting the traditional authority of his country over Syria? The intestine quarrels of the only state of any importance in that region furnished him with an opportunity of which he found it easy to take advantage. Solomon in his eyes was merely a crowned vassal of Egypt, and his appeal for aid to subdue Gezer, his marriage with a daughter of the Egyptian royal house, the position he had assigned her over all his other wives, and all that we know of the relations between Jerusalem and Tanis at the time, seem to indicate that the Hebrews themselves acknowledged some sort of dependency upon Egypt.[2] They were not, however, on this account free from suspicion in their suzerain's eyes, who seized upon every pretext that offered itself to cause them embarrassment. Hadad, and Jeroboam afterwards, had been well received at the court of the Pharaoh, and it was with Egyptian subsidies that these two rebels returned to their country, the former in the lifetime of Solomon, and the latter after his death.[3] When Jeroboam saw that he was threatened by Rehoboam, he naturally turned to his old protectors. Sheshonq had two problems before him. Should he confirm by his intervention the division of the kingdom, which had flourished in Kharu for now half a century, into two rival states, or should he himself give way to the vulgar appetite for booty, and step in for his own exclusive interest? He invaded Judæa four years after the schism, and Jerusalem offered no resistance to him; Rehoboam ransomed his capital by emptying the royal treasuries and temple, rendering up even the golden shields which Solomon was accustomed to assign to his guards when on duty about his person.[4]

[1] The history of the discovery and the details are given in Maspero, *Les Momies royales*, etc., in the *Mémoires de la Mission du Caire*, vol. i. p. 511, et seq.

[2] See what is said about these events on pp. 738, 748, 764, 765, *supra*. The suzerainty of Egypt, which is not accepted by most historians, is acknowledged by Winckler, *Gesch. Israels*, vol. i. p. 173.

[3] See on this subject pp. 737, 750, 768, *supra*.

[4] 1 *Kings* xiv. 25–28; cf. 2 *Chron.* xii. 1–10, where an episode, not in the *Book of Kings*, is introduced. The prophet Shemaiah played an important part in the transaction.

This expedition of the Pharaoh was neither dangerous nor protracted, but it was more than two hundred years since so much riches from countries beyond the isthmus had been brought into Egypt, and the king was consequently regarded by the whole people of the Nile valley as a great hero. Aûpûti took upon himself the task of recording the exploit on the south wall of the temple of Amon at Karnak, not far from the spot where Ramses II. had had engraved the incidents of his Syrian campaigns. His architect was sent to Silsilis to procure the necessary sandstone to repair the monument.[1] He depicted upon it his father receiving at the hands of Amon processions of Jewish prisoners, each one representing a captured city. The list makes a brave show, and is remarkable for the number of the names composing it; in comparison with those of Thûtmosis III., it is disappointing, and one sees at a glance how inferior, even in its triumph, the Egypt of the XXIInd dynasty was to that of the XVIIIth. It is no longer a question of Carchemish, or Qodshû, or Mitanni, or Naharaim: Megiddo is the most northern point mentioned, and the localities enumerated bring us more and more to the south—Rabbat, Taânach, Hapharaim, Mahanaim,[3] Gibeon,



AMON PRESENTING TO SHESHONQ THE LIST OF THE CITIES CAPTURED IN ISRAEL AND JUDAH.[2]

[1] See the Silsilis stele published in CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., pl. cxxii. bis; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 254 c; E. and J. DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiées en Égypte*, pl. cclxxvii.; translated into German by BRUGSCH, *Gesch. Ægyptens*, p. 664, and into French by MASPERO, *Les Momies royales*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission du Caire*, vol. i. pp. 731–733. It is dated in the XXIst year of the king (Champollion erroneously gives the XXIInd year), which permits our assigning the expedition to Judæa two or three years earlier at most.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Beato; cf. MARIETTE, *Voyage dans la Haute-Égypte*, vol. ii. pl. 42.

[3] The existence of the names of certain Israelite towns on the list of Sheshonq has somewhat astonished the majority of the historians of Israel. Renan declared that the list must "put aside the conjecture that Jeroboam had been the instigator of the expedition, which would certainly have been

Beth-horon, Ajalon, Jud-hammelek, Migdol, Jerza, Shoko, and the villages of the Negeb. Each locality, in consequence of the cataloguing of obscure towns, furnished enough material to cover two or even three of the crenellated cartouches in which the names of the conquered peoples are enclosed, and Sheshonq had thus the puerile satisfaction of parading before the eyes of his subjects a longer *cortège* of defeated chiefs than that of his predecessors.[1] His victorious career did not last long; he died shortly after, and his son Osorkon was content to assume at a distance authority over the Kharu.[2] It does not appear, however, that either the Philistines, or Judah, or Israel, or any of the petty tribes which had momentarily gravitated around David and Solomon, were disposed to dispute Osorkon's claim, theoretic rather than real as it was. The sword of the stranger had finished the work which the intestine quarrel of the tribes had begun. If Rehoboam had ever formed the project of welding together the disintegrated elements of Israel, the taking of Jerusalem must have been a death-blow to his hopes. His arsenals were empty, his treasury at low ebb, and the prestige purchased by David's victories was effaced by the humiliation of his own defeat. The ease with which the edifice so laboriously constructed by the heroes of Benjamin and Judah had been overturned at the first shock, was a proof that the new possessors

readily admissible, especially if any faith were attached to the Greek text of 1 *Kings* xii. 24, which makes Jeroboam to have been a son-in-law of the King of Egypt" (*Hist. du peuple d'Israël*, vol. ii. p. 298, note 2); the same view had been already expressed by Stade (*Geschichte des Volkes Israels*, vol. i. p. 354); others, as, for instance, Niebuhr (*Die Chronologie der Gesch. Israels*, pp. viii., ix.) and Winckler (*Geschichte Israels*, vol. i. p. 160), have thought that Sheshonq had conquered the country for his ally Jeroboam. Sheshonq, in fact, was following the Egyptian custom by which all countries and towns which paid tribute to the Pharaoh, or who recognised his suzerainty, were made to, or might, figure on his triumphal lists whether they had been conquered or not; the presence of Megiddo or Mahanaim on the lists does not prove that they were conquered by Sheshonq, but that the prince to whom they owned allegiance was a tributary of the King of Egypt. The name of Jud-ham-melek, which occupies the twenty-ninth place on the list, was for a long time translated as *king* or *kingdom of Judah*, and passed for being a portrait of Rehoboam (Champollion, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, 2nd edit., pp. 99, 100; Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, vol. ii. pp. 79, 80, vol. iv. pp. 158, 159; E. de Rougé, *Mém. sur l'origine égyptienne de l'alphabet phénicien*, p. 53), which is impossible. The Hebrew name was read by W. Max Müller (*The supposed Name of Judah in the List of Sheshonq*, in the *Proceedings* of the Bib. Arch. Soc., vol. x. pp. 81–83; cf. Lepage-Renouf, *Remarks*, *ibid.*, pp. 83–86, and *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*, p. 167) *Jad-ham-melek*, the *hand*, the fort of the king. It appears to me to be more easy to see in it *Jud-ham-melek* (Maspero, *La Liste de Sheshonq à Karnak*, pp. 8, 9), and to associate it with Jehudah, a town of the tribe of Dan, as Brugsch did long ago (*Geog. Inschr.*, vol. ii. pp. 62, 63).

[1] The *text* of the list was published by Champollion, *Monuments*, pls. cclxxxviii., [illegible], and vol. ii. p. 113, et seq.; by Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pl. cxlviii.; by Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 252, 253 a; cf. Maspero, *Revision des listes géographiques de Thoutmos III.*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. vii. pp. 100, 101. It has been studied and commented upon by Blau, *Sisaq's Zug gegen Juda aus dem Denkmale bei Karnak erläutert*, in the *Zeitschrift der D. Morg. Gesellschaft*, vol. xv. pp. 233–250; by Brugsch, *Geog. Inschr.*, vol. ii. pp. 56–71, and *Gesch. Ægyptens*, pp. 661–663; by Maspero, *Notes sur différents points de Grammaire*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1880, pp. 44–49, and *Étude sur la liste de Sheshonq*, in the Victoria Institute, vol. xxvii.; and finally by W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 166–172.

[2] Champollion identified Osorkon I. with the Zerah, who, according to 2 Chron. xiv. 9–15, xv. 8, invaded Judah and was defeated by Asa (*Précis du Système hiéroglyphique*, 2nd edit., pp. 257–262; cf. Ewald, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, 2nd edit., vol. iii. p. 470), but this has no historic value, for it is clear that Osorkon never crossed the isthmus.

of Canaan were as little capable of barring the way to Egypt in her old age, as their predecessors had been when she was in her youth and vigour. The Philistines had had their day: it seemed by no means improbable at one time that they were about to sweep everything before them, from the Negeb to the Orontes, but their peculiar position in the furthest angle of the country, and their numerical weakness, prevented them from continuing their efforts for a prolonged period, and they were at length obliged to renounce in favour of the Hebrews their ambitious pretensions. The latter, who had been making steady progress for some half a century, had been successful where the Philistines had signally failed, and Southern Syria recognised their supremacy for the space of two generations. We can only conjecture what they might have done if a second David had led them into the valleys of the Orontes and Euphrates. They were stronger in numbers than their possible opponents, and their troops, strengthened by mercenary guards, would have perhaps triumphed over the more skilled but fewer warriors which the Amorite and Aramæan cities could throw into the field against them. The pacific reign of Solomon, the schism among the tribes, and the Egyptian invasion furnished evidence enough that they also were not destined to realise that solidarity which alone could secure them against the great Oriental empires when the day of attack came.

The two kingdoms were then enjoying an independent existence. Judah, in spite of its smaller numbers and its recent disaster, was not far behind the more extensive Israel in its resources. David, and afterwards Solomon, had so kneaded together the various elements of which it was composed—Caleb, Cain, Jerahmeel and the Judæan clans—that they had become a homogeneous mass, grouped around the capital and its splendid sanctuary, and actuated with feelings of profound admiration and strong fidelity for the family which had made them what they were. Misfortune had not chilled their zeal: they rallied round Rehoboam and his race with such a persistency that they were enabled to maintain their ground when their richer rivals had squandered their energies and fallen away before their eyes. Jeroboam, indeed, and his successors had never obtained from their people more than a precarious support and a lukewarm devotion: their authority was continually coming into conflict with a tendency to disintegration among the tribes, and they could only maintain their rule by the constant employment of force. Jeroboam had collected together from the garrisons scattered throughout the country the nucleus of an army, and had stationed the strongest of these troops in his residence at Tirzah when he did not require them for some expedition against Judah or the Philistines. His successors followed his example in this respect, but this military resource was only an ineffectual

protection against the dangers which beset them. The kings were literally at the mercy of their guard, and their reign was entirely dependent on its loyalty or caprice; any unscrupulous upstart might succeed in suborning his comrades, and the stroke of a dagger might at any moment send the sovereign to join his ancestors, while the successful rebel reigned in his stead.[1] The Egyptian troops had no sooner set out on their homeward march, than the two kingdoms began to display their respective characteristics. An implacable and truceless war broke out between them. The frontier garrisons of the two nations fought with each other from one year's end to another—carrying off each other's cattle, massacring one another, burning each other's villages and leading their inhabitants into slavery.[2] From time to time, when the situation became intolerable, one of the kings took the field in person, and began operations by attacking such of his enemy's strongholds as gave him the most trouble at the time. Ramah acquired an unenviable reputation in the course of these early conflicts; its position gave it command of the roads terminating in Jerusalem, and when it fell into the hands of Israel, the Judæan capital was blockaded on this side. The strife for its possession was always of a terrible character, and the party which succeeded in establishing itself firmly within it was deemed to have obtained a great success.[3] The encounter of the armies did not, however, seem to produce much more serious results than those which followed the continual guerilla warfare along the frontier; the conqueror had no sooner defeated his enemy than he set to work to pillage the country in the vicinity, and, having accomplished this, returned promptly to his head-quarters with the booty. Rehoboam, who had seen something of the magnificence of Solomon, tried to perpetuate the tradition of it in his court, as far as his slender revenues would permit him. He had eighteen women in his harem, among whom figured some of his aunts and cousins. The titular queen was Maacah, who was represented as a daughter of Absalom. She was devoted to the *asherah*, and the king was not behind his father in his tolerance of strange gods; the high places continued to be tolerated by him as sites of worship, and even Jerusalem was not free from manifestations of such idolatry as was associated with the old Canaanite religion. He reigned seventeen years, and was interred in the

[1] Among nineteen kings of Israel, eight were assassinated and were replaced by the captains of their guards—Nadab, Elah, Zimri, Joram, Zachariah, Shallum, Pekahiah, and Pekah.

[2] This is what is meant by the Hebrew historians when they say "there was war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam all the days of his life" (1 *Kings* xv. 6; cf. 2 *Chron.* xii. 15), and "between Abijam and Jeroboam" (1 *Kings* xv. 7; 2 *Chron.* xiii. 2), and "between Asa and Baasha" (1 *Kings* xv. 16, 32) "all their days."

[3] The campaign of Abijah at Mount Zemaraim (2 *Chron.* xiii. 3–19), in which the foundation of the narrative and the geographical details seem fully historical (Clermont-Ganneau, *La Campagne d'Abijah contre Jéroboam et l'emplacement de Tsémaraïm*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1877, vol. ix. p. 490, *et seq.*). See also the campaign of Baasha against Ramah (1 *Kings* xv. 17–22; cf. 2 *Chron.* xvi. 1–6).

city of David :[1] Abijam, the eldest son of Maacah, succeeded him, and followed in his evil ways. Three years later Asa came to the throne,[2] no opposition being raised to his accession. In Israel matters did not go so smoothly. When Jeroboam, after a reign of twenty-two years, was succeeded by his son Nadab, about the year 905 B.C., it was soon evident that the instinct of loyalty to a particular dynasty had not yet laid any firm hold on the ten tribes. The peace between the Philistines and Israel was quite as unstable as that between Israel and Judah : an endless guerilla warfare was waged on the frontier, Gibbethon being made to play much the same part in this region as Ramah had done in regard to Jerusalem. For the moment it was in the hands of the Philistines, and in the second year of his reign Nadab had gone to lay siege to it in force, when he was assassinated in his tent by one of his captains, a certain Baasha, son of Ahijah, of the tribe of Issachar : the soldiers proclaimed the assassin king, and the people found themselves powerless to reject the nominee of the army.[3]

Baasha pressed forward resolutely his campaign against Judah. He seized Ramah and fortified it :[4] and Asa, feeling his incapacity to dislodge him unaided, sought to secure an ally. Egypt was too much occupied with its own internal dissensions to be able to render any effectual help, but a new power, which would profit quite as much as Judah by the overthrow of Israel, was beginning to assert itself in the north. Damascus had, so far, led an obscure and peaceful existence ; it had given way before Egypt and Chaldæa whenever the Egyptians or Chaldæans had appeared within striking distance, but had refrained from taking any part in the disturbances by which Syria was torn asunder. Having been occupied by the Amorites, it threw its lot in with theirs, keeping, however, sedulously in the background : while the princes of Qodshû waged war against the Pharaohs, undismayed by frequent reverses, Damascus did not scruple to pay tribute to Thûtmosis III. and his descendants, or to enter into friendly relations with them.[5] Meanwhile the Amorites had been overthrown, and Qodshû, ruined by the Asiatic invasion, soon became little more than an obscure third-rate town ;[6] the Aramæans made themselves masters

[1] 1 *Kings* xiv. 21–31 ; cf. 2 *Chron.* xi. 18–23, where the details given in addition to those in the *Book of Kings* seem to be of undoubted authenticity.

[2] 1 *Kings* xv. 1–8 ; cf. 2 *Chron.* xiii. The *Book of Kings* describes his mother as Maacah, the daughter of Abishalom (xv. 10), which would seem to indicate that he was the brother and not the son of Abijam. The uncertainty on this point is of long standing, for the author of *Chronicles* makes Abijam's mother [illegible] in one place to be Micaiah, daughter of Uriel of Gibeah (xiii. 2), and in another (xi. 20) Maacah, daughter of Absalom.

[3] 1 *Kings* xv. 27–34.

[4] 1 *Kings* xv. 17 ; cf. 2 *Chron.* xvi. 1.

[5] As to the early history of Damascus, cf. p. 140, note 2, *supra*.

[6] Cf. pp. 460, 468 470, 471, 388–390, *supra*, for information in regard to the effects of the Asiatic invasion on Syria. Qodshû is only once mentioned in the Bible (2 Sam. xxiv. 6), in which passage its name, misunderstood by the Massoretic scribe, has been restored from the Septuagint text. [Prof. Swete's recension of the LXX (published in 1890) gives the reading as "Kades ;" the Vulgate gives "Hodsi."—Tr.]

of Damascus about the XII[th] century, and in their hands it continued to be, just as in the preceding epochs, a town without ambitions and of no great renown. We have seen how the Aramæans, alarmed at the sudden rise of the Hebrew dynasty, entered into a coalition against David with the Ammonite leaders: Zoba aspired to the chief place among the nations of Central Syria, but met with reverses, and its defeat delivered over to the Israelites its revolted dependencies in the Haurân and its vicinity, such as Maacah, Geshur, and even Damascus itself.[1] Their supremacy was, however, short-lived; immediately after the death of David, a chief named Rezôn undertook to free them from the yoke of the stranger. He had begun his military career under Hadadezer, King of Zoba: when disaster overtook this leader and released him from his allegiance, he collected an armed force and fought for his own hand. A lucky stroke made him master of Damascus: he proclaimed himself king there, harassed the Israelites with impunity during the reign of Solomon, and took over the possessions of the kings of Zoba in the valleys of the Litâny and the Orontes.[2] The rupture between the houses of Israel and Judah removed the only dangerous rival from his path, and Damascus became the paramount power in Southern and Central Palestine. While Judah and Israel wasted their strength in fratricidal struggles, Tabrimmon, and after him Benhadad I., gradually extended their territory in Cœle-Syria;[3] they conquered Hamath, and the desert valleys which extend north-eastward in the direction of the Euphrates, and forced a number of the Hittite kings to render them homage. They had concluded an alliance with Jeroboam as soon as he established his separate kingdom, and maintained the treaty with his successors, Nadab and Baasha. Asa collected all the gold and silver which was left in the temple of Jerusalem and in his own palace, and sent it to Benhadad, saying, "There is a league between me and thee, between thy father and my father: behold, I have sent unto thee a present of silver and gold; go, break thy league with Baasha, King of Israel, that he may depart from me." It would seem that Baasha, in his eagerness to complete the fortifications of Ramah, had left his northern frontier undefended. Benhadad accepted the proposal and presents of the King of Judah, invaded Galilee, seized the cities of Ijôn, Dan, and Abel-beth-Maacah, which defended the upper reaches of the Jordan and the Litâny,

[1] Cf. what is said in regard to these events on pp. 731, 732, *supra*.

[2] 1 *Kings* xi. 23-25. For the early history of Damascus, cf. WINCKLER, *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*, p. 60, et seq., and *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. pp. 142, 144. The reading "Ezron" in the Septuagint (1 *Kings* xi. 23) indicates a form "Khezron," by which it was sought to replace the traditional reading "Rezôn."

[3] Hezion, whom the Jewish writer intercalates before Tabrimmon (1 *Kings* xv. 18), is probably a corruption of Rezon; Winckler, relying on the Septuagint variants Azin or Azael (1 *Kings* xv. 18), proposes to alter Hezion into Hazael, and inserts a certain Hazael I. in this place. Tabrimmon is only mentioned in 1 *Kings* xv. 18, where he is said to have been the father of Benhadad. As to these personages, cf. WINCKLER, *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*, pp. 60-63, who, to my mind, pushes his ingenious criticism a little too far.

the lowlands of Gennesareth, and all the land of Naphtali. Baasha hastily withdrew from Judah, made terms with Benhadad, and settled down in Tirzah for the remainder of his reign;[1] Asa demolished Ramah, and built the strongholds of Geba and Mizpah from its ruins.[2] Benhadad retained the territory he had acquired, and exercised a nominal sovereignty over the two Hebrew kingdoms. Baasha, like Jeroboam, failed to found a lasting dynasty; his son Elah met with the same fate at the hands of Zimri which he himself had meted out to Nadab. As on the former occasion, the army was encamped before Gibbethon, in the country of the Philistines, when the tragedy took place. Elah was at Tirzah, "drinking himself drunk in the house of Arza, which was over the household;" Zimri, who was "captain of half his chariots," left his post at the front, and assassinated him as he lay intoxicated. The whole family of Baasha perished in the subsequent confusion, but the assassin only survived by seven days the date of his crime. When the troops whom he had left behind him in camp heard of what had occurred, they refused to accept him as king, and, choosing Omri in his place, marched against Tirzah. Zimri, finding it was impossible either to win them over to his side or defeat them, set fire to the palace, and perished in the flames. His death did not, however, restore peace to Israel; while one-half of the tribes approved the choice of the army, the other flocked to the standard of Tibni, son of Ginath. War raged between the two factions for four years, and was only ended by the death—whether natural or violent we do not know—of Tibni and his brother Joram.[3] Two dynasties had thus arisen in Israel, and had been swept away by revolutionary outbursts, while at Jerusalem the descendants of David followed one another in unbroken succession. Asa outlived Nadab by eleven years, and we hear nothing of his relations with the neighbouring states during the latter part of his reign. We are merely told that his zeal in the service of the Lord was greater than had been shown by any of his predecessors. He threw down the idols, expelled their priests, and persecuted all those who practised the ancient religions. His grandmother Maacah "had made an abominable image for an asherah;" he cut it down, and burnt it in the valley of the Kedron, and deposed her from the supremacy in the royal household which she had held for three generations. He is, therefore, the first of the kings to receive favourable mention from the orthodox chroniclers of later times, and it is stated that he "did that which was right in the eyes of the Lord, as did David his father."[4]

[1] 1 *Kings* xv. 21, xvi. 6.

[2] 1 *Kings* xv. 16-22; cf. 2 *Chron.* xvi. 1-6.

[3] 1 *Kings* xvi. 8-22. Joram is not mentioned in the Massoretic text, but his name appears in the Septuagint.

[4] 1 *Kings* xv. 11; cf. 2 *Chron.* xiv. 2. It is admitted, however, though without any blame being attached to him, that "the high places were not taken away" (1 *Kings* xv. 14; cf. 2 *Chron.* xv. 17).

Omri proved a warlike monarch, and his reign, though not a long one, was signalised by a decisive crisis in the fortunes of Israel.[1] The northern tribes had, so far, possessed no settled capital, Shechem, Penuel, and Tirzah having served in turn as residences for the successors of Jeroboam and Baasha. Latterly Tirzah had been accorded a preference over its rivals; but Zimri had burnt the castle there, and the ease with which it had been taken and retaken was not calculated to reassure the head of the new dynasty. Omri turned his attention to a site lying a little to the north-west of Shechem and Mount Ebal, and at that time partly covered by the hamlet of Shomerôn or Shimrôn—our modern Samaria.[2] His choice was a wise and judicious one, as the rapid development of the city soon proved. It lay on the brow of a rounded hill, which rose in the centre of a wide and deep depression, and was connected by a narrow ridge with the surrounding mountains. The valley round it is fertile and well watered, and the mountains are cultivated up to their summits; throughout the whole of Ephraim it would have been difficult to find a site which could compare with it in strength or attractiveness.[3] Omri surrounded his city with substantial ramparts; he built a palace for himself, and a temple in which was enthroned a golden calf similar to those at Dan and Bethel.[4] A population drawn from other nations besides the Israelites flocked into this well-defended stronghold, and Samaria soon came to be for Israel what Jerusalem already was for Judah, an almost impregnable fortress, in which the sovereign entrenched himself, and round which the nation could rally in times of danger. His contemporaries fully realised the importance of this move on Omri's part; his name became inseparably connected in their minds with that of Israel. Samaria and the house of Joseph were for them, henceforth, the house of Omri, Bit-Omri, and the name still clung to them long after Omri had died and his family had become extinct.[5] He gained the supremacy over Judah, and forced several of the south-western provinces, which had been in a

[1] The Hebrew writer gives the length of his reign as twelve years (1 Kings xvi. 23). Several historians consider this period too brief, and wish to extend it to twenty-four years (Max Duncker, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, 5th edit., vol. ii. p. 182, et seq.; Renan, *Histoire du peuple d'Israël*, vol. ii. p. 232). I cannot, however, see that there is, so far, any good reason for doubting the approximate accuracy of the Bible figures.

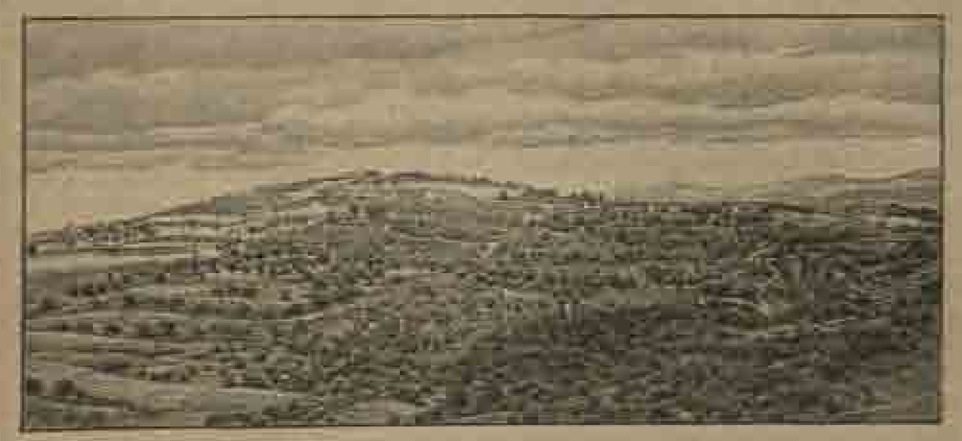
[2] According to the tradition preserved in 1 Kings xvi. 24, the name of the city comes from Shemer, the man from whom Ahab bought the site. One method of explaining this tradition will be found in Stade, *Der Name der Stadt Samarien und seine Herkunft*, in the *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1885, pp. 165–172.

[3] Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, 1841, vol. iii. pp. 138, 139, 146.

[4] Amos viii. 14, where the *sin of Samaria*, coupled as it is with the *life of the god of Dan* and the *way of Beersheba*, can, as Wellhausen points out, only refer to the image of the calf worshipped at Samaria.

[5] Oppert, *Histoire des Empires d'Assyrie et de Chaldée*, pp. 105, 106; Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 2nd edit., pp. 190, 191. Shalmaneser II. even goes so far as to describe Jehu, who exterminated the family of Omri, as *Jaua abal Khumri*, "Jehu, son of Omri."

state of independence since the days of Solomon, to acknowledge his rule; he conquered the country of Medeba, vanquished Kamoshgad, King of Moab, and imposed on him a heavy tribute in sheep and wool.[1] Against Benhadad in the north-west he was less fortunate. He was forced to surrender to him several of the cities of Gilead—among others Ramoth-gilead, which commanded the fords over the Jabbok and Jordan.[2] He even set apart a special quarter in Samaria for the natives of Damascus, where they could ply their trades and worship their gods without interference. It was a kind of semi-vassalage, from



THE HILL OF SAMARIA.[3]

which he was powerless to free himself unaided: he realised this, and looked for help from without; he asked and obtained the hand of Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal, King of the Sidonians, for Ahab, his heir. Hiram I., the friend of David, had carried the greatness of Tyre to its highest point;[4] after his death, the same spirit of discord which divided the Hebrews made its appearance in Phœnicia. The royal power was not easily maintained over this race of artisans and sailors: Baalbazer, son of Hiram, reigned for six years, and his successor, Abdastart, was killed in a riot after a still briefer enjoyment of power. We know how strong was the influence exercised by foster-mothers in the great families of the East; the four sons of Abdastart's nurse assassinated their foster-brother, and the eldest of them usurped his crown. Supported by the motley crowd of slaves and adventurers which filled the harbours of Phœnicia, they managed to cling to power for twelve years. Their stupid and brutal methods of government produced most disastrous results. A section of the aristocracy emigrated to the colonies across the sea and incited them to rebellion; had this

[1] *Inscription of Mesha*, ll. 4-7; cf. 2 *Kings* iii. 4.

[2] 1 *Kings* xx. 34. No names are given in the text, but external evidence proves that they were cities of Peræa, and that Ramoth-gilead was one of them.

[3] Drawn by Boudier, from photograph No. 26 of the *Palestine Exploration Fund*.

[4] Cf. what is said about Hiram I. and his career on pp. 741-746, 750, *supra*.

state of things lasted for any time, the Tyrian empire would have been doomed. A revolution led to the removal of the usurper and the restoration of the former dynasty, but did not bring back to the unfortunate city the tranquillity which it sorely needed. The three surviving sons of Baalbazer, Methuastart, Astarym, and Phelles followed one another on the throne in rapid succession, the last-named perishing by the hand of his cousin Ethbaal, after a reign of eight months.[1] So far, the Israelites had not attempted to take advantage of these dissensions, but there was always the danger lest one of their kings, less absorbed than his predecessors in the struggle with Judah, might be tempted by the wealth of Phœnicia to lay hands on it. Ethbaal, therefore, eagerly accepted the means of averting this danger by an alliance with the new dynasty offered to him by Omri.[2] The presence of a Phœnician princess at Samaria seems to have had a favourable effect on the city and its inhabitants. The tribes of Northern and Central Palestine had, so far, resisted the march of material civilization which, since the days of Solomon, had carried Judah along with it; they adhered, as a matter of principle, to the rude and simple customs of their ancestors. Jezebel, who from her cradle had been accustomed to all the luxuries and refinements of the Phœnician court, was by no means prepared to dispense with them in her adopted country. By their contact with her, the Israelites—at any rate, the upper and middle classes of them—acquired a certain degree of polish: the royal office assumed a more dignified exterior, and approached more nearly the splendours of the other Syrian monarchies, such as those of Damascus, Hamath, Sidon, Tyre, and even Judah.

Unfortunately, the effect of this material progress was marred by a religious difficulty. Jezebel had been brought up by her father, the high priest of the Sidonian Astarte, as a rigid believer in his faith,[3] and she begged Ahab to permit her to celebrate openly the worship of her national deities. Ere long the Tyrian Baal was installed at Samaria with his asherah, and his votaries had their temples and sacred groves to worship in: their priests and prophets sat at the king's table. Ahab did not reject the God of his ancestors in order to

[1] Menander, *Fragm.* 1, in Müller-Didot, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, vol. iv. p. 446; cf. Movers, *Das Phönizische Alterthum*, vol. i. pp. 340–346; G. Rawlinson, *History of Phœnicia*, pp. 455–458; Pietschmann, *Geschichte der Phönizier*, pp. 297, 298. As to the spelling of the royal names, cf. Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften*, vol. iv. pp. [illegible]–488, and [illegible] edition of [illegible]; as to the authority of the list, cf. Franz Rühl, *Die Tyrische Königsliste des Menandros von Ephesus*, in the *Rheinisches Museum*, 1893, vol. xlviii. p. 565, et seq.

[2] 1 *Kings* xvi. 31, where the historian has Hebraicised the Phœnician name Ithobaal into "Ethbaal,"—"Baal is with him." Izebel or Jezebel seems to be an abbreviated form of some name like Baalizebel (*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, vol. i., No. 158, p. 204).

[3] Menander, *Fragm.* 1, in Müller-Didot, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, vol. iv. p. 446; and, as a matter of fact, the title "priest of Astarte" is found at a still later date joined to that of the King of Sidon in the inscription on the sarcophagus of Tabnith. Gutschmid is inclined to base an emendation on the variant "son of King Ahimilk" (*Kleine Schriften*, vol. iv. pp. [illegible]); cf., however, what is said in vol. ii. on p. [illegible] of the same work.

embrace the religion of his wife—a reproach which was afterwards laid to his door; he remained faithful to Him, and gave the children whom he had by Jezebel names compounded with that of Jahveh, such as Ahaziah, Joram, and Athaliah.[1] This was not the first instance of such tolerance in the history of the Israelites: Solomon had granted a similar liberty of conscience to all his foreign wives, and neither Rehoboam nor Abijam had opposed Maacah in her devotion to the Canaanitish idols.[2] But the times were changing, and the altar of Baal could no longer be placed side by side with that of Jahveh without arousing fierce anger and inexorable hatred. Scarce a hundred years had elapsed since the rupture between the tribes, and already one-half of the people were unable to understand how place could be found in the breast of a true Israelite for any other god but Jahveh: Jahveh alone was Lord, for none of the deities worshipped by foreign races under human or animal shapes could compare with Him in might and holiness. From this to the repudiation of all those practices associated with exotic deities, such as the use of idols of wood or metal, the anointing of isolated boulders or circles of rocks, the offering up of prisoners or of the firstborn, was but a step: Asa had already furnished an example of rigid devotion in Judah, and there were many in Israel who shared his views and desired to imitate him. The opposition to what was regarded as apostasy on the part of the king did not come from the official priesthood; the sanctuaries at Dan, at Bethel, at Shiloh, and at Gilgal were prosperous in spite of Jezebel, and this was enough for them. But the influence of the prophets had increased marvellously since the rupture between the kingdoms, and at the very beginning of his reign Ahab was unwise enough to outrage their sense of justice by one of his violent acts: in a transport of rage he had slain a certain Naboth, who had refused to let him have his vineyard in order that he might enlarge the grounds of the palace he was building for himself at Jezreel.[3] The prophets, as in former times,[4] were divided into schools, the head of each being called its father, the members bearing the title of "the sons of the prophets;" they dwelt in a sort of monastery, each having his own cell, where they ate together, performed their devotional exercises or assembled to listen to the exhortations of their chief prophets:[5] nor did their

[1] 1 *Kings* xvi. 31–33. Ahaziah and Joram mean respectively "whom Jahveh sustaineth," and "Jahveh is exalted." Athaliah may possibly be derived from a Phœnician form, *Athaliath* or *Athalath*, into which the name of Jahveh does not enter (RENAN, *Histoire du peuple d'Israel*, vol. ii. p. 281), note 2).

[2] Cf. what is said in regard to the Canaanitish customs of Maacah on pp. 748, 749, *supra*.

[3] 1 *Kings* xxi., where the later tradition throws nearly all the blame on Jezebel; whereas in the shorter account, in 2 *Kings* ix. 25, 26, it is laid entirely on Ahab.

[4] Cf. what is said in regard to the prophets on pp. 748, 749, *supra*.

[5] In 1 *Sam.* xix. 20, a passage which seems to some to be a later interpolation mentions a "company of the prophets, prophesying, and Samuel standing as head over them." Cf. 2 *Kings* vi. 1–7, where the narrative introduces a congregation of prophets grouped round Elisha.

sacred office prevent them from marrying.[1] As a rule, they settled near one of the temples, and lived there on excellent terms with the members of the regular priesthood. Accompanied by musical instruments, they chanted the songs in which the poets of other days extolled the mighty deeds of Jahveh, and obtained from this source the incidents of the semi-religious accounts which they narrated concerning the early history of the people; or, when the spirit moved them, they went about through the land prophesying, either singly, or accompanied by a disciple, or in bands.[2] The people thronged round them to listen to their hymns or their stories of the heroic age: the great ones of the land, even kings themselves, received visits from them, and endured their reproaches or exhortations with mingled feelings of awe and terror. A few of the prophets took the part of Ahab and Jezebel,[3] but the majority declared against them, and of these, the most conspicuous, by his forcibleness of speech and action, was Elijah. We do not know of what race or family he came, nor even what he was;[4] the incidents of his life which have come down to us seem to be wrapped in a vague legendary grandeur. He appears before Ahab and tells him that for years to come no rain or dew shall fall on the earth save by his command, and then takes flight into the desert in order to escape the king's anger. He is there ministered unto by ravens, which bring him bread and meat every night and morning. When the spring from which he drinks dries up, he goes to the house of a widow at Zarephath in the country of Sidon, and there he lives with his hostess for twelve months on a barrel of meal and a cruse of oil which never fail. The widow's son dies suddenly: he prays to Jahveh and restores him to life; then, still guided by an inspiration from above, he again presents himself before the king. Ahab receives him without resentment, assembles the prophets of Baal, brings them face to face with Elijah on the top of Mount Carmel, and orders them to put an end to the drought by which his kingdom is wasted. The Phœnicians erect an altar and call upon their Baalim with loud cries, and gash their arms and bodies with knives, yet cannot bring about the miracle expected of them. Elijah, after mocking at their cries and contortions, at last addresses a prayer to Jahveh, and fire comes

[1] 2 *Kings* iv. 1-7, where an account is given of the miracle worked by Elisha on behalf of "a woman of the wives of the sons of the prophets."

[2] 1 *Sam.* x. 5, where a band of prophets is mentioned "coming down from the high place with a psaltery, and a timbrel, and a pipe, and a harp, before them, prophesying:" cf. ver. 10. In 2 *Kings* ii. 3-5, bands of the "children of the prophets" come out from Bethel and Jericho to ask Elisha if he knows the fate which awaits Elijah on that very day.

[3] Cf. the anonymous prophet who encourages Ahab, in the name of Jahveh, to surprise the camp of Benhadad before Samaria (1 *Kings* xx. 13-15, 22-25, 28); and the prophet Zedekiah, who gives advice contrary to that of his fellow-prophet Micaiah in the council of war held by Ahab with Jehoshaphat, King of Judah, before the attack on Ramoth-gilead (1 *Kings* xxii. 11, 12, 24).

[4] The ethnical inscription, "Tishbite," which we find after his name (1 *Kings* xvii. 1, xxi. 17), is due to an error on the part of the copyist.

down from heaven and consumes the sacrifice in a moment; the people, convinced by the miracle, fall upon the idolaters and massacre them, and the rain shortly afterwards falls in torrents. After this triumph he is said to have fled once more for safety to the desert, and there on Horeb to have had a divine vision. "And, behold, the Lord passed by, and a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord; but the Lord was not in the wind: and after the wind an earthquake; but the Lord was not in the earthquake: and after the earthquake a fire; but the Lord was not in the fire: and after the fire a still small voice. And it was so, when Elijah heard it, that he wrapped his face in his mantle, and went out, and stood in the entering in of the cave. And, behold, there came a voice unto him, and said, What doest thou here, Elijah?" God then commanded him to anoint Hazael as King of Syria, and Jehu, son of Nimshi, as King over Israel, and Elisha, son of Shaphat, as prophet in his stead, "and him that escapeth from the sword of Hazael shall Jehu slay: and him that escapeth from the sword of Jehu shall Elisha slay." The sacred writings go on to tell us that the prophet who had held such close converse with the Deity was exempt from the ordinary laws of humanity, and was carried to heaven in a chariot of fire. The account that has come down to us shows the impression of awe left by Elijah on the spirit of his age.[1]

Ahab was one of the most warlike among the warrior-kings of Israel. He ruled Moab with a strong hand,[2] kept Judah in subjection,[3] and in his conflict with Damascus experienced alternately victory and honourable defeat. Hadadidri [Hadadezer], of whom the Hebrew historians make a second Benhadad,[4] had succeeded the conqueror of Baasha.[5] The account of his campaigns in the Hebrew records has only reached us in a seemingly condensed and distorted condition. Israel, strengthened by the exploits of Omri, must have offered him a strenuous resistance, but we know nothing of the causes, nor of the opening scenes of the drama. When the curtain is lifted, the preliminary conflict is

[1] The story of Elijah is found in 1 *Kings* xvii.–xix., xxi. 17–29, and 2 *Kings* i., ii. 1–14.

[2] *Inscription of Mesha*, ll. 7, 8.

[3] The subordination of Judah is nowhere explicitly mentioned: it is inferred from the attitude adopted by Jehoshaphat in presence of Ahab (1 *Kings* xxii. 1, *et seq.*).

[4] The Assyrian texts call this *Dadidri*, Addidri, which exactly corresponds to the Hebrew form Hadadezer; cf. on this subject the contradictory articles by Schrader, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, p. 538, *et seq.*, *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 2nd edit., p. 200, *et seq.*, *Die Namen Hadad, Hadadezer, Benhadad und ihre Keilinschriftlichen Äquivalente*, in the *Zeitschrift für Keilforschung*, vol. ii. pp. 365–384, and by Fr. Delitzsch, *Assyriologische Notizen zum Alten Testament*, II., *der Name Benhadad*, in the *Zeitschrift für Keilforschung*, vol. ii. pp. 161–178, the former upholding the reading Adadidri, Addidri, the latter that of Birdadri, Biridri.

[5] The information in the *Book of Kings* does not tell us at what time during the reign of Ahab his first wars with Hadadezer (Benhadad II.) and the siege of Samaria occurred. The rapid success of Shalmaneser's campaigns against Damascus, between 854 and 839 B.C., does not allow us to place these events after the invasion of Assyria. Ahab appears, in 854, at the battle of Karkar, as the ally of Benhadad, as I shall show later.

over, and the Israelites, closely besieged in Samaria, have no alternative before them but unconditional surrender. This was the first serious attack the city had sustained, and its resistance spoke well for the military foresight of its founder. In Benhadad's train were thirty-two kings, and horses and chariots innumerable, while his adversary could only oppose to them seven thousand men. Ahab was willing to treat, but the conditions proposed were so outrageous that he broke off the negotiations. We do not know how long the blockade had lasted, when one day the garrison made a sortie in full daylight, and fell upon the Syrian camp: the enemy were panic-stricken, and Benhadad with difficulty escaped on horseback with a handful of men. He resumed hostilities in the following year, but instead of engaging the enemy in the hill-country of Ephraim, where his superior numbers brought him no advantage, he deployed his lines on the plain of Jezreel, near the town of Aphek. His servants had counselled him to change his tactics: "The God of the Hebrews is a God of the hills, therefore they were stronger than we; but let us fight against them in the plain, and surely we shall be stronger than they." The advice, however, proved futile, for he sustained on the open plain a still more severe defeat than he had met with in the mountains, and the Hebrew historians affirm that he was taken prisoner during the pursuit. The power of Damascus was still formidable, and the captivity of its king had done little to bring the war to an end; Ahab, therefore, did not press his advantage, but received the Syrian monarch "as a brother," and set him at liberty after concluding with him an offensive and defensive alliance. Israel at this time recovered possession of some of the cities which had been lost under Baasha and Omri, and the Israelites once more enjoyed the right to occupy a particular quarter of Damascus. According to the Hebrew account, this was the retaliation they took for their previous humiliations.[1] It is further stated, in relation to this event, that a certain man of the sons of the prophets, speaking by the word of the Lord, bade one of his companions smite him. Having received a wound, he disguised himself with a bandage over his eyes, and placed himself in the king's path, "and as the king passed by, he cried unto the king: and he said, Thy servant went out into the midst of the battle; and, behold, a man turned aside, and brought a man unto me, and said, Keep this man: if by any means he be missing, then shall thy life be for his life, or else thou shalt pay a talent of silver. And as thy servant was busy here and there, he was gone. And the King of Israel said unto him, So shall thy judgment be; thyself hast decided it. Then he hasted, and took the headband away from his eyes, and the King of Israel discerned him that he was one of the prophets. And he said unto

[1] 1 *Kings* xx. 1–34.

him, Thus saith the Lord, Because thou hast let go out of thy hand the man whom I had devoted to destruction, therefore thy life shall go for his life, and thy people for his people. And the King of Israel went to his house heavy and displeased, and came to Samaria."[1] This story was in accordance with the popular feeling, and Ahab certainly ought not to have paused till he had exterminated his enemy, could he have done so; but was this actually in his power?

We have no reason to contest the leading facts in this account, or to doubt that Benhadad suffered some reverses before Samaria; but we may perhaps ask whether the check was as serious as we are led to believe, and whether imagination and national vanity did not exaggerate its extent and results. The fortresses of Peræa which, according to the treaty, ought to have been restored to Israel remained in the hands of the people of Damascus, and the loss of Ramoth-gilead continued to be a source of vexation to such of the tribes of Gad and Reuben as followed the fortunes of the house of Omri:[2] yet these places formed the most important part of Benhadad's ransom. The sole effect of Ahab's success was to procure for him more lenient treatment; he lost no territory, and perhaps regained a few towns, but he had to sign conditions of peace which made him an acknowledged vassal to the King of Syria.[3] Damascus still remained the foremost state of Syria, and, if we rightly interpret the scanty information we possess, seemed in a fair way to bring about that unification of the country which neither Hittites, Philistines, nor Hebrews had been able to effect. Situated nearly equidistant from Raphia and Carchemish, on the outskirts of the cultivated region, the city was protected in the rear by the desert, which secured it from invasion on the east and north-east; the dusty plains of the Haurân protected it on the south, and the wooded cliffs of Anti-Lebanon on the west and north-west. It was entrenched within these natural barriers as in a fortress, whence the garrison was able to sally forth at will to attack in force one or other of the surrounding nations: if the city were victorious, its central position made it easy for its rulers to keep watch over and preserve what they had won; if it suffered defeat, the surrounding mountains and deserts formed natural lines of fortification easy to defend against the pursuing foe, but very difficult for the latter to force, and the

[1] 1 *Kings* xx. 35–43.

[2] 1 *Kings* xxii. 3: "And the King of Israel said unto his servants, Know ye that Ramoth-gilead is ours, and we be still, and take it not out of the hand of the King of Syria?"

[3] No document as yet proves directly that Ahab was vassal to Benhadad II. The fact seems to follow clearly enough from the account of the battle of Karkar against Shalmaneser II., where the contingent of Ahab of Israel figures among those of the kings who fought for Benhadad II. against the Assyrians (*Inscription on the Monolith of Kurkh*, col. ii. ll. 91, 92). I shall have occasion later on to refer to this subject.

delay presented by this obstacle gave the inhabitants time to organise their reserves and bring fresh troops into the field. The kings of Damascus at the outset brought under their suzerainty the Aramæan principalities—Argob, Maacah, and Geshur, by which they controlled the Haurân, and Zobah, which secured to them Cœle-Syria from Lake Huleh to the Bahr el-Kades. They had taken Upper Galilee from the Hebrews, and subsequently Peræa, as far as the Jabbok, and held in check Israel and the smaller states, Ammon and Moab, which followed in its wake. They exacted tribute from Hamath, the Phœnician Arvad, the lower valley of the Orontes, and from a portion of the Hittites, and demanded contingents from their princes in time of war. Their power was still in its infancy, and its elements were not firmly welded together, but the surrounding peoples were in such a state of weakness and disunion that they might be left out of account as formidable enemies. The only danger that menaced the rising kingdom was the possibility that the two ancient warlike nations, Egypt and Assyria, might shake off their torpor, and reappearing on the scene of their former prowess might attack her before she had consolidated her power by the annexation of Naharaim.



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